VOLUME I PART I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA

Epigraphia Birmanica

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

This is the complete series of 7 books, with Pali transliteration and English translation.

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PREFACE

IT had at first been intended to publish epigraphs found in Burma in the *Epigraphia Indica*; several considerations went against this course, the principal of which being the desirability of keeping together all the epigraphical documents found in this province. These documents, with very rare exceptions, bear on the political, religious and cultural development of Burma as a whole, whatever the language in which they are composed, and will therefore present greater facility for research and study in things Burmese, when published together in a series of volumes, than if they were scattered among other epigraphs of totally different character in the pages of another publication. This was the leading idea in the genesis of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*.

The material is abundant, Burma being one of the richest countries of Indo-China in lithic and other inscriptions. There is already a collection of six large volumes, Elephant size, of inscriptions transcribed in modern Burmese characters; and there is sufficient material for a seventh; these do not include the Talaing and Pyu inscriptions. And yet, all the Divisions of this province have not as yet been thoroughly explored—such as Tenasserim, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Arakan. A good search in these Divisions would no doubt bring to light a large number of Burmese, Talaing, Pyu and Arakanese inscriptions, and no doubt also a certain number of Siamese ones. The three principal centres from which the material now at our disposal has been obtained are Pagan, Pegu and Prome. There is no likelihood of Pagan yielding anything much further. Notwithstanding the good crop of Talaing inscriptions found in Pegu, very many more will, I am certain, be yet discovered as the result of a more thorough search, for those we have already were found within a comparatively very restricted radius. Prome has, up to now, yielded the oldest inscriptions; two in Pāli, which contain only passages from the Scriptures; the others in Pyu, a now extinct

language. These latter are short, but important; and yet they have been all found, except one or two, at the same spot: the Pyu cemetery near the Payagyi pagoda; it is probable this cemetery has not yielded all its funeral urns, and that further excavations will bring more to light. The site of the ancient city of Prome, Sarekhettarâ, is very extensive and full of ruins, and there is, I think, no doubt that a thorough exploration and systematical excavations would yield more of these precious documents of a nation now long disappeared.

Besides their historical and religious interest, these epigraphs are of great value for Indo-Chinese philology. Thanks to the splendid labours of Mr. C. O. Blagden, the result of which will be published in these pages, the old forms of Môn or Talaing, as preserved in the inscriptions of the 11th century, will now be available for further researches in a family of languages which is spread over a vast area. The same scholar's acumen has rescued from total oblivion a language dead since about six hundred years and buried, on the funeral urns of its speakers, in the cemetery abovementioned—that is, the Pyu language. It is true that, beyond some dozens of words and the fact that it belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family, yet little is known of this idiom; this is due to the small number and shortness of the inscriptions found up to the present; but, as pointed out above, all the probabilities tend to show that more will be forthcoming. The oldest Burmese inscriptions (11th century) show us the language in a stage of phonetic flux, during which old forms were slowly giving way to new ones, and furnish us with a number of words now forgotten for centuries.

The necessity for such a publication and its usefulness are self-evident, and scarcely require any comment. It will at last unlock for us the treasures slowly accumulated by the generations of three nations. It will constitute a store-house for the reconstitution, on a solid basis, of the political history of this province, and for that of its religious development; it will enable us to follow, almost step by step, the evolution of the Burmese and Talaing languages, through their gradual phonetic changes, up to the modern stage in which we now know them; it will also, though perhaps in a less satisfactory degree, help in understanding better the evolution of the national institutions and national spirit. The publication of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* we owe to the enlightened solicitude of the Government of Burma for the

advancement of oriental studies in this province, for, it is scarcely necessary to say, it could never have been brought about without their help.

This first part of the first volume contains the four faces of the Myazedi pillar found at Myinkaba near Pagan: Burmese, Pāli, Talaing and Pyu. The importance of this inscription-pillar is made clear in the introduction and need not be dwelt upon here. It is this pillar which gave to Mr. C. O. Blagden the key to the reading of old Talaing, and enabled him to decipher what we know of Pyu. The second part, now in the press, consists of eight Talaing epigraphs, among which is the most interesting of early Môn records: the great inscription of the Shwezigôn pagoda at Nyaung-U, near Pagan. It may be here mentioned that extra copies of all the Talaing inscriptions of Mr. Blagden will be struck off with consecutive pagination so as to form a handy volume of these important records. The second volume, also now in the press, consists of the four hundred plaques with Talaing legends, in illustration of the last ten great jātaka-stories, which ornament the upper terraces of the Ānanda temple (1090 A.D.) at Pagan. The material for the third volume is ready; it is made up of another long Talaing inscription, and of the inscription in Talaing, Burmese and Pāli engraved on the great bell at the Shwezigôn pagoda at Nyaung-U. Other volumes will follow in due course. Our best thanks are due to Mr. R. W. Bishop, Superintendent, and Mr. R. Baillie, Deputy Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, for the interest they take in this publication and for their successful overcoming of many typographical difficulties.

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MANDALAY, 21*st October* 1919.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

THE BURMESE FACE OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION AT PAGAN.

THE two Myazedi inscription stone pillars were discovered at Myinkaba, a small locality quite near to Pagan, in 1886-87, by Dr. E. Forchhammer, then Professor of Pāli at the Rangoon College and Government Archaeologist.

A. The better preserved pillar was found near the Myazedi pagoda, quite close to it, on the north, in front of a small ruined square temple, in which the remnants of a seated Buddha may still be seen. It is in a good state of preservation and has been, some years ago, for greater safety, removed to the Pagan Museum, near the Ānanda temple. It contains the same document composed in four languages, one on each face: Pāli, Burmese, Talaing and Pyu. It is from estampages and photographs of this pillar that Mr. C. O. Blagden gave us his translation of the Talaing face [1] and of the Pyu face,[2] and he designated it as A, to distinguish it from the other pillar, estampages of which he received only later, and which he called B. It is best to keep these designations in mind in order to avoid confusion.

B. The other pillar, which contains replicas of the former's inscriptions, was badly broken; Forchhammer recovered two pieces of the upper *half* within the precincts of the Kubyaukkyi temple, which adjoins the Myazedi on the west. The third piece completing the upper part was discovered, in 1904, in the surrounding wall of the Myazedi platform while it was being repaired and into which it had been immured. The lower half was found accidentally, deeply buried in an erect position near a small, old brick building, close to the Myazedi, on the east, and which is supposed to have been a Piṭakat-taik or library. All these pieces were badly weathered and a large proportion of the letters had disappeared, what remains being, however, beautifully clear. The several portions, after having thus been scattered for no doubt several centuries, were pieced up together

[1] "The Talaing Inscription of the Myazedi Pagoda at Pagan," in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1909, pp. 117 *ff*.

[2] "Preliminary Study of the Fourth Text of the Myazedi Inscriptions," *J.R.A.S.*, April 1911, 365.

and the pillar, thus restored, was erected on the platform of the Myazedi. This pillar is designated as B.

Decipherment.—The Burmese and Pāli faces were first transcribed into modern Burmese characters in 1892, after Forchhammer's death, in the first volume of inscriptions[1] published in Burma, on pages 203 and 207 respectively. But the estampages from which these transcriptions were made, and which were found among Forchhammer's papers, had been taken before disengaging the lower portion of the pillar from the ground in which it had sunk, so that in both these transcripts the last ten lines are missing. Moreover, in transcribing the Burmese, the archaic spelling has been, to some extent, modernized, and this cannot, therefore, be called an exact transcript. Mr. Blagden, in his "Talaing Inscription of the Myazedi Pagoda at Pagan," has also given a transcript of the Burmese which includes the last ten lines, much more correct than the other, and corrections to which he published in subsequent notes.[2] These corrections being taken into consideration, it will be seen that his transcript and mine agree almost completely, except in a very few particulars which will be noted in their proper place. While making the transliteration into Roman characters, I was at Pagan, and thus had the advantage of being able to examine pillar A itself whenever some doubt arose; this has enabled me to settle a few doubtful points. I had besides at my disposal a very good photograph of A taken by Forchhammer; this is much clearer than subsequent estampages and photographs, and shows that the stone in some places has certainly deteriorated, this being due, no doubt, to the numerous estampages which were taken of it subsequently with the attendant washing and beating with brushes.

A first translation of the Burmese face was made by Maung Tun Nyein, of the Burma Secretariat, in 1899[3]; but this translation is rather defective, as a comparison between it and mine will show. On the other hand, it will be seen, on examination, how very closely Mr. Blagden's translation of the Talaing and mine of the Burmese agree.

Chronological Importance.—This inscription has been of the greatest value in that it has helped to rectify the chronological errors of the Burmese chronicle *Mahāyāzawin* (မဟာရာဇဝင်) and Sir Arthur Phayre in respect of four of the most important reigns of that period of Burmese history. We are told at the beginning that Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj became king at Pagan after 1628

[1] "The Inscriptions of Pagan, etc."
[2] "A Further Note on the Inscriptions of the Myazedi Pagoda, Pagan," *J.R.A.S.*, July 1918.
[3] "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava." Translation, with Notes, Rangoon, 1899.

years of the Buddha's religion had elapsed. This date Anno Buddhae is one of the very most important as yet yielded by Burmese epigraphs, for it enables us to fix with absolute certainty the accession to the throne of Kyanzittha, and thereby also that of his successor, Alaungsithu, and of his two immediate predecessors, Anorata and Sawlu. The Burmese reckon the Era of Religion from 544 B.C.; subtracting this from 1628 we obtain 1084 A.D. as the commencement of the reign of Kyanzittha, and this corresponds to the year 446 Burmese Era, which is reckoned from 638 A.D. The inscription tells us Kyanzittha reigned 28 years which, added to 1084, give 1112 A.D. as the year of his death and that of his successor Alaungsithu's accession, or 474 Burmese Era. Sir Arthur Phayre who, in compiling his *History of Burma*, had to rely almost entirely on the *Mahāyāzawin* or *Hman-Nan-Yāzawin*, is entirely wrong in the dates he assigns to Kyanzittha, his predecessors Anorata and Sawlu, and to Alaungsithu who succeeded him. The following are the dates given by Phayre for these four reigns, p. 281 :—

Name of King.	Commencement of Reign.			Length of Reign.
	Year of Religion.	A.D.	Burmese Era.	
Anorata ...	1553	1010	372	42
Sawlu ...	1595	1052	414	5
Kyanzittha ...	1600	1057	419	28
Alaungsithu ...	1628	1085	447	75

This is in disaccord, not only with the Myazedi inscription, and some earlier inscriptions now collected at Amarapura, but also with the *Jātā-Bon-Yāzawin*, one of the most trustworthy sources for the dates of Burmese history; the dates given above, as based on the Myazedi inscription, agree singularly with the latter work. Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Burmese Sketches*, p. 66) has already rectified the dates in Phayre's History for this period; I cannot do better than quote here his own words: "These latter figures correspond in a remarkable degree with those given in the *Jātā-Bon-Yāzawin* or the chronological tables based on the Royal horoscopes. As the Burmans, in common with the Hindus, set a great store by astrology and horoscopes, these tables appear to afford us trustworthy

chronological data. Relying on the Myazedi inscription as well as these tables and the other records, Phayre's dates may be revised as follows:—

Name of King.	Commencement of Reign.			Length of Reign.
	Year of Religion.	A.D.	Burmese Era.	
Anorata ...	1588	1044	406	33
Sawlu ...	1621	1077	439	7
Kyanzittha ...	1628	1084	446	28
Alaungsithu ...	1656	1112	474	75 "

These dates of Mr. Taw Sein Ko agree with those of the *Jātā-Bon-Yazawin* except for that of Kyanzittha's death, which it gives as 1111. But this seeming difference may perhaps amount to only a few days, according as the year is recorded as expired or current. Such differences can be settled only when a complete date, that is, the year, month and day, is given.[1] The date 1084 for the accession of Kyanzittha is confirmed by the Shwesandaw (Prome) Talaing inscription which gives the date 1628 after the *parinirvāṇa* for this event. The date 1630 Anno Buddhae given in the same document very probably refers to his *abhiseka* or coronation as the context itself seems to show.[2]

Kyanzittha.—The checkered and romantic, but intensely human career of Kyanzittha, would be too long to recount here. Suffice it to say that, with all his defects and shortcomings, he impresses the reader who has carefully gone through his life in the indigenous chronicles, as a high-spirited, strong, energetic and wise captain and ruler, with a heart full of human sympathy and love. He was not of pure Burmese race, but of Indian descent by his mother, who was a princess of Vesāli or modern Besāṛ in Central India; with one or two exceptions, Burmese histories agree on this point; those which do not accept this—no doubt from a motive of national pride—affirm the princess came from Vesāli in Arakan and not from Vesāli in India; but practically the whole mass of written and oral tradition goes against this latter assertion. This is, however, still a moot point, which only further researches will enable us to settle. A doubt subsists as to the

[1] Cf. Article on "Date of the final fall of Pagan" in the Annual Report of this Department for the year ending March 1917, p. 36.

[2] See "Dates of King Kyanzittha's accession and coronation," in the same Report, p. 19.

legitimacy of his birth; on the whole, however, evidence goes to show that he was not Anorata's son, but of the minister who was sent to bring the princess from India (or Arakan) to Pagan. Thus, he was not, as a matter of fact, entitled to the succession to the throne of Burma; but he was, after the death of S. [illegible] son of Anorata, unanimously chosen by the Burmese generals and high officials as the most worthy and capable of holding firmly the reins of Government in his hands. It is he who completed the famous Shwezigôn pagoda at Nyaung-ū, which had been begun by Anorata, and who erected the magnificent Ānanda temple in which is seen his likeness in stone executed by a contemporary sculptor, and that of Nagayôn, besides several other smaller ones.

The queen mentioned in this inscription was not his chief queen. He had four principal queens, mentioned in the following order:

1. Abhèyadanā (အဘယဒနာ), the chief queen, who bore him a daughter, known as Shwe-[illegible]ng-thé (ရွှေ[illegible]သီး).

2. A princess from Pegu, who had no children.

3. Kinindan (ခင်ဒန်), the daughter of the head man of Thilhain (သီးခိုင်), who likewise bore him no children.

4. Sambhūla (သမ္ဘူလ), the niece of a monk, who bore him his only son, prince Rājakumār, the founder of this inscription.

His deep affection for Sambhūla, made so clearly evident in the inscription was no doubt due to the fact that, before his accession to the throne, she had devotedly ministered to him in his distress and exile at Kyaungbyu, where he had fled for his life. When he was recalled to Pagan, he left her under the care of her uncle the monk, asking her, if the fruit of their union was a son, to come back to him to the capital when times were better. Years rolled by, and when he had been king already for some years, Sambhūla brought her boy to the palace. He made her his fourth queen, with the title of U-Sauk-pan (ဦးဆောင်းပန်).

U-Sauk-pan means an artificial flower, of gold or silver, used as an ornament for the hair, also a crest, an ornament in general to adorn the hair. It is this Burmese title, which seems to have been given by some kings to the queen they loved most, which is translated in the four faces of the inscription by the Pāli equivalent, *Vaṭaṁsakā* (Skt. *avaṭaṁsakā*); her full title in Pāli, *Tri'lokavaṭaṁsikā*, meaning "the Ornament of the Three Worlds." Besides Sambhūla, I have found only two other queens bearing this title: one was a queen of Sawlu, the predecessor of Kyanzittha; and the other, a queen of Narapatisithu.

Kyanzittha seems to have regretted the delay of Sambhūla in bringing him his only son, for some time before his arrival he had made his grandchild, who

succeeded him with the title of Alaungsithu, heir-apparent to the throne; such a course, however, as well as the appointment of his son to a distant province, appears to have been dictated by political expediency. He gave him the name of Rājakumār, and some years later, with the title of Jeyakhettarā, made him Governor of Dhaññavatī or Arakan and of the adjacent seven hill tracts. Nothing more is heard of him either in epigraphs or histories.

The Alphabet and Transliteration.—An examination of the Talaing and Burmese faces of the Myazedi pillar at once discloses the fact that the characters used in both are practically identical; setting aside the two letters (⊙; ḅ, and ꩻ, ḅ) which the Talaings invented to represent sounds in their language which no Indian letters could do adequately, it is one and the same alphabet. The evident deduction is that one of the two nations borrowed its alphabet from the other. All evidence tends to show that the Burmese received their alphabet from the Mōns about A.D. 1057.[1] It is in that year that Anorata, king of Pagan, swooped down upon the deltaic provinces of Burma, that is, Rāmaññadesa, the Talaing country, and, after a siege of three months,[2] entered Thatôn, the capital. Both the Talaing and Burmese chronicles give as the reason of this onslaught the desire of king Anorata to transfer to his capital the sets of the *tripiṭakas* and their commentaries in the monasteries of the Talaing capital. But the probability is that the sack of Thatôn was only an after-thought and that his primary and real motive in thus swooping suddenly on the Delta was purely political, and his aim was the destruction of the strong and flourishing Indian settlements which then dotted the Delta and which, in his estimation, were a growing danger to his own power in Pagan. One of these and probably the oldest was Çrikṣetra or Old Prome (Hmawzā), some six miles below the modern Prome; four others are mentioned as having existed near where is now Rangoon: Pokkharavatī, Trihakumbha, Asitañjana and Rammanagara[3]; from the conquest of Anorata on, nothing more is heard of these independent foreign settlements.

The result of the conquest of Thatôn was momentous for Pagan; Anorata took Manuhā, the king of Thatôn, a captive to his capital, and with him,

[1] The Talaing history *Dhammaceti* (printed at Patlak), p. 12, gives Anno Buddhae 1600, that is A.D. 1056.

[2] The Burmese chronicles do not mention this; the statement is found at p. 12 of *Dhammaceti—Smiṅ Arimandanapura tun . . . kluṅ euiṗ ḍuṅ Suddhammavatī buiṅ khaḍan law ṗi gitu*, "The king of Arimaddanapura (Pagan) . . . having come, invested closely the city of Suddhammavati (Thatôn) for three months." In Talaing, *Arimandana* for *Arimaddana*, is frequent.

[3] *Vide* Forchhammer, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma, I—The Shwedagôn Pagoda*, Rangoon, 1911; and also the ဇေယျခေတ္တရဇဝင်တွဲ ၁။ (cway cuṅ kyo[2] thaṅ kyam[3]), Vol. II, p. 721 *ff.*

the most learned monks, the Pāli scriptures and their commentaries, and all the best artisans and artists he could find, and, adds the Talaing chronicle, "from that time Pagan flourished exceedingly."[1] Materially the conquerors, the Burmese became, to a great extent, intellectually the conquered; such examples are not rare in history. The form of Mahāyānism then extant at Pagan[2] gave way to the Hīnayānism of Thatôn; magnificent temples were built under the supervision of Indian and Talaing architects; it is only soon after 1057 that inscriptions on stone and votive tablets in Burmese, Talaing and Pāli make their appearance at Pagan. It is from that time that writing was adapted to common use by the adoption of a foreign alphabet to represent Burmese sounds; if it is considered that, as pointed out above, the Talaing and Burmese characters at that time were identical, and that the greater antiquity of Talaing civilisation is accepted on every hand,[3] I think the rational conclusion is that the Burmese borrowed their alphabet from the Talaings.[4] This does not certainly mean that writing was unknown at the Burmese capital; it can be easily proved that Sanskrit works, *Mahāyānist*, and probably also Sanskrit *Hīnayānist* and Brahmanical works, were in use at Pagan before Anorata.[5] But it is only after the conquest of Thatôn that an alphabet is devised for writing the vulgar tongue. It is noteworthy that no inscription whatsoever in Burmese or Pāli has yet been found at Pagan antedating Anorata; and this fact is the more remarkable still, when the dry and, to stone and brick, undestructive climate of Central Burma is taken into consideration. I think also there is strong internal evidence in the earliest Burmese inscriptions themselves, of this adoption by the Burmese at that time of an alphabet for writing their own language; I refer to the

[1] Dhammacetī, p. 12, *in fine*.

[2] See my paper on "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism," in *Archaeological Survey of India* for 1915-16, pp. 79-93.

[3] Cf. for instance, Bigandet, *Legend of Gotama*, Vol. II, p. 143; Forchhammer, *opud cit*, *I—Shwedagôn Pagoda*, and his Jardine Prize Essay, p. 22 *ff*; Parker's *Burma, with special reference to her relations with China*, Rangoon, 1893, p. 18 *ff*; J. Stuart, *Burma through the Centuries*, p. 30; the Kalyāni Inscription, Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa; Lajonquière, *Domaine Archéologique du Siam*, 41, 42; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, IV, 801.

[4] Against this is sometimes brought the statement of the Burmese *Mahāyāsawin* that the *tripitakas* were transcribed from the Talaing into the Burmese characters; but this no doubt must be understood as meaning into the newly adopted alphabet; and as these two alphabets, for the writing of Pāli, were identical in all their characters, this can have presented no difficulty. The real meaning seems to be that *new* copies of the Scriptures were made for the use of the Burmese monks.

[5] Vide *opud cit* in note (2); see also L. Finot, "Un nouveau document sur le buddhisme birman," *Journal Asiatique*, juillet-août 1912, p. 129: "on conclut trop vite du sanskrit au Mahāyāna"; but now the recent discovery of the trantric-Buddhist frescoes at Min-nan-thu near Pagan leaves little room for doubt as to the existence of certain Mahāyānist works at Pagan.

extraordinarily numerous ways of spelling the same words, not only in different epigraphs, but very often in the same document, and which seems to me to show pretty clearly that, for nearly a century, the Burmese were grappling with the problem of exactly representing some sounds with the new tool at their disposal.[1]

The old Burmese alphabet as we find it in the Myazedi has become, through a series of gradual and slow changes, the modern Burmese alphabet as used now. There was always a perceptible tendency to round off the more or less angular and square letters into soft curves and circles or parts of circles; but for these general changes and some others, few but more radical, as for instance, in the subscript letters *h* and *m*, the old and the modern alphabets are practically identical. The method of transliteration followed here has already been explained in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* for August 1916, p. 81. As this young Journal has not yet, however, a very wide circulation among oriental scholars, this scheme of transliteration, since it will be used regularly in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, is reproduced here.

In transcribing an oriental language into Roman characters, two methods naturally present themselves. The first, like the Hunterian system, is purely phonetic, and endeavours to represent, as accurately as possible, the pronunciation only of the language; the purpose of this method is to furnish a ready means of transcribing, as they are spoken, geographical names and other common words current in the country and in every day use even among people not speaking the language; it is also used with advantage in obtaining, without going the length of mastering the native letters, a knowledge of the colloquial. It is a method of practical utility well adapted to official and commercial requirements. The second is what has been called the "scientific method"; it does not in the least take into account the pronunciation, its aim being solely to reproduce, in Roman characters, as faithfully as possible, the exact form of the language as it has been fixed in writing; thus endeavouring to retain, in the foreign characters, the older form of the language as preserved by its alphabet and unaffected by its pronunciation which is always subject to slow but none the less very real change. Such a literal transliteration is generally adopted for transcription of inscriptions

[1] The several varieties of alphabets in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula were derived from one or two archetypes from Southern India; and so far as epigraphical and historical evidence is available, these adoptions—direct or indirect—of a foreign alphabet appear, in point of time, to have followed the following order: Khmer, Môn, Burmese, Thai. Cf. also Lunet de Lajonquiere, *Le domaine archéologique du Siam*, p. 41*f*. For a reliable and succinct survey of the progress of epigraphy in Indo-China generally, see L. Finot, *Notes d'Epigraphie*, XIV-XX, in *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 113–172.

and for the purpose of philological comparison. This is the method adopted in the following scheme of transliteration :—

I. CONSONANTS.

The consonantal system is the same as in Pāli, and the transcription [1] is that used for that language in Europe, except for one letter :—

Gutterals	...	က ka	ခ kha	ဂ ga	ဃ gha	င ṅa
Palatals	...	စ ca	ဆ cha	ဇ ja	ဈ jha	ဉ ña
Cerebrals	...	ဋ ṭa	ဌ ṭha	ဍ ḍa	ဎ ḍha	ဏ ṇa
Dentals	...	တ ta	ထ tha	ဒ da	ဓ dha	န na
Labials	...	ပ pa	ဖ pha	ဗ ba	ဘ bha	မ ma
Semi-vowels		ယ ya	ရ ra	လ la	ဠ ḷa	ဝ wa
Sibilant	...	သ sa	aspirate		ဟ ha	
Anusvāra	...	◌ṁ	unclassified		အ a	

(*a*) In all consonants the vowel *a* is inherent. No *a* is inherent in ***anusvāra.*** This *a* is elided when a consonant is final, which is indicated in Burmese by a curve stroke above it, thus, *e.g.*, ◌် *k*, ◌် *ṅ*, ◌် *c*, ◌် *t*, ◌် *p*, etc.; ◌် final in a syllable is often superscript over the initial consonant of the following syllable, thus သင်္ဃ = သင်ဃ, ***saṅgha*** ; မင်္ဂ = မင်ဂ, ***maṅgalā.***

(*b*) Double ဉ, *ñ*, becomes ည, *ññ* ; these letters are used only in Pāli words. ည် (now pronounced *ī*) is final in pure Burmese words and is transliterated by *ñ*, for ည် at the end of words is not intended to represent a double ဉ but a single one ; *e.g.*, ပြည်, ***prañ*** ; စည်, ***cañ.***

[1] An ideal transliteration would be one uniting both methods, the literal and the phonetic, which could be applied to all purposes both practical and scientific ; this would not, of course, be impossible. But to do so for Burmese, for instance, in which some letters have acquired a quite different value from their original one, in which each vowel has two or three sounds according to the combination in which it appears, final consonants freely interchange their classes and medial vowels and nasals are often dropped owing to a shift of accent, such a transliteration would require a diacritical apparatus so complicated as to be more puzzling than useful. Moreover I have remarked that, for purposes of comparison, the literal transliteration of Burmese is in many cases more useful than the rendering of the modern pronunciation. But as, in all such comparisons, we have to deal with living languages, the actual pronunciation cannot altogether be put aside, for it enables us to lay down more or less fixed rules of phonetic equivalences ; in these circumstances, the best way is, whenever necessary, to indicate the pronunciation within brackets after the literal transliteration. This is what has generally been done in the few—unfortunately too few—essays on Indo-Chinese philology in which Burmese enters as a term of comparison.

(*c*) The letter 'o'[1] is transliterated by *w* instead of *v*, because *w* represents the true value of 'o'; moreover a *v* would make some combinations unpronounceable. But in Pāli and Sanskrit words and in quotations from these languages, the Continental transliteration *v* is retained.

(*d*) The letter အ, *a*, is also included among the consonants; as such, it fulfils two functions; first, in inscriptions, it is used to denote the short tone, which consists in the sudden occlusion of the voice affecting the vowels pronounced in this tone; this letter, with the *virāma* (္) is either subscript or postscript, and in transcription is represented by an inverted comma placed after the word affected; *e.g.*, မယာ်, *mayā'*; ၈င်္, *min'*; အံ့, *am'*. The dot (.) now used for this tone is nothing but this ် simplified for ease and rapidity of writing. Then, အ is also used as a fulcrum to initial vowels; this use is practically unknown in old epigraphs and becomes current only very late; in such a position, this အ has nothing to do phonetically with the word itself, it is merely a support for the initial vowel, and has therefore no value in the pronunciation or etymologically; hence, in transliteration, this fulcrum is left unrepresented by any sign or symbol; in so doing, I am but following a usage already established, and which has the advantage of presenting the word in its original and true form, and as it is still found in related dialects; thus အိပ်, to sleep, is transcribed *ip*; အိမ်, *im*, etc., the ancient way of writing these words (without the fulcrum) being ိပ်, *ip*; ိမ်, *im*. To transcribe အိပ် by *aip* would give the impression of a diphthong which does not in reality exist; to transcribe it by *a-ip* would bring in an element *a*, which is phonetically non-existent, and might be taken for the common prefix အ.

Medial Consonants.

The following are the symbols used to represent the medial consonants:—

Consonant.	Symbol (Medial).	Transliteration.	Examples.
ယ	ျ	y	ကျ kyi
ရ	ြ	r	ကြ krā
ဝ	ွ	w	ကွန် kwan
ဟ	ှ	h	ငှန် mhan

[1] This letter is pronounced *v* in some Lolo dialects; *Ve* = Burm. ဝေး, we[3], far.

These symbols are further combined one with another as follows:—

Combinations.	Medial combinations.	Transliteration.	Examples.
ဃ and ဝ	ၗ	yw	ကျွန် kywan
ရ and ဝ	ြွ	rw	ပြွန် prwan
ရ and ဃ	ြှ	rh	ရှစ် rhaṅ

II. VOWELS.

Leaving aside, for a while, the consideration of the tones, we see that the vowel system in Burmese is the same as in Pāli; the following vowels have the same value as the Pāli ones and can be transliterated in exactly the same manner:—

Initial.		Medial.		
အ *a*	အာ *ā*	+	◌ာ and ◌ါ	*ā*
ဣ *i*	ဤ *ī*	◌ိ *i*	◌ီ	*ī*
ဥ *u*	ဦ *ū*	◌ု *u*	◌ူ	*ū*
ဧ *e*	ဩ *o*	◌ေ *e*	◌ော	*o*

The dash accompanying the symbols of the medial vowels indicates the position of the consonants.

(*a*) The initial vowel အ has no corresponding medial symbol because, as has already been said, it is inherent in all consonants.

(*b*) Besides the above, Burmese possesses two others that are foreign to Pāli: ◌ဲ and ◌ိုဲ is transliterated by *ai*, pronounced as *e* in "met," or *ai* in the French "*lait*"; it is in reality the same as ◌ိတ်, *y*, and made its appearance regularly in inscriptions only in the 15th century, before which date all the words now spelt with ◌ဲ were most often written with an ◌ိတ်. The only real difference between the two is tonal, ◌ိတ် belonging to the medial and ◌ဲ to the heavy tone. ◌ိုဲ is merely a conventional sign made up of two vowels, *u*

and *i*; it is now pronounced "o" as in "photo," "bone," but its pronunciation is affected by a following final ်, *k*, or ် *ṅ*, when it becomes the diphthong *ai*. It is now impossible to ascertain its pronunciation eight hundred years ago, date of the earliest inscriptions as yet found. Burmese words containing this symbol are, in related dialects, principally Lolo dialects and Maru, pronounced with the following sounds: *ö*, *ü*, *ó*, *ǘ*, *üi* and *oi*. We shall represent it in this scheme by *ui*, to be in conformity with the transcription of it adopted already by Mr. Blagden in his literal transliteration of the Talaing alphabet.

III. TONES.

There are three tones in Burmese,[1] which affect all the vowels; the short or abrupt, which is but an occlusion of the voice; the medial or long tone, and the heavy or falling tone.

(1) The short tone is denoted by a dot (.) placed under the vowel affected by it. The vowels အ *a*, ဣ *i*, ဥ *u*, are naturally short, and as such do not require the tonal sign; the other vowels, not being naturally short, require it when affected by this tone, thus:— ေ, ာ, ော, ို. It has already been stated that this dot (.) is but a modification of the old ် (') which was used to denote this tone. In the transliteration of tonal languages, numbers, indicating each tone, are now generally used; the same system will be followed here, and the short tone designated by the number 1 placed to the right of the word; *e.g.*, ေ, *le*[1]; ဲ, *pai*[1]; ော, *mo*[1]; ို, *pui*[1].

(2) The medial tone, when affecting the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, is denoted in the transcription of Pāli by a dash over these letters, so that *ā*, *ī* and *ū* belong to this tone and need no other diacritical sign or number to show this. The following, as they stand, without any special sign, belong to this tone— ေ *e*, ် *y*, and ွ *ui*, and no number will be used to indicate it. When ော, *o*, is affected by this tone, a small curve stroke is placed on the top to the right of it, ော; this shall be denoted by the number 2 placed after the word: ော, *kho*[2]; ော, *mo*[2].

(3) The third or heavy tone is indicated by two dots (း) placed after the vowel affected; *e.g.*, ား, ီး, ့း, ေး, ို း; it will be marked in transliteration by the number 3— ား, *lā*[3]; ီး, *mī*[3]; ေး, *pe*[3]; ိုး, *chui*[3]. This tone is inherent in

[1] Practically *four*, if the very abrupt stop of the voice in pronouncing the finals ်, ် ် ် is reckoned, as it should be, as a tone; this tone has and requires no particular sign to denote it.

the vowels ◌ြော, *o*, and ◌ြ, *ai*, so that the dots are not used with these two letters and this practice will be followed in transliterating.

(Sometimes, but very seldom, the heavy tone is denoted, for the sake of emphasis, after ◌ြော and ◌ြ which are then written ◌ြော်, o^3, and ◌ြ်, ai^3.)

The following table gives the vowels arranged according to tones :—

Short tone.	Medial tone.	Heavy tone.
အ a	အာ ◌ာ ◌ါ ā	အာ် ◌ာ် ◌ါ် $ā^3$
အိ ◌ိ i	အီ ◌ီ ī	◌ီ် $ī^3$
အု ◌ု u	အူ ◌ူ ū	အူ် ◌ူ် $ū^3$
◌ေ. e^1	◌ေ e	◌ေ ◌ေ် e^3
◌ြော့ ◌ော့ ◌ော် o^1	◌ြော် ◌ော် ◌ော် o^2	◌ြော ◌ော ◌ော ◌ြော် ◌ော် o^3 (very rare)
◌ြ ai^1	◌ယ် y	◌ြ ai ◌ြ် ai^3 (very rare)
◌ို့ ui^1	◌ို ui	◌ို် ui^3

The tones also affect the short vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, when followed by final nasals, the same signs being used. When the signs of neither the short tone (.) nor

the heavy (း) are used the word naturally belongs to the medial tone; of the nasals, ဏ and ဉ take only ဋ, ဒ, after them, in modern Burmese; *e.g.*—

Short tone.	Medial tone.	Heavy tone.
ထင် lań[1]	ထဋ် lań	ထဋ်း lań[3]
ဓိန် min[1]	ဓိဒ် min	ဓိဒ်း min[3]
ဓိဉ် cim[1]	ဓိဋ် cim	ဓိဋ်း cim[3]
ထုံ tuṁ[1]	ထုံ tuṁ	ထုံး tuṁ[3]
ဃောင် coṅ[1]	ဃောဍ် coṅ	ဃောဍ်း coṅ[3]
ဖိုင် puiṅ[1]	ဖိုဍ် puiṅ	ဖိုဍ်း puiṅ[3]

IV. ABBREVIATIONS.

A number of abbreviations of frequently recurring words are often used; most of these abbreviations do not admit of any practical transliteration, so that it is necessary to transliterate them according to their full form:—

Abbreviation.	Full form.	Transliteration.
ဓိ	ဓိုက်	nhuik
ဃ်း	ဃောင်း	koṅ[3]
ကြ်	ကြောင့်	kroṅ[1]
ဂဉ်း } ဂဉ်း }	ဂဉ်းကောင်း	lāṅ[3] koṅ[3]
မ်	မည်	maṅ
သ်	သည်	saṅ[1]
တ်	တော်	to[3]
ဍ္ဍ	ဍဍ	lulaṅ
ဆွေသော်	ဆွေးသောတ်	swe[3] sok
ကြွန်းနပ်	ကြွန်းနပ်	kywannup
နံ့နတ်	နံ့နတ်	naṁnak
ရှ်	ရှိ	rwe[1]

ကြ် as a verbal and genitive suffix is of very frequent use; it is a modification of the old form ဃ်, *e'*. It is now pronounced *i*; its full modern form, seldom used, is ကည့်, *eṅ*[1], which is also pronounced *i*; we shall therefore transcribe it by *i*.

In the above scheme, I have purposely left out all considerations of Burmese phonetic, which can be better treated in a special paper, though it would have

shown that such a scheme of literal transliteration as the one explained above is by far, in so much as Burmese is concerned, better adapted to our purpose than any phonetic scheme could have been.[1] It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge here the help and suggestions so kindly given by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

Philological Interest.—Besides its importance for Burmese history, this document is also full of interest to the philologist. It is among the oldest inscriptions as yet found written in Burmese. It contains a few words which, though current at that time, have not yet been found in other inscriptions of the same period and after; for instance, ရွာဝ်, *rwoh*, for "village," now ရွာ, *rwā*; ယော်, *yo*, "to take," now ယူ, *yū*; ရှောဝ်, *rhow*, "in front, before," now ရှေ့, *rhe*[1]. In it also we find, for the first time, a medial *l* in words now since long written regularly with a medial *r* or *y*; and a form of the negative, ဧ, *e*, scarce even in the dialects of the Burmese and Lolo groups of Tibeto-Burman languages, and of which, only one other example has up to now been found, in an inscription dated a few years later than the Myazedi. The Myazedi shows us, though not so fully as we should desire, the language in a state of transition from older to newer forms, and it is to be regretted, in this connection, that this epigraph is so short and its vocabulary so restricted. It is to be hoped that other Burmese inscriptions of the same period and containing words of the same archaic character as those found in the Myazedi pillar will yet be discovered.

In the notes after the translation I have endeavoured to ascertain, as far as possible, the real older forms of some words or classes of words which are now written and pronounced differently; no previous study of some scope in this direction is available, and it is attempted here for the first time; moreover, as will just now be explained, the necessary and indispensable material for such study, so far as Burmese more particularly is concerned, is very meagre; under these circumstances, these notes do not pretend to be final and definitive in their conclusion on each and every point; I feel confident, however, that, in a few cases, the conclusions arrived at will need no modification when more ample material to work upon will be at the disposal of scholars. To try and settle the older forms of the language and their transition to the modern ones, there is only one certain means: comparison with other related languages and dialects of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is what I have done, and the necessity of doing it will be sufficient excuse for the, in a few cases, rather long array of barbarous-looking words. In drawing up these comparisons, I have availed myself of every

[1] *Cf.* Note 1, p. 9.

vocabulary and word-list I could procure, and a list of which is given further on. The *Linguistic Survey of India* has proved invaluable; unfortunately, it does not extend to most languages within the limits of Burma; the vocabularies of languages spoken in Burma and on her frontiers on the north and east and closely related to Burmese are very few and might, to use a hackneyed but expressive phrase, be counted easily on the fingers of one hand. This has been a drawback, for, except in the case of Maru, Lolo, and one or two others, I had to fall back on languages and dialects more distantly related to Burmese, though these, as will be seen, have proved very useful. Never did I feel so keenly the need of such a work as a *Linguistic Survey of Burma* somewhat on the plan of the admirable *Linguistic Survey of India*. Mr. Morgan Webb, of the Burma Commission, was, a few years ago, deeply impressed with the necessity of carrying out such a work before many a dialect, almost on the eve of extinction, disappeared completely under the pressure of more virile and numerous tribes.[1] It is earnestly to be hoped that the Government of this province may, in the near future, see their way to bring to a successful issue this most important work, which will be the connecting link between the labours of Grierson and Konow in India and those, patiently prosecuted during the past few years, of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Indo-China.

To make the comparisons contained in the following notes easier to follow, the few rules given below will prove useful; further researches will no doubt bring forth more material in support of them, as well as new rules of phonetic correspondence among the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

(1) The vowels *a*, *u*, *o*, *aw*, are found constantly interchanged, as will appear in the words given below. The use, indifferently, of *u* and *o*, even in the same document, is frequent in the earliest Burmese inscriptions.

(2) Similarly the vowels *i*, *e*, *a*.

(3) The final nasals are not constant, that is, they interchange their classes in the different groups of the family:

To bet	...	Burmese, ကော်၏, *loṅ*[3] (pronounced *laoṅ*[3]); Tavoyan, *laon*[3].
Blossom	...	Burmese, ပွင့်, *pwaṅ*[1] (pron. *pwiṅ*[1]); Tavoyan, *pwam*.
Hawk	...	Burmese, ဆွန်, *cwan* (pron. *sun*); Maru, *tsum*.
Room	...	Burmese, အခန်း, *akhan*[3]; Tibetan, *khaṅ*.

[1] *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. IX—Burma, Part I.

To delay ... Burmese, ခြန်, *kran*[1] (pron. *kyan*[1]) ; Tibetan, *kyaṅ*.

To enter ... Burmese, ဝင်, *waṅ*[1] (pron. *win*) ; Maru, *wawn*, and also *waw*, in which the nasal is dropped (see the 4th rule).

To move from side to side ... Burmese, ယိမ်း, *yim*[3] (pron. *yeṅ*[3]) ; Tibetan, *yeṅs*.

To be defective ... Burmese, ဆွံ့, *sun*[1] ; Tibetan, *hom* ; the interchangeability of *s* and *h* is quite common.

(4) Final consonants which appear in one language disappear in another. This is especially the case with Maru and Lolo, which are closely related to Burmese.

(*a*) Nasals :

Axe ... Burmese, ပုဆိန်, *puchin* (pron. *pau*[1] *sèṅ*) ; Tavoyan, *pau si*.

Head ... Burmese, ခေါင်း, *khoṅ*[3] (pron. *gaoṅ*[3]) ; Maru, *au khau* (= Burm. *ဦး*[3] *khoṅ*[3]) ; Lolo, *o ko* (= Burm. *ဦး*[3] *khoṅ*[3]) ; Sifan, *go* ; Tibetan, *mgo*.

Cloud ... Burmese, ယိမ်, *tim* (pron. *tèṅ*) ; Lolo, *té*, *ti*.

Wing ... Burmese, တောင်, *toṅ* (pron. *taoṅ*) ; Lolo, *tu*, *du*.

To fly ... Burmese, ပျံ, *pyaṅ* (pron. *pyan*) ; Lolo, *byo*.

A fly ... Burmese, ယင်, *yaṅ* (pron. *yin*) ; Lolo, *yi*, *ya-mi* : cf. Sifan, *rram*, and Tibetan, *sbraṅ-ma*.

To spy ... Burmese, ချောင်း, *khyoṅ*[3] (pron. *chaoṅ*[3]) ; Maru, *chaw*.

Canal, river ... Burmese, ချောင်း, *khyoṅ*[3] (pron. *chaoṅ*[3]) ; Lolo, *yi cho* (= Burm. *ရေ* *chaoṅ*[3], ရေချောင်း). The old Burmese was *khloṅ*. In the notes below, two Tibetan words are given for comparison, *kluṅ* and *chu* ; the latter, *chu*, is given only as a possible equivalent, though doubtful ; the former is more probable.

Finger ... Burmese, လက်ချောင်း, *lak khyoṅ*[3] (pron. *let chaoṅ*[3]) ; Lolo, *la chu*.

(*b*) Other consonants :

To sleep ... Old Burmese, သုပ်, *ip* ; Lolo, *i*.

To sew ... Burmese, ချုပ်, *khyup* (pron. *chok*) ; Maru, *chu*.

To stop up, plug up, cork.	Burmese, ဆို, *chui*[1] (pron. *só*[1]); Maru, *tsup*; Tibetan, *sup*.
To carry ...	Burmese, ဖိုး, *pui*[2] (pron. *pó*[2]); Maru, *bok*.
Chatty ...	Burmese, ဆိုး, *ui*[3] (pron. *ó*[3]); Maru, *uk*.
Reward ...	ထု, *chu*; Tibetan, *sug*.
Bone ...	အရိုး, *arui*[3] (pron. *ayó*[3]); Tibetan, *rus*.
Bad, troublesome, injurious ...	ဆိုး, *chui*[3] (pron. *só*[3]); Tibetan, *btsog*.
To report, announce	ငြာ, *ṅrā* (pron. *nyā*); Tibetan, *smyad*.
To do, act ...	ပြု, *pru* (pron. *pyu*); Tibetan, *spyod*; the old Burmese = *plo'* and *plu*.
To say, speak ...	ပြော, *pro* (pron. *pyaw*); Tibetan, *brjod*.
Rope ...	ကြိုး, *krui*[3] (pron. *kyó*[3]); Tibetan, *rgyud*.

(5) Final consonants, when not dropped, are soft in one language, and hard in the other:

Broad cloth ...	Burmese, သက္ကလတ်, *sakkalat*; Tibetan, *sag-lad*: cf. Malayalam, *shakalathu*.
To speak loudly, scold.	Old Burmese, ငဲ့ (still used in ငေါ်ငဲ့), *ṅak* (pron. *ṅèt*); Tibetan, *ṅag*, talk.
Helmet ...	မောက်တို, *mok tui*, and ခမောက်, *kha mok*; Tibetan, *rmog*.
Below ...	Old Burmese, အုတ်, *ok*; Tibetan, *og*.
To build ...	ကောက်, *chok* (pron. *sauk*); Tibetan, *sug*.
Paper ...	စက္ကူ, *cak-kū* (pron. *sèk-kū*); Tibetan, *suggu*, *sog-gu*: cf. Mosso, *shew-gu*, and Sifan, *shu-gu*.

(6) Prefixed consonants are often dropped; examples will have been remarked from the Tibetan equivalents given above. It would be interesting to study the effects on the value, in Burmese, of the consonants remaining after the prefixes have been dropped, as well as on the value of the medial or final vowels. Here are a few more examples:

Cat ...	Burmese, ကြောင်, *kroṅ*; Maru, *roṅ*, *rauṅ*.
Fowl ...	Burmese, ကြက်, *krak*; Maru, *raw*: here the initial *k* is dropped as well as the final; the dropping of the final is very frequent in Maru, and the equivalence, *aw* = Burm. *a*, is regular.

Rat ... Burmese, ကြွက်, *krwak*; Maru, *ruk*, which written in Burmese would be ရုက်. The equivalence, *u*, *o*, *w*, is also frequent.

River ... Burmese, မြစ်, *mrac* (pron. *mrit*, now *myit*); Maru, *rit*.

(7) Initial *h*, *s*, *sh* (ṣ) and *th* (English sound) are frequently found interchanged:

To die ... Old Burmese, ထိစ်, *siy* (pron. *syé*); Mod. Burmese, သေ, *se* (pron. *thé*); Black Lolo, *thyé*; Limbu (Nepal), *sīè*; Maru, *shik*; Lashi, *shik* and *shé*; Tibetan, *shi-pa*; Kadu, *hé*; Pyū, *hi*; Tavoyan, *hé* and *hi*.

The number 3 ... Old Burmese, သုံ, *sum*; Mod. Burm., သုံး, *sum*[3] (pron. *thon*[3]); Maru, *sam*; Mosso, *som*; Pyū, *hoː* (= *hom*).

The number 8 ... Old Burmese, ဆယ်, *het*; Mod. Burm., ရှစ်, *rhac* (pron. *shit*); Maru, *shé*; Lashi, *shet*; Garo, *shet*; Chinbôk, *shit*; Lolo (Kopu), *hi-lŏ*; Lolo (Ijen), *hé*; Lolo (Maseupu), *hi*; Kachin, *ma-sat*; Tamlu (Nāga), *set*.

To have ... Old Burmese, ထိ, *hi*, ဆောဲ, *heʻ*; Mod. Burm., ရှိ, *rhi* (pron. *shi*); Chin (Lai and Manjogi), *shi*; Tavoyan, *hi*; several Lolo dialects have *hi*, others *hé*.

NOTE.—The close connection between an initial *rh* (or *hr*) and the sounds *h*, *sh*, has been dwelt upon in the notes below (line 1, ဆယ်); the word for "gold" gives a further illustration, and no doubt some more examples will be found:

Gold ... Old Burmese, ဃွယ်, *hway* (pron. *hwé*), ထုယ်, *huy* (pron. *hwé*), and ရုယ်, *rhuy* (pron. *shwé*); these have become in medieval Burm., ရွိ, *rhwi* (pron. *shwi*), and in Mod. Burmese, ရွှေ, *rhwe* (pron. *shwé*); with the above compare Yawdin, *rhwi*; Kortse (Sifan), *rhuo*; and Dzorgai (Sifan), *shruo*, in which the initial *sh* is due probably to an older *h*.

(8) The semi-vowels *r*, *y* and *l* are interchangeable:

Water ... Old Burmese, ရိယ်, *riy* (pron. *ryé*); Mod. Burm., ရေ, *re* (pron. *yé*); Black Lolo, *yé*; Lolo

(Achipo), *yi*; Maru, *ri*; Arakanese, *ri*; some Lolo dialects have *dyé*.

To laugh ... Old Burmese, ရယ်, *riy* (pron. *ryè*); Mod. Burm., ရယ်, *ray* (pron. *yè*); Maru, *ryi*, *ri*; Lashi, *yi*; Moseu, *yié*.

White ... Old Burmese, ဖြူ, *phlū*; Mod. Burm., ဖြူ, *phrū* (pron. *phyū*); Tavoyan, *phlū*; Lolo (Wo-ni), *pyu*; Maru, Lashi and Szi, *phyu*; Lolo (Ssŭ-ch'uan), *phru*; Kachin, *praw*.

River ... Old Burmese, မြစ်, *mlac*; Mod. Burm., မြစ်, *mrac* (pron. *myit*); Maru, *rit*; Tavoyan, *mlit*.

It is a pleasant duty to express here my thanks to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, for his kindness in furnishing me with many examples from the Tavoyan dialect, with which he is thoroughly conversant, and of which, to my knowledge, no vocabulary or word-list has ever been made.

I.—Pillar B, at the Myazedi Pagoda, Pagan.

As already said, the several pieces of this pillar, found at different places, have been cemented together, strengthened with a wooden frame and, the pillar thus reconstituted, placed on the platform of the Myazedi pagoda. The stone proper, on which are engraved the inscriptions, measures from bottom to top 5 feet 2 inches, and the ornamental mouldings above, from the top of the stone to tip of finial, 2 feet, making a total height of 7 feet 2 inches. The two broader sides have a breadth of 1 foot 8½ inches; the surface of these broader sides actually covered with letters measures, in height, 4 feet 4$\frac{1}{10}$ inches and in breadth 1 foot 7½ inches. The letters on this pillar are slightly bigger than those on the pillar (A) at the Pagan Museum; they have an average of ½ inch, measuring the letters themselves, without taking count of the subscript and superscript letters. The Burmese inscription is on one of the broader sides. The other two sides are a little smaller in breadth, and narrow slightly from top to bottom, the stone measuring at the top 1 foot, and at the bottom 10½ inches. The Talaing and the Pyu inscriptions are engraved on the narrower faces. The Burmese face contains 34 lines and, except in two cases (as far as can be ascertained in its present state), the omission of အန်ဓက်, *anhac*, in line 1, of *ṅa* before *nòṅ* in line 31 and the substitution of ကာ, *kā*, for ကျောက်တိုင်,

tamu leh, in line 5, the wording is identical with that of pillar A. The following is a list, given line by line for easy reference, of the different readings in the two pillars. These differences are touched upon in the body of the notes.

Pagan Museum Reading.			Line.	Myinkaba Reading.			Line.
ြ	Śrī	...	1	ြ	Śra	...	1
လိယ်	liy	...	3	လိယ်	līy	...	2
ထိဝ်	thiw	...	7	ထိုဝ်	thuiw	...	5
ပါယ်	pāy	...	7	ပယ်	pay	...	5
တမုဟေတ်	tamu leh	...	7	ကာ	kā	...	5
ပါယ်	pāy	...	9	ပယ်	pay	...	6
ပါယ်	pāy	...	10	ပယ်	pay	...	7
ပါယ်	pāy	...	11	ပယ်	pay	...	8
ဆိယ်	siy	...	14	ဆီယ်	sīy	...	10
မယာ	mayā	...	15	မယာအ်	mayā'	...	11
လိယ်	liy	...	17	လီယ်	līy	...	13
ရှုယ	rhuya	...	20	ရှုယ်	rhuy	...	17
ထိဝ်	thiw	...	21	ထိုဝ်	thuiw	...	17
ရှောဝ်	rhow	...	21	ရွောဝ်	rwow	...	17
ထိဝ်	thiw	...	27	ထိုဝ်	thuiw	...	23
မယာအ	mayā'	...	27	မယာအ်	mayā'	...	23
ထိဝ်	thiw	...	28	ထိုဝ်	thuiw	...	23
ရွောဟ်	rwoh	...	30	ရွော	rwo	...	26
ထိုဝ်	thuiw	...	32	ထဝ်	thiw	...	27
သေအ်	sie'	...	33	သေအ်	sīe'	...	29
ပြဇ္ဈာ	prajñā	...	35	ပြည္ဇာ	prañjā	...	30
အစက	acaka	...	38	အစက်	acak	...	33
အရိမိတ္တိယာ	Arimittiyā	...	39	အရိမိတ္တိုရာ	Arimittiryā	...	33

Text of the Burmese Face of the Myazedi Pillar at Myinkaba (Plate I, B).

1. Śra[1] ‖ namo Buddhāya[2] [‖] . . rhā skhaṅ sāsanā tac thoṅ khrok ryā
2. . . . . chāy he . . . . . n līy brī ra kā ‖ īy Arimaddanapur ma
3. . . . . wanādityadhammarāj maṅ su maṅ phlac e'
4. . . . . yā tac yok su kā Trilokavaṭaṁ
5. . . . . thuiw pay mayā sā kā Rājakumā
6. . . . . kyon suṁ rwoh pay mayā ā
7. . . . [‖] . . . . . ra kā ‖ pay mayā ta
8. . . . . su nhaṅ' pay . . . . . sā Rāja-kumā
9. . . . . tuṁ e' ‖ thuiw maṅ anhac nhac chāy
10. . . . . e' sīy khamū nā su rhow nhik e . .
11. . . . . r mañ su pay mayā' sā mimī
12. . . . . klañjo okmi ra kā ‖ rhuy
13. . . . . e' nhap līy su rhow . . .
14. . . . . ' ‖ iy rhuy purhā kā
15. aphie' atie'[3] . . yā . . plo' su teh ‖ . . .
16. n suṁ rwoh athui'[4] kyon ṅa skhaṅ piy su sañ kā . . .
17. rhuy purhā ā atui' kyon . . y ye' ‖ thuiw rwo[w]
18. . h maṅ nhac klui' ra kā koṅ lheṅ' teh koṅ e . .
19. teh min' ruy' e' ‖ s[aṅg]r[ī] Mahāther ‖ saṅgrī . . . . .
20. liputtatissatther ‖ saṅgrī Sume . . paṇḍit ‖ saṅgrī Brahma . .
21. l ‖ saṅgrī Brahmadiw ‖ saṅgrī So . ‖ saṅgrī Saṅghasenawarapaṇḍi
22. t ‖ thuiw skhaṅ tui' am . . . . . h maṅ riy son e' ‖
23. thuiw brī ra kā thuiw Rājak . . . . . y mayā' sā thuiw rhuy
24. purhā thāpanā . . . . e' . . . . . so kū plo' e'
25. plo' brī ra k . iy kū purhā lho . . . . . .
26. Sakmunalon tac rwo ‖ Rapāy t[5] . . . . . Henbuiw ta

[1] The stone has ꧋ instead of ꧊.

[2] Mr. Blagden suggested (*A Further Note*, etc., p. 798) that in the space after *Buddhāya*, there probably was a second ꧊, *çrī*. But after examining the stone carefully and taking measurements, I think such was not the case. Only the first stroke of *ya* in "Buddhāya" is visible, and there appears to be about the space necessary to write the two strokes (꧇) after *Buddhāya*, and ꧁ the first part of ꧁꧊.

[3] The *i* and postscript *e'* are somewhat damaged.

[4] This should be *atui'*, but the stone clearly reads *athui'*; whether this is original or is due to a defect in the stone cannot easily be ascertained.

[5] The right half of *t* has disappeared.

27. c rwoh ॥ iy klon [sum]¹ rwoh yo ruy' e' ॥ thiw
28. Rājakumā . . . . su pay mayā' sā iy kū purhā ā riy
29. son ruy' e' iy sīe' min' e' ॥ iy ṅā amho'
30. kā sarwwaññutañāṇ prañjā ra ap'² sū akroṅ phlac ciy'
31. teh ॥ noṅ ā ṅa sā lañ goṅ ॥ ṅa mliy lañ goṅ
32. ॥ ṅa achuy lañ goṅ ॥ sū tac thū lañ goṅ ॥ iy purhā ā ṅā
33. lhū kha su kyon anhip acak teh mū mu kā ॥ Arimittiryā pu
34. -rhā skhaṅ a phū ra ciy ॥ o ॥

II.—Pillar A, at the Pagan Museum (*Plate I, A*).

The pillar in the Pagan Museum is somewhat smaller than the other. Its total height is 4 feet 8½ inches, the capital being 1 foot 2½ inches. All the faces have the same dimensions; height 3 feet 6 inches; breadth 1 foot 2 inches. The surface of the Burmese face actually covered with writing is about, in height, 3 feet 3 inches and in breadth 1 foot ¼ inch. The height of the letters, not counting the superscript or subscript symbols, has an average of ⅜ inch.

Text of the Burmese Face of the Myazedi Pillar at the Pagan Museum.

1. ॥ Śrī ॥ namo Buddhāya ॥ purhā skhaṅ sāsanā anhac ta
2. c thoṅ khrok ryā nhac chāy het nhac lon
3. liy brī ra kā ॥ īy Arimaddanapur mañ su prañ
4. nhik ā ॥ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj mañ su ma
5. ṅ phlac e' ॥ thiw maṅ e' pāy mayā ta
6. c yok su kā Trilokavaṭaṁsakādevī
7. mañ e' ॥ thiw pāy mayā sā tamu leh Rāja
8. kumār mañ e' ॥ thiw maṅ kā kyon sum rwoh
9. teh pāy mayā ā piy e' ॥ thiw pāy ma

[1] *Sum* (= three) is the reading in A, which seems necessary to the sense. The stone is broken here. Immediately after *klon* (the left loop of the subscript *l* of which has been broken off), there is a word cut in two by the break, the lower part of which is clearly subscript *l* and the upper either *si* or *pī*; this would give a word, *slī* or *plī*, to which, in this context, I can ascribe no fitting meaning. Immediately after this there appears to be either *yu* or *wyu* subscript (more probably the former), and above it, separated by the break, what looks like the anusvāra (ṁ). The letter to which *yu* is subscript, it is impossible to make out. Supposing this letter to have been *s* (?) this would give a reading: *syuṁ*, which perhaps might be a variant of *sum*. I have not been able to decipher these two words.

[2] The stone has ဆ္ဆ for ဆ္ဆ; either the stone has been damaged here, or the lapidary has forgotten to place the little slanting stroke within the letter, thus making it look like a *p*, ; but as, as a final, it is naturally short and abrupt in tone, the subscript , *a'*, the sign of the short tone, is not here necessary. Moreover, the sense requires ဆ္ဆ, *am'*.

10. yā sīy[1] kha ra kā ‖ thiw pāy mayā tanchā nhaṅ' thi
11. w kyon suṁ rwoh su nhaṅ' teh thiw pāy mayā
12. sā a[2] sā Rājakumār maṅ so ā maṅ piy tuṁ
13. e' ‖ thuiw maṅ anhac nhac chāy het nhac maṅ mū bri ru
14. y-a[3] e' siy khamū nā su rhow nhik teh ‖ thuiw Rājaku
15. mār maṅ su pay mayā sā mimī kiew muy so maṅ
16. grī klañjo okmi ra kā ‖ rhuy ati su purhā skhaṅ a
17. chaṅ plu ruy' e' nhap liy su rhow teh iysi'
18. min' e' ‖ iy rhuy purhā kā ṅa skhaṅ aphie' ati'
19. kyon[4] plo' su teh ‖ kyon suṁ rwoh atui' kyo
20. n ṅa skhaṅ piy su saṅ kā iya rhuya purhā ā atui' kyo
21. n piy ye' ‖ thiw rhow teh maṅ ṅhaoklui' ra kā koṅ
22. lheṅ' teh koṅ lheṅ' teh min' ruy' e' saṅgrī
23. mahāther ‖ saṅgrī[5] Muggaliputtatissatther ‖ saṅgrī Su
24. medha paṇḍit ‖ saṅgrī Brahmapāl ‖ saṅgrī Brahmadi
25. w ‖ saṅgrī Son ‖ saṅgrī Saṅghasenawarapaṇḍi
26. t ‖ thuiw[6] skhaṅ tui' amhok teh maṅ riy son e'
27. ‖ thiw brī ra kā thuiw Rājakumār maṅ su pay mayā a[7] sā
28. thiw rhuy purhā thāpanā ruy' e' iy rhuy athot mū so
29. kū plo' e' ‖ plo' brī ra kā iy kū purhā lhot
30. su rhow nhik teh ‖ Sakmunalon tac rwoh ‖ Rapā
31. y tac rwoh ‖ Henbuiw tac rwoh ‖ iy kyon
32. suṁ rwoh yo ruy' e' ‖ thuiw Rājakumār maṅ su pay
33. mayā' sā iy kū purhā ā riy son ruy' e' iy sie'
34. min' e' ‖ iy ṅā amho' kā sarwwañ̃utañā

[1] The inscription writes this word ကြီ်, an unusual way of placing the *virāma*; it should be written ကြီ် as in line 14.

[2] The true reading is ယထာဒ်ထာ။ *Vide* Notes.

[3] For *y'*, ယ် ; the *virāma* has been omitted, as in line 20, which has ရထပ်ရထ instead of ရထပ်ရထ်.

[4] Mr. Blagden, in his transcript, has by a slip ကျွာ်, but it is properly ကျာ်, the loop at the bottom left of *y* subscript is very frequent.

[5] The first and second သင်္ဃ appears to be သင်္ဃ, but Forchhammer's photograph and the stone itself have a faint trace of the small curved line within the ဃ (*i*) which does not appear in later estampages.

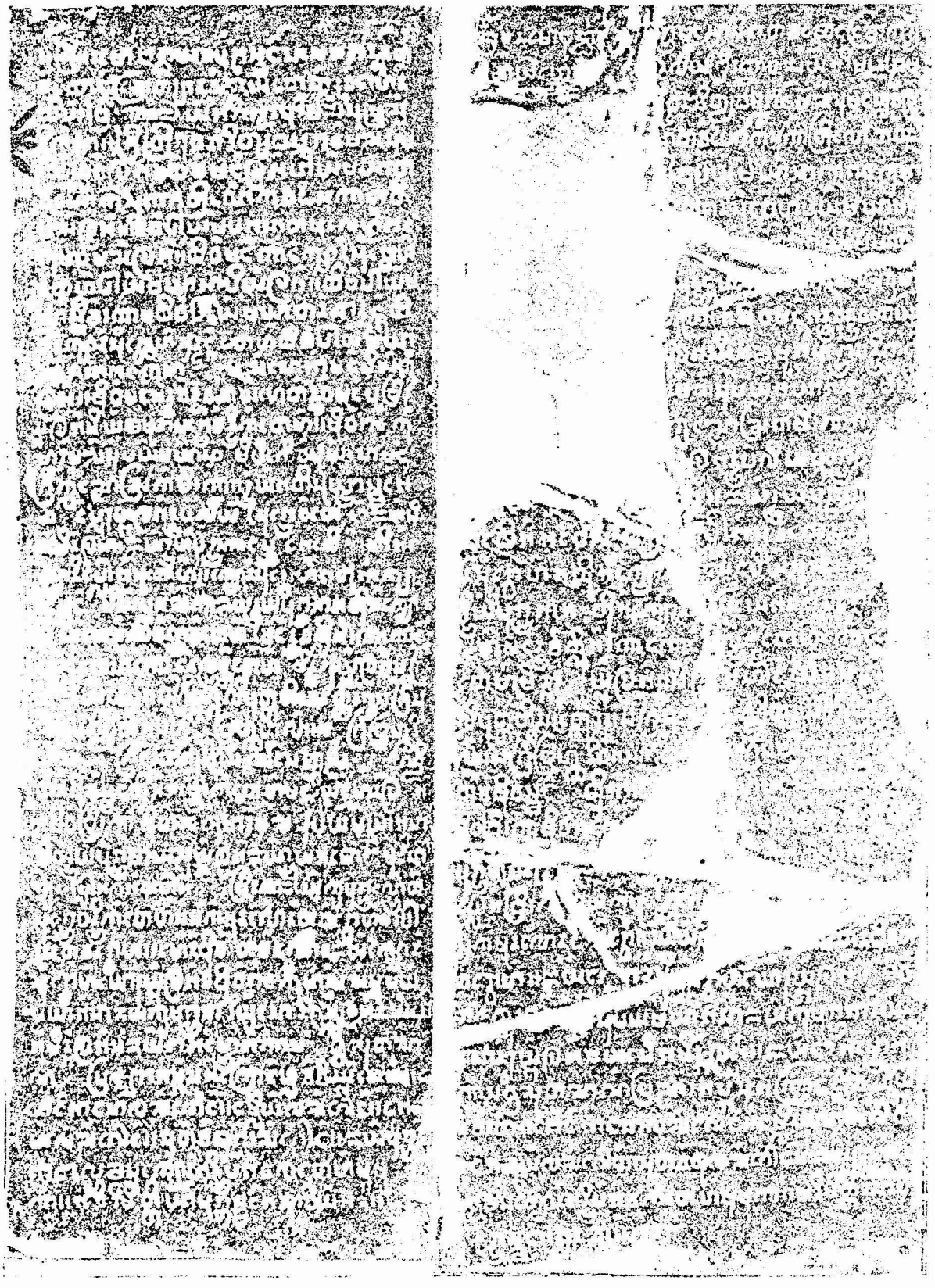
[6] The slanting stroke in the centre of the letter *th* has flaked off or has otherwise been damaged, so that it now looks like a *dh*; but the oldest photograph of this pillar in our possession clearly shows the traces of the stroke.

[7] Here again the *virāma* has been forgotten; this *a* with the *virāma* goes with the preceding word; read therefore ယထာဒ်, *mayā'*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN

THE BURMESE TEXT

A B



35. ṇ prajñā ra am' sū akroṅ phlac ciy'[1] teh ꞉ ṅa
36. noṅ ā ṅa sā lañgoṅ ꞉ ṅa mliy lañgoṅ ꞉ ṅa a[chu][2]
37. y lañgoṅ ꞉ sū tac thū lañgoṅ ꞉ iy purhā
38. ā ṅā lhū kha su kyon anhip acaka[3] teh mū mu
39. kā Arimittiyā purhā skhaṅ a phū ra ciy ꞉ ∞ ꞉

Translation.

Prosperity! Honour to the Buddha! One thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years of the Buddha's religion having elapsed, Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj became king in this city of Arimaddanapur. A beloved[4] wife of that king was called Trilokavaṭaṁsakā-devī, and that beloved wife had a son named Rājakumār. The king gave that beloved wife three villages of slaves.[5] That beloved wife having died, the king gave her ornaments[6] and the three villages of slaves to her son, named Rājakumār. In the presence of the king who, having reigned twenty-eight years, had become sick even unto death, the son of the beloved wife, who was named Rājakumār, calling to mind the favours of the king who had nurtured him, made an image of the Buddha all in gold and, approaching unto his presence, spoke thus: "I, your slave,[7] made this golden Buddha for[8] my lord; the three villages of slaves which my lord gave me, I give to this golden Buddha." In its presence[9] the king, being delighted, said: "Good, Good!"[10] and, in the presence of the Chief Monk, and of the ecclesiastical

[1] ၈၌, and not ၈ထ as transcribed by Mr. Blagden; it must have been a slip, for the subscript ည is quite visible.

[2] The *chu* is scarcely visible in the plate.

[3] The *virāma* here also has been omitted, read *acak*, အစက်.

[4] အပေါ်, *apāy*, or အပယ်, *apay*, modern အဘယ်, *abhay*, is a pure Burmese term and it is not derived from the Pāli *piya*. In this inscription it is used adjectively, but this use does no more obtain; this term is used now as an expression of endearment and corresponds to the Pāli *bhadde*.

[5] That is, as the Pāli more explicitly states, to enjoy the revenues accruing therefrom.

[6] Under this term must be included all her jewellery and trinkets and probably other property; the Talaing has *kiryā*, which in Burmese means: appendages, utensils, furniture; in fact, all that a person does or may use.

[7] Properly: 'I.' A respectful form of the first personal pronoun used in addressing superiors.

[8] အတွက်, "for, on behalf of," that is, that the king might share in the merit of the good work; this is more fully expressed in the Pāli, *bhāgaṁ katvāna*.

[9] That is, when he saw the golden image as it was brought in.

[10] *Lit.* "It will be good." The king uses here the future, in reference to the prince's intention of dedicating the three slave-communities to the image. This is clear in the Pāli: *upasaṅkamma rājānaṁ āha cintitam attano . . . . gāmattayaṁ pi vo sāmi pubbe dinnan tu me ahaṁ imass' va munindassa demi.*

dignitaries, Muggaliputtatissatther, Sumedha-Paṇḍit,[1] Brahmapāl, Brahmadiw, Son and Saṅghasena Varapaṇḍit,[1] the king poured water.[2] This being done, the son of the beloved wife enshrined the golden Buddha, and made this shrine with a golden spire. Having finished (it), when dedicating this shrine and Buddha, he brought up (the folk of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapāy, one village, Henbuiw, one village, these three villages of slaves and he, the son of the beloved wife, poured water for[3] this shrine and Buddha, and thus said: "Let this deed of mine be the cause of my obtaining Omniscience! After me, (whosoever) whether (he be) my son, or grandson, or relative, or any other person, if he oppresses the slaves I have offered to this Buddha, may he not behold the Buddha Arimittiyā!"

NOTES ON THE BURMESE FACE OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION.

Line 1.—ဖွာ, *purhā*, now written ဘုရား (*bhurā*[3]) but pronounced 'phaya' and sometimes still 'phra.' This is the well-known Burmese expression applied to exalted personages; the Buddha is so called; the king was addressed with this word during the Burmese *régime*; the monks are still so styled when spoken to; now-a-days, it is even used as an epithet when addressing Government officials of a certain standing. The temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha are also called *phaya*. The form ဖွာ, as found in the present inscription, appears to be the oldest; it is found subsequently written ဖုရဟာ (*purahā*),[4] ဘုရှာ (*bhurhā*), ဖှာ (*phurhā*), ဖရ (*phurā*) and finally ဘုရား (*bhurā*[3]). But this word is not, as might on the face of it be thought, Burmese in its origin; it is found, under very slightly different forms, all over Indo-China, and even in Java. Opinions still differ as to its derivation; some eminent authorities would derive it from *vara*, a Sanskrit and Pāli word meaning "excellent, noble, exalted"; this is the derivation generally accepted. Some years ago Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Burmese Sketches*, p. 30) suggested a derivation from the Chinese *Fu-ya* (now pronounced *Fo-yeh*). The form *Fo-ya* does not explain the *r* in the second syllable of the Burmese word; for there can be but little doubt, if at all, that

[1] Paṇḍit and varapaṇḍit are properly descriptive honorific terms, equivalent to "learned" and "very learned."

[2] The pouring of water is the usual rite of dedication.

[3] အာ, "to, for," that is, he poured water to consummate the consecration of the image and shrine and in ratification of his dedication to them, for their service, of the three communities of slaves. The Talaing has the equivalent expression, *ku*.

[4] ဖုရဟာ—this is no doubt but another way of writing ဖွာ, the aspiration being postscript instead of subscript, and to be really transliterated *purhā*.

this letter *r*, though now it is pronounced *y*, was sounded according to its original value in old Burmese, as a comparison with the languages most closely related to it—Tibetan, Lolo, Maru, etc.—abundantly shows; the full value of *r* is still retained in Arakanese, which is but Burmese of an archaic type. The form *vara* does not seem to explain the Burmese medial vowel *u* in *purhā*; but this vowel has been frequently developed in the first syllable of dissyllabic words when that syllable begins with a labial, but is now practically never pronounced; examples are numerous in Burmese. All evidence tends to show that the Sanskrit word *vara* is the original of this expression, found under several forms as: *polai*, *phola*, *poula*, *purahā*, *phurā*, *pharā*, *phrā*, *phrayā*, *prah*, *praḥ*, *varaḥ*, etc. This seems to be settled by the Phimanakas Inscription, where the old Khmer text has *vraḥ* Içvara, the modern Cambodian being *praḥ* Eisor, and *vraḥ* Mahābodhi = *praḥ* Mahābodhi.[1]

ရ္ယ, *ryā*, one hundred = modern ရ, *rā* (pronounced *yā*); this old form does not appear to have survived much later than the 14th century, from which period it is regularly replaced by the modern and shortened form. It was no doubt pronounced as written: *ryā*, or, not improbably, with a short and somewhat indistinct vowel sound between the *r* and the *y*, something between *ă* and *ĭ*. Forms closely approaching the Burmese *ryā* can be traced in some other more or less closely allied dialects of the Tibeto-Burman family, bearing in mind, for a large number of these dialects extending over a vast territory, the equation *s*—*j*—*y*, above all of the latter two, whose sounds are regularly found interchanged in those dialects.

Old Kuki dialects:—Pūrūm, *ri-yā-h*; Hirōi, Laimgāng, *arja*; Rāngkhōl and Langrong, *rajā*; Central Chin sub-group—Pānkhū, *rajā*; different dialects of Northern Chin sub-group—*zā*, *jā*, *jhā*, *ya*; Tibetan, *brgyā*, *gyā*; Old Burmese, *ryā*; Mod. Burmese, *rā*, pr. *yā*.

I have found but very few words with the combination *ry*; they are: ရ္ယက်, *ryak*, a day = mod. ရက်, *rak*, pr. *yet*; ရ္ယိုင်, *muryaṅ*, a kind of rice grown on the banks of rivers and lakes = mod. ရိုင်း, *muraṅ*[3] (pr. *mayiṅ*[3]). Some others of these old forms will no doubt be yet discovered.

ကာယ်, *chāy*, a variant of mod. ကယ်, *chay*; this kind of variants, that is, by the insertion of a long *ā*, is pretty frequent; for instance, in Myazedi pillar A, the word ပါယ်, *pāy*, dear, beloved = mod. အဘယ်, *abhay*, is regularly written with medial long *ā*, except in lines 15 and 27, where it is dropped and the word

[1] See *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1918, No. 9, p. 9 *ff*, *Journal Asiatique*, mai-juin 1914, p. 643; *Mission Pavie, Histoire*, p. 228, note 2, and 237, note 1; *Revue Indo-Chinoise*, 15 février 1904, p. 138, note 2.

written ပဆ်, *pay*; but this latter ပဆ် is constant in Myazedi pillar **B**, lines 5, 6, 11. Other instances are: ခြင်္သေ့, *khrāṅse*, lion; ခြင်္, *mrāṅ*, horse; ကျွန်, *kywān*, slave; ဆင်, *chāṅ*, elephant; ဆင်္ခ, *lāy*, field; for ခြေဆဲ., ခြင်း, ကျွန်, ဆင်, and ဆင်္ခ, respectively. All these variants, which may after all be phonetic representations, are found written indifferently in one way or the other, often in the same inscription.

ဆယ်, *het* = mod. ရှစ်, *rhac* (pr. *shĭt*), the number 8. This is the only inscription in which this word is found so written, and it is no doubt the old Burmese form, which is also in pillar **B**, line 2, in which the final *t* has flaked off. In other inscriptions it is found written ယှတ်, *yhat*, ယှစ်, *yhac*, ရှစ်, *shac*, ရှျစ်, *shyac*, and ရှဲ့, *rhac*, the last being the most common; all are pronounced *shĭt*, except ယှတ်, which now would be read *shat* but which probably was pronounced something like *yhat* at the beginning of the 13th century. It is probable the pronunciation in the 12th century was as it is spelled here, that is *het*; but the *h* must have been pronounced very much as a palatal sibilant, the organs being almost in the same position as when pronouncing the syllable *ke*, that is, the middle of the top of the tongue against the palate, but the contact while pronouncing this old Burmese *h* was not quite so hard as it is for *ke*; the breath, being then strongly forced through, produces a kind of fricative very similar in sound to English *sh* or French "chuintante," *ch* into which, as requiring less effort, it would naturally glide. Whether or not it was really so—that it was seems to be corroborated by a few other words, as will be seen lower down—these two words, *het* and *rhac*, are undoubtedly closely allied, though they present two distinct forms. In this connection, it is interesting to notice that a large number of Tibeto-Burman languages have forms representative of either the one or the other, while others again have the—what I would call—medial or connecting form with initial *sh*. A comparison of the materials on Tibeto-Burman languages now available, makes it clear that the two forms (with initial *h* or *r*) may roughly (and provisionally) be divided into eastern and western with special reference to Burma. The line, as may well be understood, cannot be a sharp and fast one; there is certainly overlapping; but broadly, it may be stated that the forms with initial *h* are mostly found in the languages to the east; those containing an *r* in the languages to the west, Burma being roughly the dividing line from south to north.

East: he', hè, het, he'e, he-te, hei, hi, hié, ho, hö, ih, hen, hon.

West: rhe, re, rai, pre bhre, ma-rit, gărit, riet, pa-riet, riet-ka, ka-riet, arret, ki-ret, ka-ret, ka-rat, ari, ta-rik, ti-ret. It is interesting to note that

in Pyu this number is *hrà* (rhå); but at the present stage of our knowledge of Pyu, it would be unwise to class it as yet at all in any group or sub-group.

The form with *sh* is found in—Maru, *shi*; Lashi, *shet*; Szi, *shit*; Garo, *shet*; Chinbôk, *shît*. In Tamlu (Nâga) we find *set* (the equivalence of *s* and *h* in not a few Tibeto-Burman languages is frequent).

Burmese, as we have seen, had both forms, *het* (found only in this inscription, on both pillars) and *rhac* (pr. *shit*). The close connection between the two is shown by a few other words which have undergone the same changes, the older form being in *h* and the later in *rh*, both being later on frequently found in contemporaneous inscriptions. The most common is ဟိ, *hi*, "to be, to have," which has become ရှိ, *rhi* (pr. *shi*). Some dialects of the Central Chin subgroup, such as the Lai and the Banjôgi, have the same verb *shi*; several Lolo dialects have retained the form *hi*, while others have *he'*, which is also found in Burmese, ဟေ, *he*, and ဟေတ်, *he'*. Mr. Taw Sein Ko informs me that in Tavoyan this word is still pronounced *hi*; ဟိုယ်, *huiy*, ဟွယ်, *hway* (pr. *hwé*), ဟုတ်, *huy* (pr. *hwe*), these forms representing a frequent ရွယ်, *rhuy* (pr. *shwè*), medieval ရွိ, *rhwi* (pr. *shwi*), and the modern ရွှေ, *rhwe* (pr. *shwé*), meaning "gold." With this may be compared the Kortsè (Sifan) *rhuo* and the Dzorgai (Sifan) *shruo*, also the Yawdwin *rhwi*. Again, အဟိန်, *ahin* = mod. အရှိန်, *arhin* (pr. *asheign*), "heat, velocity, power"; the Tavoyans pronounce this word *ashīn*.

Moreover, this word *het* seems to show that modern final *c* (ဉ) in some words stands for an older final *t*; it is still, in fact, pronounced as a *t*. In some other words it appears for a final *k* (တ်); cf. the Maru words *sak*, a tree, Burmese သစ်, *sac*; *asak*, new, Burmese အသစ်, *asac*; *pak*, to throw, to shoot, Burmese *pac*; *rit*, a river, Burmese *mrac*, pronounced *mrit* and now *myit*.

လောန်, *lon* = mod. လွန်, *lwan*, to go beyond, pass, elapse. A comparison of the Tibeto-Burman dialects establishes the equivalence among them of *u*, *o*, and *w*; two or three examples of such interchange are found in this very inscription and will be noticed in their place. So, in the earlier inscriptions, the words now since several centuries regularly written with *w* medial followed by a final consonant or a vowel, were written with *o* or *u*. Besides လောန် = mod. လွန်, this inscription contains also the following words:—ကြောန်, *kyon* = mod. ကျွန်, *kywan*, a slave; သောန်, *son* = mod. သွန်, *swan*, to pour; အထောတ်, *athot* = mod. အထွက်, *athwat*, also written အထွတ်, *athwat*, pinnacle, summit; လှောတ်, *lhot* = mod. လွှတ်, *lhwat*, to let go, hence to dedicate. The same seems to have obtained also in Talaing about the 15th century in a few words at least; for instance, the

word for '*son*' is properly written ကောင်, *kon*, before and after the 15th century, but in some plaques of the latter date found at the Ajapāla pagoda near Pegu, this word is written ကွန်, *kwan*; even a form ကွောန်, *kwon*, in which both letters are retained is also found, with which may be compared the Burmese ကျွန်, *kywon*, slave, in an inscription dated 1190 A.D.

Line 3.—ထိယ်, *liy* = mod. ကဲ, *le*, a verbal suffix denoting indefinite past time; also euphonic. A number of words ending, as the above, in *iy* (ိယ) are found so written in epigraphs extending over a period of about four centuries, that is, up to the end of the 16th century and perhaps even a little later. Besides ထိယ်, *liy*, the other words with the same ending found in this inscription are: ပိယ်, *piy*, lines 9, 12, 20, 21 = mod. ပေး, *pe*^{3}, to give; ဆိုး, line 10 = ထိယ်, *sīy*, a variant of the usual ထိယ်, *siy*, line 14 = mod. သေ, *se*, to die; ရိယ်, *riy*, lines 26, 33 = mod. ရေ, *re*, water, and စိယ်, *ciy*, lines 35, 39 = mod. စေ, *ce*, here a precative, often also used as a causal particle.

The final *y* (ယ်) is not a consonant, but the vowel *é* as in the French "être, prêtre" which, in the course of a few centuries, has changed into the more close *é* as in French "été"; the medial *i* (ိ) stands for the semi-vowel *y*; so that the above words must have been, at that time, pronounced: ထိယ်, *lyé* (liê); ပိယ်, *pyé* (piê); သိယ်, *syé* (siê), etc.; the semi-vowel being dropped in the course of time and the open *é* becoming the close *é*, these words have become, as they now are: ကဲ, *le*; ပေ, *pe* (now ပေး, *pe*^{3} with the heavy tone); သေ, *se*, etc. A reference to other Tibeto-Burman languages shows that this must have been the case; for the sake of better comparison, I have, besides the words in the Myazedi inscription, added a few others having the same spelling; the list might have been somewhat longer but for the fact that the word-lists in the several publications at my disposal do not include a large number of them. It must be remembered that in most of these languages the interchange of the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *é*, is frequent not only among the various languages, or dialects of one language, but even within one and the same language; for instance, in Burmese to a large extent. Similarly the developing of a final nasal (nasalized vowel) and the dropping of it, as well as of final consonants, such as *k*, *d*, *t*, is frequent and Burmese also offers not a few examples of these. All of the dialects having the same form are not mentioned; they are in some instances too numerous, and may be referred to in the works cited.

ပိယ်, *piy* (pr. *pyé*), mod. ပေး, *pe*^{3} (pr. *pé*^{3}), to give; Maru, *pyit*; Tibetan (written), *sbyin-pa*; Lokhe dialect of Tibetan (Darjeeling), *byin*; Lolo (*Mission d'Ollone; Languages non Chinois*, p. 19), *bieuh* and *kô bieu* (*eu*

as in French 'peu, peut'). A large number of Tibeto-Burman dialects have preserved (with or without prefixes or suffixes or the final nasal) the forms *pi*, *pe* and *bi*; cf. Tibeto-Burman dialects: Sharpa, *bin*; Dājonkä, *phin*; Himalayan dialects: Gurung, *pin*, *pingo*; Bahri and Rong, *bi*; Dhīmāl, *pī-li*; Thāmi, *pi-yāng*; Yākhā, *pi*; Khambu, *pi-te*; Old Kuki dialects: Kolren, *a-pē*; Kom, *ka-pe*; Pūrūm, *pe*, etc.

ဆီယ်, *sīy*, and သိယ်, *siy* (pr. *syé*), mod. သေ, *se* (pr. *thé*), to die; Black Lolo, *thye*; Lolo (Naseupu), *hsyi*; Lolo (Tatseu), *sse-lǒ*; Mosso, *shie-ti*; Limbu (Nepal), *sīē*; Maru, *shik*; Lashi, *shik*, *she*; Katchui, *si*; Tibetan, *chi-pa*, *shi-pa*.

ရိယ်, *riy* (pr. *ryé*), mod. ရေ, *re* (pr. *yé*), pronounced by the Arakanese *ri*, water; Lolo (Ahi), *dyé*, *yi*; Lolopo, *vi-dyé*; Black Lolo, *yé*; Lolo (Achipo), *yi*; Lolo (Iyen), *yiè*; Mosso, *gie*; Maru, *ri*; Lolo (Kopu), *ya*.

Words from other inscriptions are:

(1) နိယ်, *niy* (pr. *nyé*), mod. နေ့, *ne*[1] (pr. *né*[1]), day (the word for sun, which is the same, is devoid of the short tone, နေ, *ne*); Eastern Dafla and Miri, *da-nyi*; Bunan (Lahul), *nyi-tsi*; Lolo dialects: Ijen, *nié*; Neé, *nie-tze*; Noseu, *nie-ti*; A-cháng, *ni*; Maru, *na*; Lashi, *nyi-kyo*; Szi, *khu-nyi*; Pon, *kha-ni*.

In an inscription dated 1442 A.D., the word is found written နှစ်, *nie*.

(2) နိယ်, *niy* (pr. *nyé*), mod. နေ, *ne* (pr. *né*), to dwell, stay; Maru and Szi, *na*; Lashi, *nyi*.

ကြိယ်, *kriy* (pr. *kyé* or *jyé*), mod. ကြေး, *kre*[3] (pr. *jye*), copper; Kachin, *ma-gri*, *ma-jyi*; Lolo (Achipo), *dyi*; Lolopo, *je*; Lolo (Moseu), *khié pié*; Maru, *kyik*; Lashi and Szi, *kyi*.

မိယ်, *miy* (pr. *myé*), mod. မိ, မေ, အမေ, *mi*, *me*, *ame* (pr. *mé*, *amé*), mother; Maru, *myé*; Lashi, *myi*; Mosso, *amyé*, *amé*. Mr. Taw Sein Ko tells me that the Shan form is မိ, *mye*, which corresponds closely to မိယ်, pr. *myé*.

ရိယ်, *riy* (pr. *ryé*), mod. ရယ်, *ray* (pr. *yè*, now *yī*), to laugh; Maru, *ryi*, *ri*; Lashi, *yi*; Lolo (Moseu), *yiè*, *jyé je*.

It is not easy to determine the exact value of final ယ်, *y*, after the demonstrative ဤ (mod.), in line 3, ဤယ်, *īy*, and line 18, ဣယ်, *iy*; the old pronunciation of this can be just now but a matter of speculation, there are too few other similar examples to form an opinion.

ဗြီ, *brī*, a variant of ပြီ, *prī*; ရကာ, *ra kā*, mod. ရကား, *ra kā*[3] (pr. *yagā*[3]); in modern Burmese this is used as a causal postposition, in the sense of "owing to, because of," etc.; in this inscription it is used as a continuative affix

implying priority to some other state or action; သော်သိတ်ခြင်္ဂရာ, *lon liy brī ra kā*, "having elapsed . . ."; line 10, ပါယ်မယာဘိုးခရာ, *pāy mayā sīy kha ra kā*, "his beloved wife having died . . ."; line 27, ထိပ်ခြင်္ဂရာ, *thiw brī ra kā*, "that being finished . . ." = after that, then. Cf. also lines 16, 21, 29.

အရိမဒ္ဒနပုရ်, Arimaddanapur, one of the many classical names of Pagan; ပုရ် = ပုရ, Pāli *pura*, a fortified city, stronghold.

သု, *su*, mod. သော, *so* (pr. *th*aw); it has been said on page 29 that the vowels *o* and *u* are used interchangeably; this holds good, not only in related languages and dialects but also in the same language; in this inscription, for instance, we have သု, *su*, everywhere, except in lines 12, 15, 28, where the same word is written သော, *so*, as now; again, ခလျှိတ်, *plo'*, line 29, and ထွ, *plu*, line 17 = mod. ပြု, to do, to make; line 32, ယော, *yo* = mod. ယု, *yū*; line 34, အဝှေါတ်, *amho'* = အမှု, *amhu*.

Line 4.—နှိုက်, *nhik*, found thus written only in the Myazedi pillars, it is a variant of နှိုက်, *nhuik* (pr. *nhaīk*), a locative postposition. Cf. further on, အတိတ်, *ati'*, for အတိုတ်, *atui'*; ထိပ်, *thiw*, for ထပ်, *thuiw*, etc.; these variants are pretty common in other inscriptions also.

အာ, *ā* = mod. အား, *ā*[3], used now exclusively as the true dative postposition; in the oldest epigraphs, however, it was also extensively used to express the locative, either by itself or with another locative postposition, generally နှိုက်, *nhuik*. Such is the case in Tibetan, in which the dative suffix is often used to denote the locative (*L.S.*, III, Part I, p. 27). The Burmese postposition *ā*, *ā*[3], is found in all Tibetan dialects under the form *la*, which in the west takes the form *a* (cf. *L.S.*, III, Part I, p. 26). In this inscription this *ā* is used in both relations, as a locative in lines 4 and 36 and as a dative in lines 9, 12, 20, etc.

ဗြိတ္တိသုဝဏ္ဏာဒိတ္တျဓမ္မရာဇ်, Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj, this is the style of King Kyanzittha.

Line 5.—ဖွတ်, *phlac* = mod. ဖြတ်, *phrac* (pr. *phyit*), to be, to become. A number of words with subscript လ, *l*, are found in Burmese inscriptions from the 11th up to about the 15th century; the words in this inscription with subscript *l*, besides ဖွတ်, are—line 16, ကလျှော, *klañjo*; line 17, ထွ, *plu*; line 19, ခလျှိတ်, *plo'*, and line 36, မ္လိတ်, *mliy*. I have elsewhere ("Klañjo-kye[3]zu[3]," in *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 99) endeavoured to show that it was more than doubtful whether, in old Burmese (that is, of the 11th century and after), this *l* had really the value of an *l* and was not rather a form of medial *r*, ြ, or *y*, ျ, for in pronunciation the Burmese make no difference between these two

letters, and pronounce them both as *y*. I shall quote here the passage containing the examples: "In form it (the subscript *l*) looks, it is true, like an *l*, and is written exactly as in Talaing inscriptions in which it has really this value, for instance in the word ဇလုံ, *cloṅ*, in the Talaing face of the Myazedi. But such is not its value in old Burmese epigraphs, where it stands indifferently for a ျ, *y*, or a ြ, *r*, and shows incidentally that, even in the 12th century A.D., the *r* had already lost its original pronunciation and had softened into a *y*, while in Arakan it has retained it up to the present. Even the cursory examination of a few Burmese inscriptions clearly brings this fact into light, for the same words are often found indifferently written with an *r* or *y*, as the case may be, or with this supposed *l* symbol, and sometimes both forms are found in the same epigraph. I shall quote here only a few examples. The numbers within brackets show the dates of the inscriptions:—ခြောက်, *khrok* (1197); ခလောက်, *khlok* (1380); ချင်, *khyaṅ* (1207); လှင်, *khlaṅ* (1373); ကခြိုက်, *kakhriey* (1207); ခလိုက်, *khley* (1229), the modern form is ကခြဲ,ခြဲ; ကြောင်, *kroṅ* (1229); ကလောင်, *kloṅ* (1342); ဖြူ, *phrū* (1284); လျူ, *phlū* (1299); ဖြတ်, *phrac* (1284); လှတ်, *phlac* (1112, 1299); ကျွန်, *kyon* (1084); လွှန်, *klwan* (1395).

"The following are examples of the same words written both ways in the same inscription:—လျှဉ်, *plaṅ*, ပြဉ် *praṅ* (1197); ကြွံ, *krwaṁ*, the anusvāra, in Burmese, always stands for an *n*, so that the word is properly *krwan*; လွှင်, *klwaṅ* (1373), this interchange of anusvāra (=Burmese *n*) with *ṅ* is rather scarce, but several other examples have been found.

"To the above may be added—မင်္ကြီ, *maṅ kri*, မင်္ကလီ, *maṅ kli* (1205); in an inscription dated 1385 A.D., both forms follow each other in the same line ဆဆဆ . . . ကျောင်ပြုရုယ်ပလုသကောင်္ခ, *tāyakā* . . . . *kyoṅ pru ruy plu sa koṅ mhu* . . . 'the deed of merit performed by the devotee building a monastery.' The last few examples are particularly interesting, as they show both forms in the same document."

Researches subsequent to the article above quoted show, however, that, notwithstanding the recurrence of the same words contemporaneously under two forms, there can be no doubt that this subscript *l* was given its proper value and that the Burmese of eight centuries ago wrote their language as they pronounced it, that is, phonetically. This curious recurrence of the same word, written sometimes with an *l* and sometimes with an *r* or *y*, points to a stage in the language during which this particular class of words was undergoing a phonetic change which is reflected in the epigraphs. It is, moreover, well known that these

letters, *l*, *r* and *y*, are to a great extent interchangeable even within the same language, as is evident in Burmese. For instance, whereas the Tavoyans have preserved the *l*, the Arakanese pronounce the same word with an *r*, but the Burmese with a *y*. From what precedes it may be deduced that subscript *l* represents, in Burmese, an earlier form of the words in which it occurs; and that these words were, for a certain period, pronounced indifferently with an *l* or with an *r* probably already softening into *y*, since we find them, during that period, indifferently spelt with any of these three letters. An exhaustive comparison of all the words in Burmese which now contain a medial *r* or *y* with related dialects would no doubt reveal, in many cases, those among them which could be traced back to an earlier dialectical form with *l*. But this would be a task of some magnitude. Meanwhile, the list of words given below, with medial *l* and found in this inscription and some others, compared with their equivalents in other Tibeto-Burman languages, may prove interesting, in so much that it shows that many, if not all as yet, have also been found with a medial *l* in other languages. The lists of words at my disposal unfortunately often do not contain the words I was comparing.

ဖ္လွတ်, *phlac*; mod. ဖြတ်, *phrac* (pr. *phyit*); no equivalent of this word could be found.

ပလျှော်, *plo'*, and ပျု, *plu*, mod. ပြု, *pru* (pr. *pyu*), to do, make; Tibetan, *spyod*-ba; Chinbôk, *pyio*.

မျိုး, *mliy* (pr. *mlyé*), mod. မြေး, *mre*[3] (pr. *myī*[3]), grandson, grandchild; Lolo dialects: Achipo, *li so* (*so* = son = B. *sā*[3]); Lolopo, *li po* (*po* = sign of the masculine); Naseupu, *na sli*: all these mean "grandson"; grand-daughter is: Achipo, *li a mè*; Lolopo, *li mo* (*mo* = feminine, Burm. *ma*); Pyu, *pli*, grandchild; Tavoyan, *mle*[3].

ကြည်း, *klañjo* (two other old forms are: ကြည်ဉ်, *klañjū*, 1375 A.D., ကြည်ကူ, *klañchū*, 1194 A.D.), mod. ကျေးဇူး, *kye*[3] *jū*[3] (pr. *jye*[3] *zū*[3]), favour; the only equivalent found is Kachin, *kyaw ya*; in related languages, the vowels *a*, *e*, *u*, *o*, are often interchanged; also the consonants *y*, *j*, *z*; for instance, in the Lolo dialects, *zu*, *zo*, *ze* = B. *sā*[3], a son; "to take" is in Singphō, *yā* and *jo*; "one hundred," in the Northern Chin sub-group, *zā*, *jā*, *yā* (see line 2, ရာ).

အကြောင့်, *akloṅ* (1190, 1342 A.D.; in the Myazedi it is written ကြောင့်, *kroṅ*), mod. အကြောင်း, ကြောင့်, *akroṅ*[3], *kroṅ*[1] (pr. *ajyaung*[3], *jyaung*[1]), cause, reason, because; Tibetan, *rgyu*, *rkyen* = cause, on account of, because; Maru, *yaung*; Tavoyan, *aklong*.

ခွတ်, *khlok*, mod. ခြောက်, *khrok* (pr. *chauk*), the number 6; Sifan, *kru*, *chro*;

Mosso, *choa*; Lolo (Liso), *khrawk*, *chawk*; Maru, *chauk*; Lashi, *chuk*; Szi, *cho*; Kachin, *kru*; Ao (Nāga), *trok*; Khari (Nāga), *tarok*; Kham, *terü*, *tarü*; Tengsa (Nāga), *thelok*; Siyin, *lok*, *luk*; Tibetan, *drug*. The equivalence of *k* (*g*) and *t* (*d*) is common.

ကျောက်, *klok*, mod. ကြောက်, *kyok* (pr. *tjyauk*), stone, rock; Lolo, *ka-law*; P'ön, *k'alok*; Maru, *lauk-pai*; Lashi and Szi, *luk*; Tibetan, *brag* (rock); Tavoyan, *klok*, *klot*.

ဖျို, *phlū*, mod. ဖြူ, *phrū* (pr. *phyū*), white; Lolo (Wo-ni), *pyu*; Lolo (Ssŭ-ch'uan), *phru*; Kachin, *praw*, *progn*; P'ön, *a-phyu*; Maru, Lashi and Szi, *phyu*; Tavoyan, *phlū*.

ချိုင်, *khloṅ*, mod. ချောင်း, *khyoṅ*[3] (pr. *chaong*), a large brook, rivulet, river; Sifan, *che-kong*; Sifan (Peu), *chaung o*; Maru, *hok-lawng*, *kiaung*; Szi, *khawng*; Ahi (Lolo), *yi cho* (Cf. B. ရေချောင်း, pr. *ye chaong*); Tavoyan, *khlong*; Tibetan, *kluṅ*, *chu*.

မြစ်, *mlac*, mod. မြစ်, *mrac* (pr. *mrit*, now *myit*), a large river; Maru, *rit*; Tavoyan, *mlit*.

ချွတ်, *klwat*, mod. ကျွတ်, *kywat* (pr. *tjyut*), to be loosed or freed from. Cf. Tibetan, *glod*-pa, to loose; *grol*-ba, to become free; Tavoyan, *klwat* (pron. *klut*).

ကျောင်, *kloṅ*, mod. ကြောင်း, *kyoṅ*[3] (pr. *tjyaong*), a monastery; I have not found this word in the vocabularies. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, however, tells me that it is still pronounced *klong* in Tavoyan; and he gives the Chinese *kung* (pr. *kiong* in the Amoy dialect) in *Burmese Sketches*, p. 30.

ဒေ့, *e'*, mod. ဒီ, *i*. It will be remarked that the modern form is merely a simplified way of writing the old one, and that it is really *e'* with the short tone, but now pronounced *i* (short). The ့, postscript or subscript, was the sign of the short abrupt tone; it was fully written for a very long time and finally degenerated into the easier and more quickly written dot (.). In modern and medieval Burmese ဒီ is used solely as a genitive suffix and as a verbal suffix of the present but used in recounting past events. As a genitive it is used only in line 5: သိမ်း ဒေ့ပါယ်မယာ, *thiw maṅ e' pāy mayā*, "the king's beloved wife"; as a sign of the genitive, ဒီ, *i*, has become altogether formal, and is replaced, in familiar conversation, by the shortening, if long, of the vowel of the word preceding it. It is interesting to notice that such was already the case at the beginning of the 12th century; except in line 5, in the phrase just quoted, this suffix is everywhere else replaced by the shortening of the vowel preceding it by means of the short tone sign ့ actually written or even also left out and to be supplied in reading, for instance, line 33, မယာ့သား, *mayā' sā*, "wife's son," but line 10, မယာတန်ခါး, *mayā tanchā*, properly မယာ့တန်ခါး, *mayā' tanchā*. As a verbal suffix showing the past, it

is used in lines 5, 7, 9, 13 and 26. Besides the two above uses, which are still current, ၎ is used in the Myazedi in a way that has now become long obsolete, that is, as a slightly emphatic or as a particularizing particle after the connecting particle ရယ်, *ruy*; examples are found in lines 14, မင်္ဂဗြိဂုဏ်ဆိုဇေသိယ်ဝမှုနာထုရှေ့ဝဲ၌တ်ဇေယ်, *maṅ mā brī ruy' e' siy khamū nā su rhow nhik teh*, "and having reigned (28 years) became sick even unto death"; 17, ပုရာဘွဲ့အဆင်ယ်ဆိုရုပ်ဆွဲ၎ဇော်, *purhā skhaṅ achaṅ plu ruy' e'* . . ., "and having made a statue of the Buddha . . ."; 22, 8နှိုင်ရုပ်ဆွဲ၎ဇော်, *min' ruy' e'*, "and having said . . ."; ထည်း (= ၎ထိ of the Myazedi) is used in modern formal language in the same way. Up to now, the only other inscription in which I have met this word thus used is dated 1194 A.D. With ၎ genitive, mod. ၎ (pr. *i*), may be compared the Tibetan *kyi, gyi, i* and the Chinese *chī* (*L.S.*, III, Part I, p. 3, and Part III, p. 6: H. B. Hannah, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 63). With ၎ suffix of the past time may be compared *ē* in Lushei, Lai, Zahao, Anal, etc.; *e* in Sopvoma, Kabul, Khnirao, and *we* in Angami (*L.S.*, III, Part III, p. 7).

ထိဝ်, *thiw*, mod. ထိ, *thui* (pro. *thó*), that, the; a variant of ထိုဝ်, *thuiw*; both forms ထိဝ် and ထိုဝ်, the latter being the more common, are found promiscuously mixed in this inscription, both are even found in line 27. Cf. also ထိဝ်, *liw*, and ထိုဝ်, *luiw* (mod. ထိ, *lui*, to desire), in the same inscription dated 1194; ဆဝ်ဖွဲ့ဝ်, *akliw* = modern ဆဝ်ကျူး, *akyui*[3] (1179. 1194 A.D.); ၈ဝ်ရင်, *miwraṅ* (1165 A.D.), ၈ရဝ်, *muiraṅ* (1408 A.D.) = mod. မုရင်း, *muraṅ*[3], a kind of rice. The same variant with the short tone is ဆထိဝ်, *ati'* = mod. ထို, *tui*[1], for which pillar **B** has ဆထေဝ်, *atie'*, and with this latter cf. ဆဖိဝ်, *aphie'*, line 18 = mod. ဆဖို, *aphui*[1]. Similar forms are found in an inscription dated 1165 A.D., ကြိဝ်, *kiew* = mod. ကို, *kui*; တြိဝ်, *tiew'* = mod. တို့, *tui*[1]; ထြိဝ်, *thiew* = mod. ထို, *thui*; ဇွယ်သိဝ်, *iysi'*, in line 17, is likewise a variant of ဇွယ်သေဝ်, *iysie'*, in line 33 = mod. ဤသို့, *īso*[1]. In line 15, ၎ဝ်, *kiew*, the body, hence 'self,' is the mod. ကို, *kui* (pr. *kó*), wrongly spelt ကုယ်, *kuiy*, under the impression it is derived from the Pāli *kāya*. Lolo dialects have this word under slightly different forms: *gö, k'ö, gu, ko-po, ke-po*.

ပါယ်, *pāy*, mod. ဗာဒယ်, *abhay*, the new spelling for ဆယ်, *apay* (pr. *apé*), dear, my dear, used by a man addressing a woman. This is a pure Burmese word and is not, as some native scholars would have, derived from the Pāli *piya*. See under ဆယ်, line 2.

Line 6.—ကာ, *kā* = mod. ကား, *kā*[3]. See under ၎ below.

Line 7.—၎, *tamu*, mod. ၎မှ, *tamū*, 'one,' now growing obsolescent. ၎, *ta*, is the number one; မှ, *mū*, in several Lolo dialects seems to be an invariable

numerative particle, placed practically after every number; Kopu (Lolo), *tă mu*, *ta mu*; Naseupu (Lolo), *ta mu*, *ta mo*; Lolopo (Lolo), *t'i mo*. ထရှ is generally followed by ထည်း, *laiñ*[3], represented in this inscription by ဝဝ်, *leh*, which is explained below. ထရှထည်း is applied to persons only and is very emphatic and particularizing, and may be translated "*the one son*," that is "the son." Pillar B, instead of ထရှဝတ်, has ထာ, *kā* = mod. ထား, *kā*[3], which is a nominative suffix, emphatic and particularizing; the translation of B therefore would be "the son"; the expression in A is more emphatic.

ဝတ်, *leh*, mod. ထည်း, *laiñ*[3] (pr., in formal discourse, *lī*[3], in conversation *lé*[3]): and, also. I have shown already, with examples, the regular interchange of the vowels *i*, *é*, *é*, in Burmese, which was already apparent in the old inscriptions, and also that the true value of ည်, *ñ*, final is not that of a nasal, but of the vowel *i* (short or long) and pronounced *i*, *è*, or *é*; this is made clear beyond doubt by the evidence of the epigraphs. Whether, in some words, this final ည် does really go back to an earlier form with a final nasal, is beyond the scope of these notes; my desire here is simply to point out that our oldest documents show abundantly this symbol to have had the value of *i* and *e* in the 12th century already. This particle, ဝတ်, is found indifferently written, ဝ, *le*, ဝဝ်, *lew*, ထည်, *laiñ* (= lī), and ဝည်, *leñ*, properly *le-i* (pr. *lé* or *lè*). In ဝတ်, *leh*, the final *h* does not represent an aspiration, but is the old way of indicating the heavy tone now shown by two dots (း). Cf. နွဟ်, *nwah* = mod. နွား, *nwā*[3], cow; သဟ်, *sah* = mod. သား, *sā*[3], son; မိယဟ်, *miyah* = mod. မယား, *mayā*[3], wife; သမိဟ်, *samih* = mod. သမိး, *samí*[3], daughter; ကဟ်, *kah* = mod. ကား, *kā*[3], nominative emphatic particle. In this very inscription ဝတ် is found written ဝည်, line 36, in the expression ထည်ဝါဒ်, *laiñgoṅ* = mod. ထည်းဝေါဒ်း, *laiñ*[3] *koṅ*[3] (pron. *lī*[3] *gaoṅ*[3] and *la gaoṅ*[3]), which means literally: "and, as well"; ဝတ်, *teh* = mod. ထည်း, *taiñ*[3] (pr. *tī*[3], *dī*[3]).

Line 8.—ဝွဝ်, *rwoh*, mod. ရွာ, *rwā* (pr. *ywā*), a village. In Tavoyan it is pronounced ဝါ, *wā*. This word is found in this inscription only; that it is an old form may be seen from the following in related languages:—Maru, *waw*; Lashi, *wo*; Szi, *wa*; Tavoyan also, *wā*; Chinbôk, *pi-raw*; Burmese has preserved the initial *r*; it seems to have lost it in a few words, for instance, "bamboo" = Burmese, ဝါး, *wā*[3]; Haka, *rwa*; Chinbôk, *rao*. The *h* is not easy to explain, for Burmese contains no words with a final aspiration, unless it be the sign of the heavy tone, as explained under ဝတ်, *supra*. Pillar B has but once only, ရွော်, *rwo*, which form is nearer to the modern *rwā*.

Line 9.—ကတ်, *tak*, mod. ထား, *tāñ*[3] (pr. *tī*[3] or *dī*[3]); it is used here, as in modern Burmese, as a terminal and emphatic particle. The remarks under ကတ်, *supra*, apply also to this word, which is found also written က, *te* (1190 A.D.), ထည်, *taik* (pr. *tɛ*) (1188 A.D.), and ကတည်, *tak* (pr. *te* or *tɛ*), in numerous inscriptions.

Line 10.—ခ, *kha*, mod. ခဲ့, *khai*[1] (pr. *khɛ*[1]), a particle showing time not long past, also euphonic.

Line 12.—ကာဇာကာ, *sā a sā*; the stone, where the first က is, is slightly damaged; on close inspection of the pillar, however, it is evident that the lapidary, as he proceeded, found out his error, and scratched off the first က, the left stroke of which is still visible; the ဇ following should have the virāma, ်, which appears to have been forgotten, as it has been in two or three other places. The sentence is then perfect and reads: ဇိဝါလ်ဇကာဇီကာကုမာရာဝ်ခည်ကာအား, "to the son of the beloved wife, named Rājakumār . . ." Cf. line 27, where the ဇ is also without virāma.

Line 13.—ရု, *mū*, the same as in mod. Burmese. Cf. the Ahi (Lolo) *mo* with the same meaning, "to do, make."

Line 14.—ရွယ်, an error for ရွယ်, *ruy'*, mod. ဝွေ., *rwe*[1] (pr. *ywɛ*[1]), and generally written in the abbreviated form ၌, a verbal connective particle, equal in sense to the Pāli *tvā*; for ရွယ်ကာ see under ကာ, p. 35.

ခမှု, *khamū*, a verbal suffix expressing the near future, may be translated: "on the point of, about to"; it seems to have long fallen into disuse; the modern equivalents are: လု, *lu*, လုနီး, *lu nī*[3], လုမတတ်, *lu matat*.

ရှောင်, *rhow*, mod. ရှေ့, *rhe*[1] (pr. *shē*[1]), before, in the presence of, near: this word appears again in lines 17, 21 and 30, an examination of which leaves no doubt as to its meaning. I have found no equivalents in other languages.

Line 15.—အိ, *mimī*, for အိ, *mimi*, a pronoun = one's self.

ကျိုင်, *kiew*, modern ကိုယ်, *kuiy* (pr. *kō*); see under ကိုင်, p. 36. အိကျိုင် = mod. အိကိုယ်, "one's body," that is one's self.

ယုင်, *muy* (pr. *mwé*), mod. ဝွေး, *mwe*[3], to nourish, take care of, bring up; medial *u*, before the vowel *é* (ယ်), has naturally changed to its semi-vowel *w* (ွ).

Line 16.—ဂြီ, *grī*, for ကြီ, *krī*, mod. ကြီး, *krī*[3] (pr. *jyī*[3]); ဂြီ is a phonetic spelling.

ကြညော, *klañjo*, mod. ကျေးကျူး, *kye*[3] *jū*[3] (pr. *tjyé*[3] *sū*[3]); see under ကျိုင်, p. 32.

ကြကိ, *okmi*, mod. ကောင်မဲ့, *okme*[1].

Line 17.—ကျု, *plu*, mod. ကြ, *pru* (pr. *pyu*); see under ကျိုင်, p. 32.

ၚပ်, *nhap*. This word offers the only real difficulty in this inscription in that no other word in the modern language can be traced back to it in the sense it seems to have here, and in that, up to the present, it has been found only in this place, and there are, therefore, no other passages containing it from which, by comparison, its exact meaning might be settled. The Pāli face reads here: *upasaṅkamma rājānaṁ*, "he (Rājakumāra) having approached the king . . . ," the corresponding passage in the Burmese being: ၚပ်ထိပ်သုရှောင်ထော်, *nhap liy su rhow teh*; if this is the exact equivalent of the Pāli phrase, then *nhap* must be taken as corresponding to *upasaṅkamma* and to mean: to "approach"; this is the opinion of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, whom I approached on the subject; it is also mine. In this case, one should have expected the locative particle ၚင် (mod. ၚက်) between ရှောင် and ထော် as in lines 14 and 30; the sense would then have been much clearer. The same omission occurs in line 21, in ထိပ်ရှောင်ထော်. The Burmese literally means: "in the presence, whom he had approached, he spoke thus (ဤသို့ဆိုခဲ့၏)."

ဤသို့, *iy si'*; see under ထိပ်, line 5.

Line 18.—အဖိအိ, *aphie'*, mod. အၚိ, *aphui*[1] (pr. *aphó*[1]); see under ထိပ်, line 5. အတိအိ, *ati'*, a variant of အတိုအိ, *atui'*, which is found in lines 19, 20. အတိုအိ is formed from the plural suffix တိုအိ (this is seen in line 26) by means of the prefix အ, *a*, and means 'we,' the prince speaking of himself in the plural, and is therefore to be translated here by 'I.' In modern colloquial the plural suffix တဲ့, *tui*[1], is often used as the first personal pronoun plural and is then pronounced *dó*[1]. It is but an abbreviation of ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ (ကျွန်ုပ်တဲ့), which is the equivalent of the old Burmese အတိအိကျော်.

Line 19.—ပ္လေါ်, *plo'*, mod. ပြု, *pru*; see under ဝိပ်, line 5.

Line 20.—ဤယျဤယ, a mistake for ဤယ်ဤယ်, the virāma having again been forgotten: several instances of the engraver's lack of attention have already been noticed.

ရှယ်, *rhuy*, mod. ရွှေ, *rhwe* (pr. *shwé*). Many Tibeto-Burman languages pronounce this word: *shwi*, *shui*.

Line 21.—ယေအိ, *ye'*, a variant of ဒအိ; B has also ယေအိ; this variant is found only in the Myazedi pillars.

ထိပ်ရှောင်ထော်, *thiw rhow teh*; the locative suffix ၚင် (mod. ၚက်) is omitted after *rhow*; lit. "in that presence," that is, in the Buddha-image's presence.

ၦဝ်ထြုဆိ, *nhac klui*'; Mr. Blagden in his transliteration has ၦဝ်ဍုဆိ, *nhac phlui*'; pillar B has ၦဝ်ထြုဆိ very clearly, which Mr. Blagden has rightly noted as a correction. A careful examination of the stone itself, which is somewhat damaged at that place, made it clear it is really ထြုဆ်. This word means "to be pleased, delighted"; the modern equivalents are ၦဝ်ခြုက် or ၦဝ်ခြွက်, *nhac khruik*, *nhac kruik*, ၦဝ်ထော်း, *nhac thoṅ*[3], ၦဝ်မြု, *nhac mrui*[1], and ၦဝ်သက်, *nhac sak*. The form ၦဝ်ထြုဆိ, which would now be written ၦဝ်ကြု, *nhac krui*[1], and approximates to ၦဝ်ခြွက်, *nhac kruik*, or ၦဝ်ခြုက်, *nhac khruik*, has not as yet been found but in this inscription.

ကောင်လေ့ဉ်, *koṅ lheṅ*', mod. ကောင်းလိဉ်, *koṅ*[3] *lim*[1] (pr. *kaung*[3] *leṅ*[1]), "it will be good," this corresponds to the Pāli *sādhu!* One would quite naturally have expected သာဓု, *sādhu*, also here, for it is the usual exclamation of approbation and applause in things religious, and other epigraphic documents show that at the time the Myazedi inscription was composed, this word was already so used. But here the dying king expresses his approbation of his son's *intention*, that is, of dedicating the three slave-villages to the Buddha statue; hence, the future used in the exclamation. This intention, though clear enough in the Burmese and Talaing, is made much more so in the Pāli by the use of the words *cintitam attano* in line 19 and of the future *demi* in line 22.

Line 22.—လေ့ဉ်, *lheṅ*', is the result of the assimilation of လေ, a verbal euphonic suffix, and of the future suffix အုံ, *am*' (= mod. အုံ, pr. *an*[1]); လေ, *le*, is a variant of လိယ် (*q.v.* line 3); အုံ, by itself, is found in line 35. This assimilation of the suffix အုံ to a preceding euphonic or causative suffix ending in *e* is quite common: ခြေ, *khye* + အုံ, *am*[1] = ခြုံ, *khyim*[1]; ပေ, *pe* + အုံ, *am*[1] = ပုံ, *pim*[1] (pronounced *chéṅ*[3], *péṅ*[1]); the subscript *h* as well as the final gutteral nasal င, *ṅ*, show clearly that လေ့ဉ် was written according exactly to its pronunciation; in speaking, the လ of certain words is often slightly aspirated, for instance in လာ, "to come," and this colloquial aspiration is actually shown in old manuscripts and not seldom in letters written by half-educated Burmese.

သင်္ဃရီ, *saṅgrī*, for သင်္ကရီး; *saṅkrī*[3], a high ecclesiastical dignitary. This is no doubt an abbreviation of သင်္ဃာကရီး, *saṅghākrī*[3]; သဃာ means "a member of the saṅghā" as well as the saṅghā collectively. The Talaings have also clipped this word to သင်, *saṅ*.

Line 23.—မဟာထေရ်, *mahā-ther* = Pāli *mahāthera*, a chief monk.

Lines 23 to 25.—The names of the six ecclesiastical dignitaries recorded here appear in the Pāli face as *Muggaliputtako*, *Sumedho*, *Brahamapālo*, *Brahmadevo*, *Sono*, and *Saṅghaseno*. As far as I am aware, the names of the five last are not found any more recorded in any Burmese document. The name of the first, however, appears scratched on the back of small votive tablets found at Wetkyi-in, Pagan, in the following short inscription: *Muggaliputtācariyena māpitam idaṁ buddharūpaṁ*, "This Buddha-image has been made by the teacher Muggaliputta." It is not certain to what statue and temple this refers.

Line 26.—ရိယ်, *riy*, mod. ရေ, *re* (pr. *yè*), water; see under ထိယ်, p. 30. သေး, *son*, mod. သွန်း, *swan*, to pour.

Line 27.—မယာအ, *mayā a*, for မယာအ်, *mayā'*.

Line 28.—အထောတ်, *athot*, mod. အထွဋ်, *athwaṭ*, summit, pinnacle, spire. It is also written အထွတ်, *athwat*.

Line 29.—ကူ, *kū* = modern ကူ, *kū*, from Pāli *guhā*, a cave; this word commonly denotes a temple, into which access can be had, in contradistinction to the solid *dagobas* or pagodas with a bell-shaped superstructure, such as the Shwedagôn at Rangoon. This distinction is not generally observed in Burma among Europeans, every religious edifice being called a 'pagoda.'

လှောတ်, *lhot*, mod. လွှတ်, *lhwat*, "to dedicate."

ပုရာလှောတ်သုးရှာဝ်နှက်, in modern Burmese, would run: လွှတ်ထောထုးရှိနှက်။

Lines 30-31.—The names of the three villages enumerated here—သက်မုးသေး, *Sakmunalon*, ရပေယ်, *Rapāy*, and ဟေးဗိုဝ်, *Henbuiw*—are now completely forgotten; they do not appear in any of the lists of localities often given in chronicles. I am inclined to think that they are not Burmese names, they do not look as such; no reasonable sense can be extracted out of them, as can be done for other Burmese place-names, almost without exception. The third only, သေးဗိုဝ်, has a faint and distant resemblance to a Burmese word and, according to phonetic rules, might represent a modern ရှိးဗိုဝ်။ ရှိးဗိုဝ် or ရှင်ဗိုဝ်။ဗိုဝ် (pron. *bô* = Pāli *bala*), meaning a "chief"; ရှိး, *rhin* (pr. *sheng*), means "to be hot," ရှိး, to "smart" and also "the faculty of becoming invisible"; these yield no rational sense. ရှင်, *rhaṅ* (pr. *shin*), means a "novice," and ရှင်ဗိုဝ် would be a "master of novices," but this expression, in this particular sense, is *not* Burmese. Enquiries as to what these names might mean in Talaing have altogether failed to throw any light on them; to modern Talaing monks (the most educated persons in this language) these words are a perfect blank.

Line 32.—ထော, *yo*, mod ထူ, *yū*, "to take," hence "to bring." This was really the old form of the word; compare the following:—Liso (Lolo), *ru la*; Ahi (Lolo), *jo*; Singpho, *yă*, *jo*; P'ön, *yo*, *ye*; A-cháng, *nyu law*; Maru, *yo law*; Lashi, *yu law*; Tibetan, *k'yel-yoṅ*. The *lă*, and *law* after some of the above words, is the verb "to come" = B. လာ, *lă*; *rū lă* = "to take and come" = to bring. The old Burmese form has survived in the exclamation, *yo*[1], take! here, take it!

Line 34.—အမှော်, *amho'*, mod. အမှု, *amhu*, act, deed.

သဗ္ဗညုတ, *sarwwaññuta*, a hybrid form from Sanskrit and Pāli = Sansk., *sarvajñata*; Pāli, *sabbaññuta*.

Line 35.—ပြဇ္ဇာ, direct from the Sanskrit, *prajña*.

အင်္, *am'*, mod. အံ့, *aṁ*[1] (pr. *an*[1]), the sign of the future tense. Cf. Lushei, *ang*, also a future suffix.

စ်ည်, *ciy'*, mod. စေ, *ce* (pr. *sé*), a causal and precative suffix. Mr. Blagden reads စ် instead of စ်; this is a slip, for the underscript အ is quite clear in the estampages.

Line 36.—ထည်ကော်, *lañ goṅ*; see under ထောင်, line 7, p. 37.

မ်ိတ်, *mliy*, mod. ဖြူး, *mre*[2] (pr. *myi*[2]); see line 5, p. 34.

အဆုယ်, *achuy*, mod. အဆွေ, *achwe* (pr. *aswé*).

Line 38.—For အဝတ read အဝတ်, *acak*, the virāma having been omitted.

မုတ, *mu kā*, mod. မူကား, *mū kā*[2], an emphatic conditional suffix.

Line 39.—အရိမိတ္တိယာ, *arimittiyā* = *arimetteyya*, the Buddha who is to appear next in this cycle.

အဖူ, *a phū*, mod. မဖူး, *ma phū*[2]; ဖူး = "to behold with reverence," as a Buddha or a sacred object. There is no mistaking the အ, which is quite clear in both pillars. This line means: "Let him not behold Arimetteyya!" Besides the Myazedi, it has been found only in one other epigraph dated 1238 A.D. and which reads very clearly အဖူရှိယ်သတေး The inscriptions in which some such imprecation occurs are fairly numerous, but the common negation, *ma*, is used throughout.

အဖူရှိယ်, *a phūra ciy*; the Pāli has: "Metteyyadipadindassa dassanaṁ n'ādhigacchatu." The *a* therefore corresponds to *ma*, and is the negative particle. But with it may be compared the Ahi (Lolo) negative *a*[1] which is placed, as here, immediately before the verb; it appears to be special to the Ahi and a few other dialects, most other Lolo dialects using for negation the particle *ma*, which is also Burmese. The following are examples in Ahi:—*go a ngo*, "I do not wish"; *go a dso*, "I do not eat."

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 309-10, and pp. 56-7 in the Ahi text.

Index of Burmese words explained, and compared with the words of other Tibeto-Burman Languages.

(O.B. after a word means Old Burmese; words without any indication are modern Burmese.)

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ကြီဝ်, *kīew* (O.B.)—body, self, p. 36.
ကျွန်, *kyon* (O.B.)—slave, p. 29.
ကျွန်, *kywān* (O.B.)—slave, p. 28.
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ချုပ်, *khyup*—to sew, p. 17.
ချောင်း, *khyoṅ*[3]—canal, river, p. 17.
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ပုရှာ, *purhā* (O.B.)—the Buddha, p. 26.
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ဖုရှာ, *phurhā* (O.B.)—the Buddha, p. 26.
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ယေခဲ့, *ye'*—a variant of ခဲ့, p. 39.
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ရွာ, *rwo* (O.B.)—village, p. 37.
ရွာတိ, *rwoh* (O.B.)—village, p. 37.
ရွိ, *rhwi* (medieval B.)—gold, p. 19.
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လိတ်, *liy* (O.B.)—a verbal suffix denoting indefinite past time, p. 30.
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လေတ်, *leh* (O.B.)—and, also, p. 37.
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လောန်, *lon* (O.B.)—to go beyond, pass, elapse, p. 29.
လှတ်, *lhot* (O.B.)—to let go, dedicate, pp. 29, 41.
ဝင်, *waṅ*—to enter, p. 17.

သက္ကလတ်, *sakkalat*—broad cloth, p. 18.
သင်္ဃရီ, *saṅgrī* (O.B.)—a high ecclesiastical dignitary, p. 40.
သမိ, *samih* (O.B.)—daughter, p. 37.
သဗ္ဗညုတ, *sarwwaññuta* (Sanskrit and Pali)—supreme knowledge, p. 42.
သဟ်, *sah* (O.B.)—son, p. 37.
သိတ်, *siy* (O.B.)—to die, pp. 19, 30, 31.
သီတ်, *sīy* (O.B.)—to die, pp. 30, 31.
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သောန်, *son* (O.B.)—to pour, pp. 29, 41.
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ဟိ, *hi* (O.B.)—to have, pp. 19, 29.
ဟုယ်, *huy* (O.B.)—gold, pp. 19, 29.
ဟိုယ်, *huiy* (O.B.)—gold, p. 29.
ဟေတ်, *het* (O.B.)—number 8, pp. 19, 28.
ဟေ့, *he'* (O.B.)—to have, pp. 19, 29.
ဟွေယ်, *hway* (O.B.)—gold, pp. 19, 29.

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Transliteration of the Pāli Face of the Myazedi, B Pillar at Myinkaba (Plate II, B).

1. ‖ Śrī ‖ buddhādikaṁ vatthuvaraṁ nametvā puññaṁ kataṁ yaṁ Jina . . .
. . . . . .
2. kaṁ Rājakumāranāmadhayyena vakkhāmi supā . . . . . .
3. nibbānā lokanāthassa aṭṭhavīsādhike ga . e . . . . sse pana
4. vassānaṁ chasate vā pare tathā ‖ o ‖ Arimadda : . . . . . smi[1] pure āsi
5. mahabbalo rājā Tibhuvanādiceo udiccā . . . . . vaṁsajo ‖
6. ‖ tass' ās' ekā piyā devī sā Tilokava . . . . . kā hitesī
7. kusalā sabbakiccesu [pana] rājino ‖ o ‖ . . ss' ās' eko su-
8. to Rājakumāro nāma nāmato amacco rājakiccesu
9. byāvato satimā vidū ‖ o ‖ adā gāmattayaṁ tassā de-
10. viyā so mahīpati pasano[2] sabbadā . . saparibhogena
11. bhuñjituṁ ‖ o ‖ aniccatāvasaṁ tassā ga . āya pana deviyā
12. rājā Rājakumārassa adā gāmattayaṁ puna ‖ o ‖ aṭṭhavīsati
13. vassāni rajjaṁ dhammena kāriya mārananti . . rogassa vasaṁ pa-
14. tte narādhipe ‖ o ‖ saranto dhammarājassa . . hantaṁ guṇasañca-
15. yaṁ kā[r]etvā satthuno bimba sabbasovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ ‖ o ‖ ga-
16. hetvā taṁ mahantena sakkārena sumānaso upasaṅkamma
17. rājānaṁ āha cintitam attano ‖ o ‖ bhāgaṁ katvān' idaṁ satthu-
18. bimbaṁ sovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ akāsiṁ vo varaṁ puññaṁ sāmi
19. tumhe 'numodatha ‖ o ‖ gāmattayaṁ pi vo sāmi pubbe dinna
20. -n tu me ahaṁ imass' eva munindassa demi taṁ c' ānumodatha ‖ o
21. ‖ evaṁ vutte mahīpālo rogen' āturamānaso sādhu sā . .
22. ti vatvāna tuṭṭhahattho pamodito ‖ o ‖ dayāparo Ma
23. -hāthero thero Muggaliputtako sumedhattā Su
24. -medho ti laddhanāmo ca paṇḍito ‖ o ‖ Brahmapā-
25. -lo tathā Brahmadevo sampannasīlavā Sono bahu-
26. -ssuto Saṅghasennavho varapaṇḍito ‖ o ‖ etesaṁ
27. pana bhikkhūnaṁ saṁmukhā so sumānaso . . laṁ pātesi katvā-
28. -na sakkhin tu vasudhātalaṁ ‖ o ‖ tate[3] . so taṁ mahāmacco
29. bim . . . sovaṇṇayaṁ . ubha[4] pati . . . . . .
30. . . . . maṅgala . buddhapa-
31. timāya guhāya ca akās' evaṁ paṇidhānaṁ
32. nibbinno bhavasaṅkate ‖ o ‖ karontena mayā etaṁ

[1] *Smi* both on pillars A and B. [2] For *pasanno*. [3] The right half of *t* is damaged. [4] = subhaṁ.

33. yaṁ puññaṁ samācitaṁ hotu sabbaññutañāṇaṁ
34. pativedhāya paccayo ‖ o ‖ yattakā tu mayā
35. dāsā gāmattayanivāsino dinnā guhāya sova-
36. . . . patimāya mahesino ‖ o ‖ putto me vā pa-
37. . . tto vā añño vā pana ñātako yo koci
38. . . pasaṅkappo naro assaddhamānaso ‖ o ‖ kare-
39. yy' upadduvaṁ tesaṁ dāsānaṁ so narādhamo Mittiyadi-
40. padindassa dassanaṁ n' ādhigacchatū ti ‖ o ‖

Transliteration of the Pāli Face of the Myazedi Pillar, A (Museum) (Plate II, A).

1. ‖ Śrī ‖ buddhādikaṁ vatthuvaraṁ namitvā[1] puññaṁ kataṁ yaṁ Jinasā-*
2. sanasmiṁ anārikaṁ Rājakumāranāmadheyyena[2] vakkhā-
3. mi sunātha[3] me taṁ ‖[4] nibbānā lokanāthassa aṭṭhavī-
4. sādhike gate sahasse pana vassānaṁ chasate vā pare ta-
5. thā ‖[4] Arimaddananāmasmi pure āsi mahabbalo rājā
6. Tibhuvanādicco udiccādiccavaṁsajo ‖ tass' ās' e-
7. -kā piyā[5] devi sā Tilokavaṭaṁsikā † hi-
8. tesī kusalā sabbakiccesu pana rājino ‖ ta-
9. ss' ās' eko suto Rājakumāro nāma nāma-
10. to amacco rājakiccesu byāvato satimā
11. vidū ‖[4] adā gāmattayaṁ tassā deviyā so ma-
12. hīpati pasanno sabbadā dāsaparibhogena bhuñjituṁ
13. ‖[4] aniccatāvasaṁ tassā gatāya pana deviyā rā-
14. ja[6] Rājakumārassa adā gāmattaya ‡ puna ‖ aṭṭhavīsa-
15. ti vassāni rajjaṁ dhammena kāriya māraṇantikarogassa
16. vasaṁ patte narādhipe ‖[4] saranto dhammarājassa mahantaṁ gu-
17. ṇasañcayaṁ kāretva satthuno bimbaṁ[7] sabbasovaṇṇa-
18. yaṁ subhaṁ ‖[4] gahetvā taṁ§ mahantena sakkārena sumānaso
19. upasaṅkamma rājānaṁ āha cintitaṁ attano ‖[4] bhāgaṁ katvā-
20. -n' idaṁ satthubimbaṁ sovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ akāsiṁ vo va-

The following are the different readings in B:—
[1] Nametvā; [2] Nāmadhayyena; [3] Suṇātha; [4] ‖ o ‖; [5] Piyā; [6] Rājā; [7] Bimba.

* The *ā* in *sā*, very faint on the stone, is invisible in the plate.

† The niggahita (*ṁ*) over *ṭ* is scarcely visible on the estampage, but is quite distinct on the stone, though very shallow.

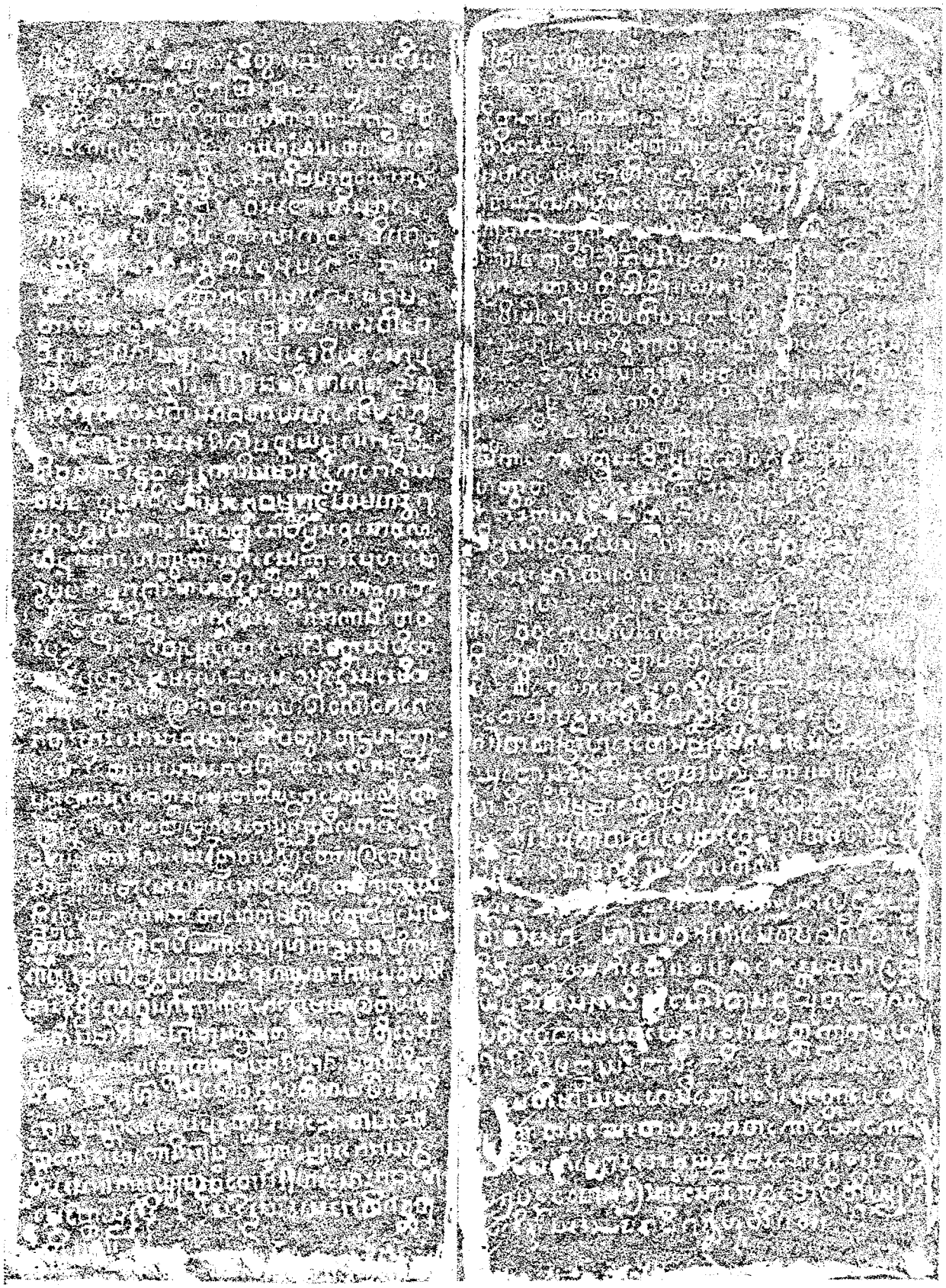
‡ gāmattayaṁ.

§ The niggahīta is not seen in the plate.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN

THE PALI TEXT

A B



21. raṁ puññaṁ sāmi tumhe 'numodatha ॥[1] gāmattayaṁ pi vo
22. sāmi pubbe dinnan tu me ahaṁ imass' eva munindassa demi ta-
23. ñ c' ānumodatha ॥[1] evaṁ vutte mahīpālo roge-
24. n' āturamānaso sādhu sādhū ti vatvāna tuṭṭhahattho
25. pamodito ॥ dayāparo Mahāthero thero Muggali-
26. puttako sumedhatta[2] Sumedho ti laddhanāmo ca paṇḍito
27. Brahmapālo tathā Brahmadevo sampannasīlavā Sono
28. bahussuto Saṁghasenavho[3] varapaṇḍito ॥[1] etesaṁ pa-
29. na bhikkhūnaṁ saṁmukhā so sumānaso jalaṁ pātesi katvāna sa-
30. kkhin tu vasudhātalaṁ ॥[1] tato so taṁ mahāmacco bimbaṁ sova-
31. ṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ patiṭṭhāpiya kāresi guhaṁ kañcanathūpikaṁ॥
32. katvāna maṅgalaṁ buddhapatimāya guhāya ca akās' evaṁ paṇi-
33. dhānaṁ nibbinno bhavasaṅkate ॥[1] karontena mayā etaṁ yaṁ pu-
34. ññaṁ* taṁ samācitam hotu sabbaññutaññāṇapativedhā-[4]
35. ya paccayo ॥[1] yattakā tu mayā dāsā gāmattayanivā-
36. sino dinnā guhāya sovaṇṇapatimāya mahesi-
37. no ॥[1] putto me vā paputto vā añño vā pana ñā-
38. tako yo koci pāpasaṁkappo naro assaddha-
39. mānaso ॥[1] kareyy' upadduvaṁ tesaṁ dāsānaṁ so narādhamo
40. Metteyyadipadindassa[5] dassanaṁ n' āthigacchatū[6]
41. ti ॥ o ॥

Myazedi Pāli (Museum) in Stanza Form.

Śrī

1. Buddhādikaṁ vatthuvaraṁ namitvā
   puññaṁ kataṁ yaṁ Jinasāsanasmiṁ
   anārikaṁ Rājakumāranāma
   dheyyena vakkhāmi sunātha me taṁ॥
2. Nibbānā lokanāthassa aṭṭhavīsādhike gate
   sahasse pana vassānaṁ chasate vā pare tathā॥
3. Arimaddananāmasmi pure āsi mahabbalo
   rājā Tibhuvanādicco udiccādiccavaṁsajo॥
4. Tass' ās' ekā piyā devi sā Tilokavaṭaṁsikā
   hitesī kusalā sabbakiccesu pana rājino॥

The following are the different readings in B :—

[1] ॥ o ॥ ; [2] Sumedhattā ; [3] Saṅghasennavho ; [4] Sabbaññutaññāṇaṁ ; [5] Mittiyya ; [6] n'ādhigacchatū.

* The niggahīta cannot be seen in the plate.

5. Tass' ās' eko suto Rājakumāro nāma nāmato
amacco rājakiccesu byāvato satimā vidū॰
6. Adā gāmattayaṁ tassā deviyā so mahīpati
pasanno sabbadā dāsaparibhogena bhuñjituṁ॰
7. Aniccatāvasaṁ tassā gatāya pana deviyā
rājā Rājakumārassa adā gāmattaya puna॰
8. Aṭṭhavīsati vassāni rajjaṁ dhammena kāriya
mārananantikarogassa vasaṁ patte narādhipe॰
9. Saranto dhammarājassa mahantaṁ guṇasañcayaṁ
kāretva satthuno bimbaṁ sabbasovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ॰
10. Gahetvā taṁ mahantena sakkārena sumānaso॰
upasaṅkamma rājānaṁ āha cintitam attano॰
11. Bhāgaṁ katvān' idaṁ satthubimbaṁ sovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ
akāsiṁ vo varaṁ puññaṁ sāmi tumhe 'numodatha॰
12. Gāmattayaṁ pi vo sāmi pubbe dinnan tu me ahaṁ
imass' eva munindassa demi taṁ c'ānumodatha॰
13. Evaṁ vutte mahīpālo rogen' āturamānaso
sādhu sādhū ti vatvāna tuṭṭhahattho pamodito॰
14. Dayāparo Mahāthero thero Muggaliputtako
sumedhatta Sumedho ti laddhanāmo ca paṇḍito॰
15. Brahmapālo tathā Brahmadevo sampannasīlavā
Sono bahussuto Saṁghasenavho varapaṇḍito॰
16. Etesaṁ pana bhikkūnaṁ saṁmukhā so sumānaso
jalaṁ pātesi katvāna sakkhin tu vasudhātalaṁ॰
17. Tato so taṁ mahāmacco bimbaṁ sovaṇṇayaṁ subhaṁ
patiṭṭhāpiya kāresi guhaṁ kañcanathūpikaṁ॰
18. Katvāna maṅgalaṁ buddhapatimāya guhāya ca
akās' evaṁ paṇīdhānaṁ nibbinno bhavasaṅkate॰
19. Karontena mayā etaṁ yaṁ puññaṁ taṁ samācitaṁ
hotu sabbaññutañāṇapativedhāya paccayo॰
20. Yattakā tu mayā dāsā gāmattayanivāsino
dinnā guhāya sovaṇṇapatimāya mahesino॰
21. Putto me vā paputto vā añño vā pana ñātako
yo koci pāpasaṁkappo naro assaddhamānaso॰
22. Kareyy' upadduvaṁ tesaṁ dāsānaṁ so narādhamo
Metteyyadipadindassa dassanaṁ n' āthigacchatū ti॰

Translation of the Pāli Face.

1. Prosperity! Having bowed to the Buddha and the other (two) Excellent Objects, I shall relate the noble work of merit performed, in the Conqueror's dispensation, by Rājakumāra. Hearken to me!

2. When one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years had elapsed after the Nirvāṇa of the Lord of the World,

3. Tibhuvanādicca,[1] a powerful king and scion of the exalted[2] solar race, became king in the city called Arimaddana.

4. He had[3] a beloved queen, Tilokavaṭaṁsikā (by name), who was benevolent and skilful in all the affairs of the king.

5. She had a son, Rājakumāra by name, a minister, zealous in (the management of) the affairs of state, prudent and wise.

6. The king, graciously disposed towards the queen, gave her three villages for her to enjoy, for life, the revenues (accruing from) the slaves (thereof).

7. Now, upon the death of the queen, the king again made those three villages over to Rājakumāra.

8. On the king, after having ruled righteously for twenty-eight years, being seized with a mortal illness,

9. He (Rājakumāra), remembering the numerous and great favours of the righteous king, had a beautiful image of the Buddha made all in gold,

10. And, carrying it with great pomp, and well pleased (with his meritorious act), approached unto the presence of the king and told him of his intention:

11. "On your Majesty's behalf,[4] I have made this beautiful golden image of the Master; deign, my lord, to rejoice in this excellent work of merit!

[1] This is King Kyanzittha's style; the full style as given in the Burmese and the Talaing faces is *Çrī Tribhuvanāditya-Dhammarāj.*

[2] *Udicca*: this word is frequent in the *Jātaka*, where it is mostly applied to Brahmins, and means "north-western, northern, of northern origin," that is, from the northern region of India to the north and west of the river Sarasvati; but it means also "noble, exalted," and this is the sense that fits better here. This meaning is given in the *Jātaka-ṭīkā*, a voluminous work written by Dhammapāla, near Anurādha in Ceylon, thus, *udicco' ti aggaṁ patto*. The Talaings and the Burmese, in their translations of Pāli works, constantly translated *udicca* by "exalted, noble," or some similar expression, and never attach to it the meaning of "northern"; "exalted" is therefore no doubt the sense which the author of the inscription had in mind. The Burmese kings, however, traced their lineage to a branch of the solar dynasty that came to Burma from India in the hoary past.

[3] *Tass' ās' ekā*, that is, *tassa āsi ekā*.

[4] *Bhāgaṁ katvāna*, that is, sharing, with the king, the fruit or reward of his good action, which is to be received in a future existence; cf. *pattiṁ dadāti*.

12. "The three villages which you formerly gave me, I have dedicated to this image; at this also rejoice!"

13. On this being said, the king, (though) his mind was troubled by disease, rejoiced and, pleased and delighted,[1] exclaimed: "Good! good!"

14. The compassionate Chief Monk, the thera Muggaliputtaka, Sumedha the wise, so called on account of his wisdom,[2]

15. Brahmapāla, likewise Brahmadeva the virtuous, Sona, the learned and eminent scholar called Saṅghasena:

16. In the presence of these monks (the king), well pleased, poured the libation on the ground, taking the earth to witness.

17. Then, the minister enshrined the beautiful golden image and built (over it) a shrine surmounted by a golden spire.

18. Having performed the dedication ceremony for the Buddha-image and the shrine, he (Rājakumāra), weary of repeated birth, made the following aspiration:

19. "May this meritorious work, performed and accumulated by me, be the cause of my attaining Supreme Enlightenment!

20–22. Whosoever, be he my son, or grandson, or any other relative, with evil intent and unbelieving mind should oppress those slaves, dwellers in the three villages, whom I have dedicated to the shrine and the golden image of the Great Sage, may this vile person be precluded from beholding Metteyya, the Chief of men!"[3]

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

[1] Here, both stones read *tuṭṭha-hattho*; the last word being the participle from √hṛ, we should have expected *haṭṭho*, which is, in fact, the reading most generally met with. The *Abhidhānappadīpikāsuci* (Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1915), p. 660, gives, however, both readings.

[2] Reading, with B, *sumedhattā*.

[3] The Pāli face of the Myinkaba pillar has been reproduced by L. de Beylié in his "Prome et Samara," Plate VIII, and a translation of it is given in French, on pp. 109-10; but this translation is defective.

THE MÔN OR TALAING FACE OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION AT PAGAN

THE Môn texts of this important quadrilingual record are of peculiar interest: they were the first of the early Môn documents to be deciphered and their interpretation has furnished the clue by which the other Môn inscriptions of the same period are now being explained. As in the case of the other three languages concerned, the Môn version of this record exists in two copies, on two separate columns. In the one, which for convenience may be styled **A**, the inscription contains 33 lines and covers a space of about 2 feet 7½ inches in height by 1 foot 1½ inches in breadth. In the other, there are 46 lines, covering (when allowance has been made for the first line, which is broken off) about 5 feet 1 inch, by a breadth which is variable and decreases downwards from about 11 inches to about 9½ inches, not counting the very short last line of all. In the **A** copy the text is in an excellent state of preservation, the stone being evidently of good quality and having apparently been kept in a sheltered position. In recent times a small part of it, covering the ends of ll. 26-30, has flaked off and is apparently lost. This would constitute a serious blemish were it not for the fortunate circumstance that a photograph still in existence was taken of an estampage made before the damage was done. The **B** copy has suffered more vicissitudes. Apparently the stone on which it was engraved was not of the same quality as the other, and the letters, though well formed, do not now appear as deep and distinct as those of the **A** text. Worse than that, moreover, the stone is broken into several pieces, some of which are lost altogether. In this way practically the whole of l. 1 as well as the ends of ll. 2-15 and a few letters in many of the other lines have entirely disappeared. It may be added that the normal height of the ordinary letters in **A** is about $\frac{7}{16}$ inch, and letter *t* is about ¼ inch long, while the normal interlinear space is about ¼ inch. In **B** the size of the letters is much the same (if anything, very slightly larger), but the interlinear space is almost 1 inch.

Under these circumstances, the **A** text is manifestly the one to which one has to turn for a general understanding of the whole of this record, while the **B** copy can only be used to a limited extent to confirm or correct it, and that is what has been done here. The text here printed is the **A** copy, variants in **B** being given in the notes appended to it. As it happens, the **A** text was the first to come under

my notice. I published a very tentative decipherment of it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 1017-52, which I was able to correct in many important particulars when in *ibid.*, 1910, pp. 799–812, I issued a decipherment of the **B** text. The text now printed represents a further amendment. Reconsideration of the doubtful points and a comparison with other early Môn inscriptions have led me to modify some of my first tentative readings. I am also much indebted to a review of my first paper by the late M. Huber in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XIII, 7, pp. 11-4, for several valuable suggestions. The untimely death of that brilliant scholar has been a serious loss to Môn studies, as well as to the many other branches of Oriental research in which his extraordinarily versatile mind excelled; and there is no doubt that, had he survived, he would have made many other useful contributions to Môn epigraphy.

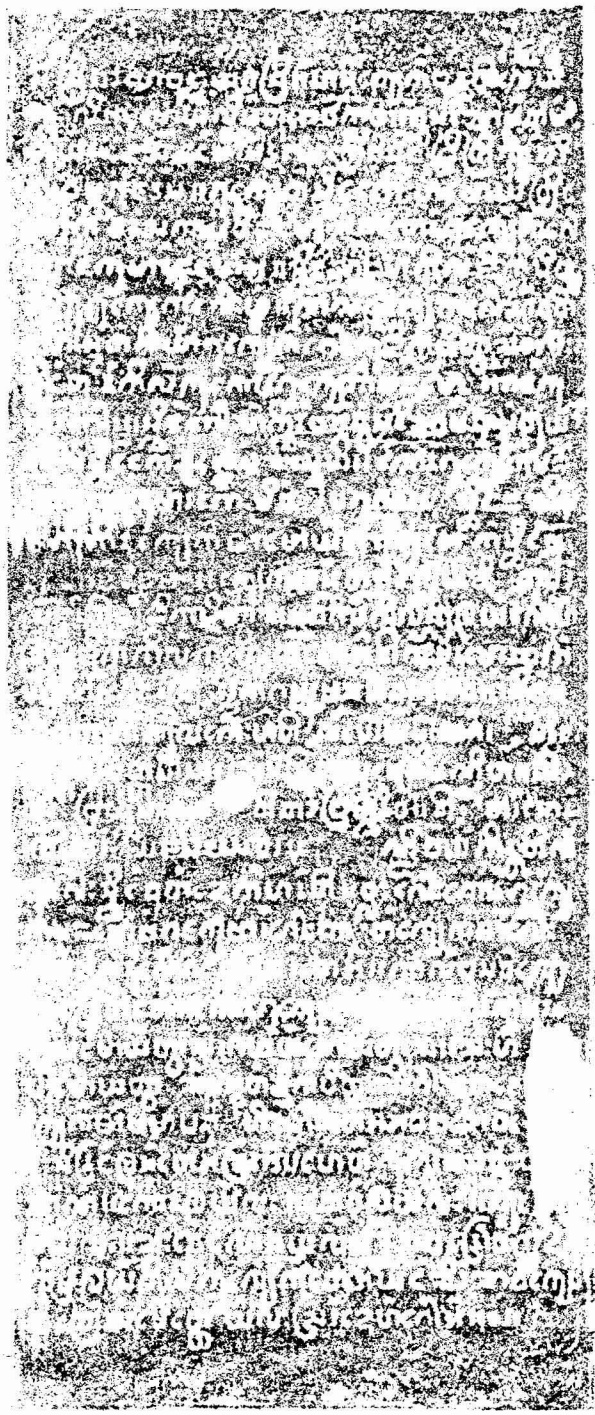
Of the many problems left unsolved by the first reading of this inscription, very few now remain at all doubtful. The word *pā'* (**A** 15) or *po'* (**B** 19) is still not quite satisfactorily explained, inasmuch as it has not been found elsewhere or correlated with a modern form. But the great crux was the word which I read, somewhat doubtfully, *ticār* (**A** 18–21, **B** 24-7). Huber proposed to read it *ācār*, but in the absence of any Môn palaeographic evidence for an initial *ā* so closely resembling *ti*, I felt unable to adopt a suggestion which would otherwise be most acceptable. It occurred to me later that the mysterious word might conceivably be an abbreviation (or possibly a genuine contraction) of *tirla ācār*, "the lord teacher." Both titles are appropriate to ecclesiastics, and medieval Môn offers somewhat of a parallel in the title *tipuin*, which presumably stands for *tila puin*. This explanation has now been confirmed by Professor Duroiselle on the authority of a learned Môn monk. The title is one appropriate to a high ecclesiastical dignitary and in my translation I have rendered it by "the Venerable."

From internal evidence it seems clear that the **B** text is nearer the original draft than the **A** can claim to be in at least one important particular, viz. the name of the third village dedicated by the prince (**A** 26-7, **B** 35): a comparison with the Burmese version establishes that fact beyond all doubt. The latter has *Henbuiw*, and it may be inferred that the Môn draft had *Henbuiy*, which has been corrupted in both copies, but much more seriously in **A** than in **B**. But as a rule their differences are mere variants of spelling, though in **A** 28 (**B** 38) the **B** reading has contributed to the rectification of the interpretation as well. A number of points of agreement between the Môn and Pāli versions raise the probability that they were composed by the same draftsman. But in general the Môn agrees pretty closely with the Burmese, on which it would seem to have been modelled.

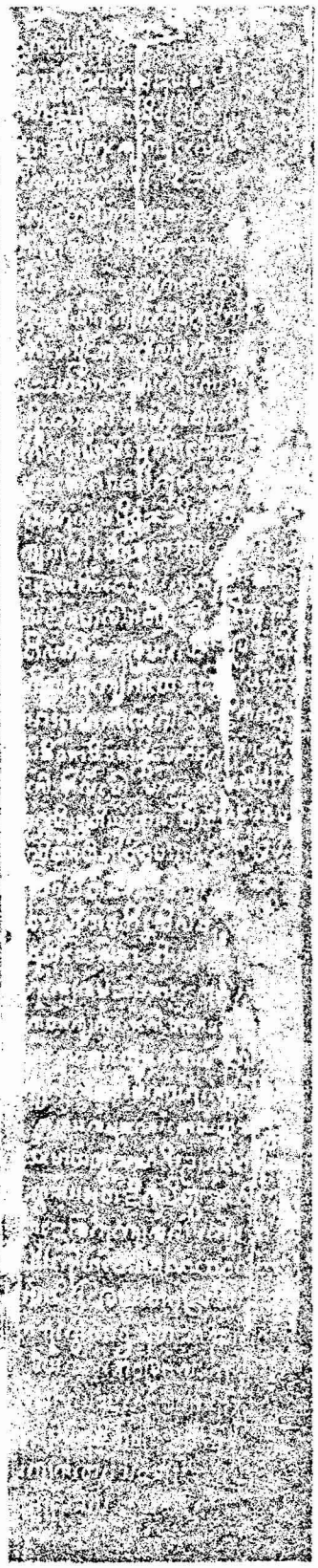
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN

THE TALAING TEXT

A



B



Text (*Plate III, A*).

1. ॥ śrī ॥ [n]amo B[u]ddhāya ॥ śrī ॥ sās kyek Buddha tirley
2. kuli ār moy lhim turow k[l]aṁ ḅār cwas-diñcām cnām
3. tuy ॥ ḍe[y ḍuṁ A]rimaddanapur wo' smiṁ Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
4. tyadhammarāj das ॥ gnakyek smiṁ goḥh moy Tri-
5. lokawaṭaṁsakādewī [1] imo' ॥ kon gnakyek go(ḥ)-
6. h [2] Rājakumār imo' ॥ smiṁ goḥh kil ḍik pi [twā]-
7. ñ ku gnakyek goḥh ॥ kāl gnakyek goḥh cuti
8. ār ॥ a-ut kiryā gnakyek goḥ ku ḍik pi twāñ g[o]ḥ [3]
9. smiṁ tun kil [4] ku ko[n] gnakyek ma i[m]o' Rājaku-
10. mār goḥ [5] ॥ smiṁ goḥh kmin ḅār cwas diñcām cnām tuy
11. [kā]l smiṁ goḥ [aj]ey ña[n] scuti ॥ kon gnakyek ma i-
12. mo' Rāja[k]umār goḥ [6] [m]irnas gug̣ ma smiṁ iñcim
13. jirku kin[d]aṁ kyek thar moy ār tu[ḅ]ok smiṁ mu-
14. nas row wo' ॥ kyek thar wo' ey ḍik pa raṁ
15. pā' [7] ti[r]la ḍik [p]i [t]wāñ ma tirla kil [8] ku ey goḥh
16. ey ḍik kil ku kyek wo' tirla anumodanā da' [9]
17. ॥ kāl goḥ smiṁ sḍik gap puma[s] th[i]c ā thic ā smiṁ [pa]
18. sādhukār ॥ kāl goḥ[h] [10] tirla poy mhā[the]r ॥ ticā-
19. r [11] Muggaliputtat[i]ssat[th]er ॥ ticār Sumedhapaṇḍit ॥ ti-
20. [cā]r [12] Brahma[p]āl ॥ ticār Brahmadiw ॥ ticār Son
21. ॥ ticār Saṅghasenawarapaṇḍit [13] ॥ kinta tir[l]a
22. [t]a goḥ smiṁ cut ḍek haṁ ti ॥ blaḥ goḥ kon gnakye-
23. k ma imo' Rājakumār goḥ [14] ket kyek thar goḥ [15]
24. [th]āpanā kandaṁ guoh cl[o]ṁ [th]ar [w]o' ॥ kāl b[u]sac kye-
25. k guoh [16] wo' kon gnakyek goḥ ket Sa[k]muna-
26. lor [17] moy twāñ ॥ [18] Rapā[y] moy twāñ ॥ [18] ñaḥh gir-u-
27. [y] [19] moy twāñ ॥ a-ut [20] ḍik pi twāñ goḥ cut ḍek ku

[1] B has °*i*. [2] B has *goḥh*. [3] B has *goḥh*. [4] B has *keil*. [5] B has *goḥh*. [6] B probably had *goḥh*.
[7] B has *po'*, which is probably correct and may have been intended in **A**.
[8] B has *keil*. [9] B has *da*. [10] B has *goḥ*.
[11] Other possible readings of this word (here and *infra*) are *titar* and perhaps *tiwār*. But *ticār* is almost certainly right.
[12] B has °*r*=*B*°. [13] B has °*wa*(*r*)*paṇḍit*. [14] B probably had *goḥh*. [15] B has *goḥh*.
[16] B has *goḥ*. [17] B rightly has °*lon*. [18] B omits the stops.
[19] B has an impossible reading, which may be rendered *Hegir-uy* (but the *H* has a *virāma*, which is incompatible with the *e*). The original intention must have been to write *Henbuiy*. The **A** reading represents a further corruption of this presumed original. [20] B nas *ut*.

28. kyek thar ma [th]āpanā[1] hin goḥ[2] wo' rādhanā row wo'
29. ॥ sinraṅ e['][3] wo' or das het ku gwo['] sarwwañ[u]ta-
30. ñāṇ ॥ kon ey laḥ ॥ cow ey[4] laḥ ॥ kulo
31. ey laḥ ॥ ñaḥ c-eṅ laḥ ॥ yal pa upadrow ku ḍi-
32. k ma ey kil ku kyek wo' yaṅ ñirñāc kye-
33. k tre[y] Mettey laḥ or ḍeh go' ॥ o ॥

Translation.

Prosperity! Honour to Buddha! Prosperity! After the religion of the Lord Buddha had gone on for one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years, (l. 3) in this city of Arimaddanapur King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj was[5] (king); one queen of that king was named Trilokawaṭaṁsakādewī; that queen's son was named Rājakumār. The king gave three villages of slaves (l. 7) to the queen. When the queen died, the king gave all the queen's goods,[6] together with the three villages of slaves, to the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār.

After the king had reigned for twenty-eight years, (l. 11) when the king was sick well-nigh unto death, the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār, remembering the favours wherewith the king had nourished[7] him made a golden Buddha (and) went (and) offered[8] it to the king, (and) addressed (l. 14) (him) thus: "This golden Buddha (have) I made to assist[9] my lord. The three villages of slaves that my lord gave to me, I am giving to this Buddha: may my lord approve!"

Then the king, being well pleased, expressed approval, (saying), "Well done! Well done!"[10] (l. 18) Then (in the presence of) our lord[11] the Chief Monk, the Venerable the senior monk Muggaliputtatissa, the Venerable the learned Sumedha, the Venerable Brahmapāl, the Venerable Brahmadiw, the Venerable Son, (l. 21) (and) the Venerable the very learned Saṅghasena, in the presence of those lords the king poured water onto the ground.

[1] In A the initial looks like *m*, the top stroke having been omitted.
[2] B has *guoḥ*, a better reading. [3] B rightly has *ey*. [4] B has *e'*.
[5] Or "became." The date of his accession is apparently the date mentioned.
[6] Or "ornaments."
[7] To be taken figuratively, of course: "the favours which the king had bestowed upon him."
[8] For the royal approval, not as a gift to the king. The word is used elsewhere apparently in much the same way.
[9] That is, as a votive offering in connexion with the king's sickness. Apparently the word *po'* (or *pā'*, as the A text has it, though probably wrongly) is a preposition going with the verb; but it has not been satisfactorily identified with a modern equivalent.
[10] The Pāli has *sādhu* (repeated). Apparently the *ā* in our version is an interjection emphasizing the king's approval.
[11] Or "lords": it may apply to all these ecclesiastics.

After this, the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār, took the golden Buddha (l. 24) (and) enshrined it (and) made this golden-spired cave-pagoda. When dedicating this Buddha (and) cave-pagoda, the queen's son brought up (the men of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapāy, one village, Henbuiy,[1] one village, all those three village-communities of slaves, (and) poured out water for (l. 28) the golden Buddha that he (had) enshrined in this cave-pagoda, (and) prayed thus: "May this act of mine be a cause for the attainment (by me) of omniscience! Be it my child, be it my grandchild, be it my kinsman, be it (any) other person, if he do violence to the slaves (l. 32) whom I am giving to this Buddha, may he not get sight of the exalted Buddha Mettey!"

GLOSSARY OF MÔN WORDS.

a-ut : all.
ajey : sick.
anumodanā : to approve.
ā : a particle or interjection, probably emphatic.
ār : to go. Also used as a sort of auxiliary, e.g. *kuli ār*, *cuti ār*.
iñcim : to nourish.
imo' : name, called.
ut : = a-ut.
upadrow : violence, hurt.
ey : I, my.
e' : = ey.
or : particle with an optative force.
kandaṁ : to make.
kmin : to rule.
kyek : any worshipful person or object; here "a statue of Buddha."
klaṁ : a hundred.
kāl : time, when.
kinta : in the presence of.
kindaṁ : = kandaṁ.
kiryā : property (or, perhaps, "ornaments").
kil : to give.
ku : to, for, with.
kuli : to go on (used with *ār*).
kulo : kinsman.
keil : = kil.
ket : to bring.
kon : child.
gnakyek : queen.
gap : used with *pumas* in the sense of "happy."
gwo' : attainment.
guoh : cave-pagoda.
guṇ : favour.
goh : = guoh.
go' : to get, to obtain, to attain to.
goḥ : (1) = goḥh; (2) = guoh.
goḥh : that, the.
cnām : year.
cloṅ : spire of a pagoda.
cwas : ten (used as a multiplicand).

[1] See the note on the text: the Burmese version has *Henbuiw*.

cut : to put (and here "to pour").
cuti : to die.
c-eṅ : other.
cow : grandchild.
jirku : self.
ñan : near.
ñaḥ : he, they, person.
ñirñāc : sight, vision (verbal substantive from *ñāc*, "to see").
ḍik : slave (also with *ey* = "I," respectfully).
ḍuṅ : city.
ḍek : water.
ḍey : in.
ḍeh : he.
ta : particle forming the plural.
trey : exalted.
twāṅ : village.
ti : earth, ground.
ticār : an ecclesiastical title (*see* Introduction).
tirla : lord.
tirley : lord (probably for *tirla ey*, "my lord").
tun : particle or auxiliary.
tuy : particle or auxiliary forming the past tense.
turow : six.
tuḥok : to present, to offer.
thar : gold, golden.
thāpanā : to enshrine.
thic : worthy, well done.
da : particle, probably emphatic.
das : to be.
da' : = da.
diñcām : eight.
pa : to do, to make.
pā' : probably for *pa'*.
pi : three.
pumas : see *gap*.
poy : we, our.
po' : for, on behalf of.
blaḥ : used with *goḥ* in the sense of "thereafter."
busac : to dedicate.
ma : relative particle.
mhāther : for *mahāther*, "chief monk."
mirnas : to remember.
munas : to address.
moy : one.
yaṅ : introductory particle.
yal : if.
raṁ : to assist.
rādhanā : to pray, to utter a vow.
row : manner (as in *row wo'*, "thus").
lṅim : a thousand.
laḥ : (1) prohibitive negative; (2) when repeated after other words, "either . . . . or."
wo' : this.
scuti : = cuti, with a Môn verbal affix.
sḍik : to be pleased.
smiṅ : king.
sarwwaññutaññāṇ : omniscience.
sādhukār : expression of approval.
sās : religion.
sinraṅ : act, deed.
han : to, onto.
hin : = han, in the sense of "for."
het : cause.
ḥār : two.

THE PYU FACE OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION AT PAGAN.

THE fourth, or "Pyu," version of this record exists like the others in two copies on two separate pillars. On the one it measures about 3 feet 3½ inches by 1 foot 1 inch and contains 26 lines, on the other about 3 feet 9½ inches by 11 to 12 inches, containing 29 lines. I have styled the former **A** and have adopted it as the basis of the text here given, adding the **B** variants in the appended notes. Both texts are on the whole in a good state of preservation, though **B** shows a break across its ll. 6, 7 and is seriously defaced in ll. 24, 25. The alphabet in which the record is written is an archaic form of script relatively to the date of the document, and both it and the language of this version were for many years somewhat of a puzzle to archaeologists, though they recognized that the alphabet was of a Southern Indian type. In form, however, it differs profoundly from the alphabet of the three other versions, which is much nearer to the type of the modern Burmese script.

In *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, pp. 365-87, I attempted to throw some light on the matter by means of a detailed comparison of this version with the corresponding parts of the Pāli, Burmese, and Môn texts. It is not necessary to go over the same ground again here: persons interested in the method pursued can refer to the article cited above. Briefly, it amounted to this. The letters were as far as possible identified by their occurrence in proper names and loanwords and by their resemblance in shape to corresponding letters in other forms of the Indian alphabet. As for the words, whenever a word occurred repeatedly in varying contexts, there appeared the possibility of determining its meaning, if it had in fact any definite meaning at all. So far as it went, I think it may be claimed that this method was successful. But it has its obvious limitations. Some of the letters resemble one another so closely that it is difficult to discriminate between them, and the conjunct letters offer special difficulties of identification. A number of words that recur several times in our text appear to be mere particles, without any very definite or ascertainable meaning. A great many others occur only once, or only in contexts which do not serve to identify them with certainty. This leaves a large residuum of unknowns.

At this stage it is clear that comparison with further material should have been the next step. Unfortunately very little is available. On the one hand, the

remaining Pyu material is very scanty and most of it is either illegible or at present practically unintelligible. The urn inscriptions discussed by me in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 127-32, have thrown very little additional light on this obscure subject. Consequently the Text and Translation as printed here differ but slightly from those given in *J.R.A.S.*, l.c., and both must be regarded as somewhat tentative and provisional. On the other hand, comparison with the other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family has not yet been seriously attempted. For personal reasons I have been unable to undertake it, but certainly much could be done in that direction and it is to be hoped that it will eventually be taken in hand systematically. So far as can be judged from the existing materials, Pyu (as I have ventured to style the language of this version) was a somewhat distant cousin of Burmese, and a comparison with Burmese alone would not be productive of very satisfactory results. It will be necessary to carry the matter further and study a number of the more or less cognate languages as well. Want of leisure prevents me from undertaking such a serious task, which could only be recommended to some one who had much patience and spare time, and who also had (or was in a position to acquire) a very wide and intimate acquaintance with this family of languages as a whole.

Some of the peculiarities of Pyu have been indicated in *J.R.A.S.*, l.c. It would appear that it had a wide range of tones, of which the various dots (represented in the transcript by small circles) and their combinations used in the text seem to be the expression. It did not draw a very clear distinction between long and short vowels: the only certain case of differentiation is the case of *u* and *ū*. It did not tolerate closed syllables or the gemination of consonants but allowed a limited number of combinations of two consonants as initials, the second member of such combinations being a semi-vowel or a liquid. But even in such cases it is not quite certain that a short neutral vowel may not have been inserted in between the two consonants, for the spelling often uses conjuncts in combinations (such as *td*) where such a vowel must of necessity be introduced. It shares this peculiarity with the contemporary Môn usage, a usage that has survived in modern Môn also. Like most other Indo-Chinese languages, Pyu tended towards monosyllabism and generally abbreviated long Indian words by cutting off the end. Its syntax seems to have been substantially on the lines of the typical Tibeto-Burman syntax, and such peculiarities as it exhibits may be due to foreign (probably Môn) influence. Its spelling is rather variable, but it has a distinct tendency to use the sonant letters as surds, a phenomenon which is susceptible of several alternative explanations, none of which can be regarded at present as established with certainty, though for my own part I incline to the view that it points to a phonetic

change in the language itself which took place after it had begun to be a written language but before the date of our record.

The evidence at present available seems to indicate that the nation which spoke the language of our text was a forerunner of the Tibeto-Burman movement into the southern parts of the Irrawaddy valley and had reached the neighbourhood of Prome (where many of its records have been found) long before the Burmese had come down from the North. The name "Pyu" has merely been attached to it as a convenient label, not intrinsically improbable in view of Burmese traditional history, but by no means to be accepted as final. In the Prome region it would appear that this nation acquired a veneer of Indian civilization, almost certainly through the intermediary of the Môn population of the Delta. When this process began, it is impossible to say. But the alphabet exhibits archaic peculiarities (such as the form of conjunct *y*) which in India itself were becoming obsolete in the 4th century A.D. One word in our inscription appears to be a loanword from Môn, viz. *tha*, "gold" (Early Môn *thar*, modern *thaw*): they are at any rate identical and are evidence of some contact between the two races, such as their geographical positions almost necessarily imply. The peculiar letter that I represented by *ḅ* is somewhat similar to the Môn *ḅ* and may have been derived from it. Both, however, look rather like modifications of a *b* of the North Indian type. (In other respects the letters used in the record have been transcribed in the way generally adopted for Pâli and Sanskrit.)

So far as appears at present, the prospects of Pyu epigraphy are not very promising, and unless much additional material is discovered in the future, it does not seem likely that any great progress will ever be made in the study of this obsolete language. Should, however, further exploration succeed in unearthing fresh documents, the present record would acquire a new value, for it would be the only safe clue to the interpretation of such additional documents. In any event, it has somewhat unexpectedly revealed the former existence of a nation and language which have apparently been completely absorbed by the Burmese and of which no modern representatives in the direct line have as yet been discovered. The mere fact that at the beginning of the 12th century the language was still considered sufficiently important to warrant its inclusion together with Burmese and Môn in this record, is evidence that the nation which spoke it still maintained a certain status in the Burmese empire, and had somewhat of a separate existence side by side with the other two races. That in itself is a contribution to the history of Burma which cannot be overlooked in assessing the importance of our text.

Text (*Plate IV, A*)

1. ‖ ‖ ‖ siri ‖ ‖[1] Dathagaḍa ḅa dọ ḅå: ḅiṁ pdū sgu da: ḅa tva M DC
2. XX[2] hrå u sni: ḅiṁ tva: thada ‖[3] yå ti° pri: Rimadhanabū umi ḅiṁ si ‖
3. Sri Tribhuvanadi°tyadhamaraja umi ḅiṁ si ‖ u dọ: ḍa[4] ḅå: uvọ:[5] ma-
4. ya: Trilogavadasagadẹvi[6] ḅiṁ si umi ‖ ḍhau u sa: Rajaguma ḅiṁ
5. si umi ‖ uvå tra: o[7] ho: ḅiṁ på: to: ‖ ḍhau ḅå: maya: ḅiṁ hi tadå[8]
6. maya:[9] u tra tra: o ho: ḅiṁ på: tḅa: ḅå: maya: u sa: Rajaguma uvå ‖
7. ḍhau ḅå:[10] tda: sni: tpū[11] hrå ḅiṁ tadå ‖[12] ḅiṁ sri: ḅi: hni: hli: hi u mtu dū
8. ro: ‖ ḍhau ḅå: maya: u sa: Rajaguma ḅiṁ si umi ‖ udi°
9. ḅiṁ mtau ma ḍhau tua: to[13] u lo: tro: di° ḅiṁ mdau ha: ḍa:[14] da ‖ ḍhau ḅå:
10. Būdha u cha: bo bradima tha tū[15] ḅiṁ se kya: ‖ ḍhau ḅå: Būdha[16] ḅiṁ tu:
11. thmū: lo: yå na ḅiṁ tdi: to: ‖ yå ḅå:[17] Būdha tha ḅå: ra: sa: ḅiṁ
12. se maḅū: ḅa: uvå pa: che cho: ‖ yå tra: o[18] ho: ḅiṁ på:
13. maḅū: ‖ ya ḅå: hra tha uvå på: che ‖ ḍhau lo: ḅå: tda: ḅiṁ ri°[19]
14. pa[20] dạ ḅiṁ nu ha pra cho: ha pra[21] cho:[22] ḅiṁ si ‖ ḍhau u dọ: tra: ḅå:
15. mahathe[23] ‖ tra: ḅå: Mūgalubūdadisathe[24] ‖ tra: ḅå: Sūmedhabadi°[25]
16. ‖ tra: ḅå: Vrahmaba ‖ trå: ḅå: Vradẹyo:[26] ‖ tra: ḅå: Sū ‖ tra: ḅå:
17. Sagasivarabadi° ‖ ḍhau tra: ḅå: sagha tvo u hnu di° dū tda:
18. tu ḅå: ḅiṁ cha to: tdū ‖ ḍhau ḅiṁ tada maya: u sa: Raja-

[1] The stops before and after *siri* are in a conventional form which occurs in other Pyu inscriptions. All, except the first of the first group, resemble in shape the letter *r*.

[2] The symbols M, DC, and XX represent ancient Indian numeral symbols for 1,000, 600, and 20, respectively. It is possible that *hrå* also is such a symbol for 8, but the presence of the *anusvāra* mark inclines me to the view that it is a genuine Pyu numeral, expressed phonetically. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 130.

[3] B omits this stop. [4] Possibly to be read *la*.

[5] I am not sure of the final vowel. The same word seems to occur in one of the Hmawza urn inscriptions (DI ; see *l.c.*, p. 149).

[6] B has *Trilogavadasagadẹvi*. It would seem from its shape that the *l* in this name, and in the inscription generally, is not the ordinary one but the so-called lingual one, which comes further down in the alphabet.

[7] The reading *o* is conjectural, being based merely on the shape of the character.

[8] B here inserts ‖ *bā:* [9] This word, illegible in A, is clear in B. [10] B wrongly has *bi:*

[11] Or *np*: the reading is doubtful, but the word must mean "twenty" (see *l.c.*, p. 130).

[12] B has the bigger stop ‖ o ‖, probably merely to fill up a bit of spare space at the end of its l. 7

[13] B has *to*. Possibly this is a variant of the *tu* at the beginning of l. 18.

[14] Possibly to be read *la:* or *le:*. [15] The reading is doubtful: possibly it should be *tkha*.

[16] B has *Budha*. [17] B omits *bå:*. [18] B omits *o*.

[19] B appears to have *ri°*, which is probably the right reading in A also, though the latter may have *ri:*.

[20] A appears to read *pha*, but the initial is doubtful. B has *pa*.

[21] B omits this *pra*. [22] A may have *cho:* here. B has *cho:*.

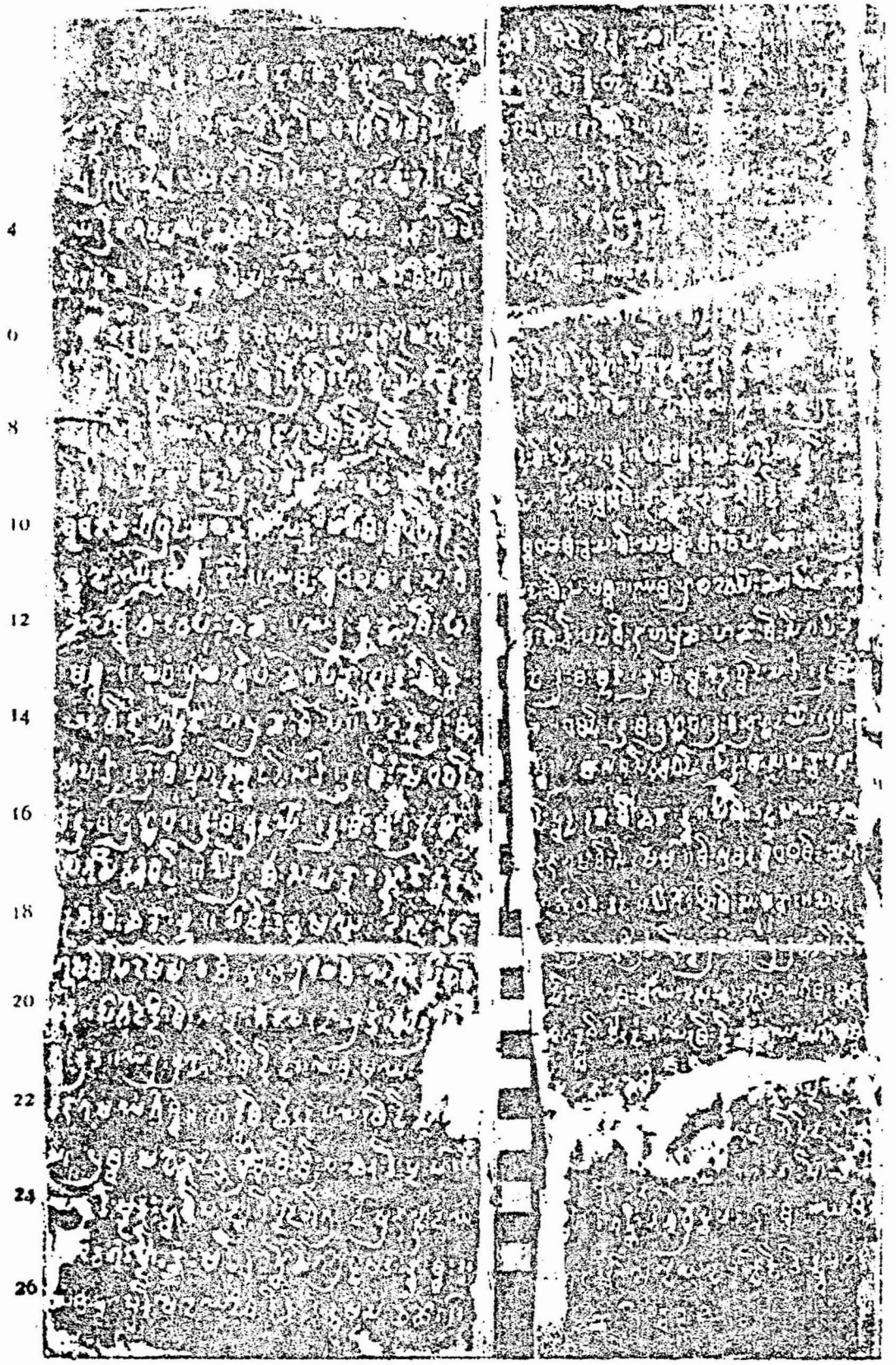
[23] B has *mhathe*. [24] B has *Mūgalubūdi°sathe*. [25] B has *Saumedhabadi°*.

[26] B rightly has *Vrahmadẹyo:*. But the *e* is doubtful in both texts.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA, PAGAN

THE PYU TEXT

A B



19. guma ḅiṉ si umi ma [ꞏ][1] ḅiṉ stabana[2] gūdha[3] tha ḅiṉ se gọ u stau tha ḅi[꞉][4]
20. tadạ̊ ꞏ ḍhau gọ u hḷau ḅiṉ sa꞉ (t)o꞉[5] ꞏ Samanaḷō°[6] o tå ꞉[7] Rabai o tå ꞉ [J]i(°)-
21. vū꞉[8] o tå ꞉[9] yå tra꞉ o ho꞉ dị° ḅiṉ dị° dạ ꞏ yå ḅå꞉ maya꞉ [u sa꞉][10]
22. Rajaguma yå go[11] Ḅūdha uvå tdū ḅiṉ chai tadạ̊ ꞏ yå na ḅiṉ dị° cho [ꞏ yå][12]
23. ma gå꞉ pra ḅū꞉ saveñodeñe breñe ḅiṉ ḅiṉ på꞉ che na꞉[13] ti° plå꞉ pa[14] ꞏ
24. yå tra꞉ ti° mtu kū꞉ dū gi sa꞉ ḍa[15] ꞉ gi pḷi ḍa[16] gi sru꞉ ḍa[16] mra ja hñu ḍa[17] yå
25. [Ḅūdha][18] uvå gå꞉ hii꞉ to꞉ ma dị° ꞉ ga (hñ)i[19] chi ga bro pḍạ ma ta꞉ ñū꞉ ḅū꞉ ꞉
26. yå ḅå꞉ Būdha Ari Medeya dá ḅa꞉ dị chiṉ ti° tmū ma på꞉ che cho꞉ ꞉[20]

Translation.[21]

Prosperity! 1628 years after the Tathāgata's *parinirvāṇa*,[22] in this city called Arimaddanapur (l. 3) Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja so-called was lord,[23] his queen consort was called Trilokawaṭaṁsakādewī, her son was called Rājakumār. (The king) gave her three villages of slaves. When the queen had died, (l. 6) (he) gave the queen's goods (and) the three villages of slaves to the queen's son Rājakumār.

When the king had reigned for twenty-eight years, (and) was sick nigh unto

[1] B has ꞉; there is a blur in A.
[2] B has *staḅana*.
[3] For *Būdha*. But B has *Ḅūdha*.
[4] B rightly has *ḅi꞉*. A has *ḅi* only.
[5] For *to꞉* we should perhaps read *ro꞉*, which is quite distinct in B, where it is apparently preceded by an inserted *ma*.
[6] B has *Samanaḷō꞉*. The final vowel is more or less doubtful in both texts, as it has a hook on the top, the force of which is obscure.
[7] B has ꞉ instead of ꞉.
[8] B has *Ji°vū꞉* (or, possibly, *Ji꞉vū꞉*).
[9] B has ꞉ instead of ꞉.
[10] There is a blur here in A, but B has *u sa꞉*.
[11] B inserts *ḍa꞉* before *Ḅūdha*.
[12] There is a blur in A, but B is quite clear.
[13] Or possibly *nu꞉*.
[14] The vowel is doubtful: there is an unexplained mark over the letter.
[15] For *ḍa* (throughout this line) we might perhaps read *la* or *le*.
[16] In these places B inserts ꞉.
[17] B inserts ꞉ or, more probably, ꞉ here.
[18] There is a blur in A, but B has *Ḅūdha*.
[19] Very doubtful reading.
[20] B has a more elaborate stop at the end, something like the punctuation marks in l. 1.
[21] This translation is tentative, being to a great extent based not so much on the obscure original as on the more intelligible Burmese and Môn versions. At the present stage of Pyu studies no other course is possible, but in the event of fresh material being made available in the future the translation will have to be submitted to a critical revision.
[22] That is, "after Buddha's death." But possibly the phrase means "after the establishment of Buddha's religion," which would be another way of indicating the same point of time and would agree more closely with the other versions.
[23] The word here rendered "lord" is *ḍa꞉*, but it is doubtful whether the phrase has been rightly apprehended.

death, the queen's son named Rājakumār, (l. 9) being mindful of the benefits wherewith the king had nourished him,[1] caused this golden image in the likeness of the Buddha to be made, (and) brought this Buddha into the (royal) presence (and) spake thus :—" This golden Buddha which I have made on my lord's behalf (l. 12) I present to my lord. The three villages of slaves (that) my lord gave me I give to this sacred image of gold." Thereupon the king was delighted (and) exclaimed, " Well done! Well done! " Then (in the presence of) my lord (l. 15) the Chief Monk, my lord the senior monk Muggaliputtatissa, my lord the learned Sumedha, my lord Brahmapāl, my lord Brahmadiw, my lord Son, my lord the very learned Saṅghasena,[2] in the presence of these lords of the church the king (l. 18) poured water (onto the ground).

That having been done, the queen's son named Rājakumār enshrined the golden Buddha, (and) having made the golden spire of the cave-pagoda, pronounced the dedication of this cave-pagoda (and) having assembled (the men of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapāy, one village, (and) Henbuiw, one village, these three villages of slaves, the queen's son (l. 22) Rājakumār, having poured out water to this cave-pagoda (and) Buddha, spake thus :—" May this that I am doing be a cause for giving me omniscience (and) wisdom! As for these slaves, be it my son, be it my grandson, be it my kinsman, be it any other person, (l. 25) if he shall do violence to those that I have dedicated to this Buddha, may he never be permitted to approach the presence of the lord Buddha Arīya Metteya !"[3]

GLOSSARY.[4]

u : a particle used (1) to connect numerals with a noun, 2 ; (2) after words in the genitive relation, 4, 6–10, 18–21 ; (3) in certain other combinations not falling clearly under these heads, 3, 14, 17. (Cf. Early Burmese *e'*, Burmese ဦး ?)

udi° : 8.

umi : name, called, named, 2–5, 8, 19. (Early Burmese *mañ*.)

uvå : (1) a particle or postposition meaning "to" (dative), 6, 12, 13, 22, 25 ; (2) in 5 it apparently means " to her."

[1] The translation of the whole phrase is based on the other versions.

[2] In the case of these and the other proper names occurring in the inscription I have used in the translation the forms found in the other versions. For the Pyu forms the text may be referred to. As to the expression rendered by "my lord," *see* the Glossary, s.v. *traṅ bāt*.

[3] The translation of ll. 25, 26 is based mainly on the other versions.

[4] This glossary is mainly tentative and provisional, for the reasons stated in the Introduction. Where no meaning is attached to a word, it is to be inferred that its sense has not been determined. The figures indicate the lines in text A where the word appears. The Indian order of the alphabet has been followed, but without distinction between conjunct and primary letters.

uvṣ: possibly a word meaning "queen," perhaps to be split up into *u* and *vṣ*, 3.

o: a conjectural reading; the meaning "village" is certain, 5, 6, 12, 20, 21.

kya: probably a verb meaning "to cause" and forming a causative, or perhaps a particle, 10.

kù: future time (?), 24.

ga: possibly a particle meaning "if," 25.

gå: I, 23, 25.

gi: my, 24.

gūdha: error for *Būdha* (usually *Būdha*), 19.

go: cave-pagoda, 19, 20, 22. (Sanskrit *guhā*.)

ṅu: to exclaim (?), 14.

ṅū: 25.

ja: 24. See *mra*.

cha: to pour, 18.

cha: likeness (?), 10. (Early Burmese *achaṅ*.)

chi: violence (?), 25, cf. *hñi*. (Cf. Early Burmese *acak*?)

chiṣ: 26.

che: probably a particle, or a verbal auxiliary to the verb *på*, 12, 13, 23, 26. (Cf. Early Burmese *cíy*?)

chai: to pour out, cf. *cha*, 22.

cho: possibly a variant of the following, 22.

cho: apparently a final particle, 12, 14, 26.

da (perhaps to be read *la*): (1) apparently means "was," 3; (2) "be it," or "either . . . . . or," 24. (Cf. Early Burmese *laṅ*?)

da (possibly to be read *la* or *le*): 9.

dhau: a demonstrative, meaning "that," or simply used where we should use the definite article "the" in referring to something previously mentioned, or well known, 5, 7–10, 17, 20; also by itself (substantively) in reference to persons, points of time, and events, 4, 13, 14, 18. (Early Burmese *thuiw*, *thiw*.)

tå: one, 20, 21. (Early Burmese *tac*.)

ta: 25.

tadå: a verb or auxiliary indicating the past, 5, 7, 18, 20, 22. (Probably the original meaning was "to end," "to finish.")

tdạ: king, 7, 9, 13, 17.

tdi: to say, to speak, 11.

tdọ: water, 18, 22.

tpū (or *npū* ?) : twenty, 7.

tmū : presence (?), 26. (Cf. *thmū* : 11.)

tra : goods, ornaments, 6. (Sanskrit *dravya* ?)

tra꞉ : slave, 5, 6, 12, 21, 24.

tra꞉ ḅå꞉ : a title applied to ecclesiastics, lord, 14–17. (Possibly the first element is the preceding word "slave" used as a deprecatory pronoun of the 1st person, or it might conceivably be the same as the Burmese *tarā꞉* ("law," *dhamma*). For the second element, see *ḅå꞉*.)

tro꞉ : apparently this together with *lo꞉* means "benefits," 9.

tva : 1.

två꞉ : to elapse, to pass, 2.

tvo : probably a particle indicating the plural, 17. (Cf. Early Burmese *tui*' ?)

tḅa꞉ : apparently an auxiliary going with *på꞉*, 6.

ti° : apparently a particle of relation, corresponding sometimes to our preposition "in," 2, 23, 24, 26. See *mtu*.

tu : 18.

tu꞉ : to bring, 10.

tū (possibly to be read *tkha*) : 10.

tọ (or *to*) : (perhaps = *tu*) : 9.

to꞉ : a particle used after verbs, 5, 11, 18, (20), 25. (Cf. Early Burmese *tuṁ* ?)

tha : gold, golden, 10, 11, 13, 19. (Early Môn *thar*.)

thadå (probably = *tadạ꞉* : 1) : 2.

thmū꞉ : presence (?), 11. (Cf. *tmū*.)

dạ̊ (probably = *tadạ̊*) : 9, 14, 21, 26.

dạ꞉ : 1.

dí : 26.

di° : the phrase *hṅu di° dụ* appears to mean "in the presence (of)," 17.

di° : 9, 21, 22, 25. The word seems to have several meanings : in 22 it apparently means "to pray," or at least "to say" ; in 21, after *bi꞉*, it may mean "to assemble," "to bring together" ; but it also occurs before that particle, and there and in 9 and 25 its sense has not been determined.

dụ̄ : apparently a particle of relation, 7, 17, 24. It seems to correspond roughly with our preposition "in."

dọ : 1.

dọ꞉ : possibly a variant of *dụ̄* : in 14 the phrase *dhau u dọ꞉* seems to mean "thereupon" ; in 3 the sense is not so clear.

na꞉ manner ; the phrase *yå na* seems to mean "thus," "as follows," 11, 22.

na꞉ (or *nu꞉* ?) : 23. (Somewhere in the phrase beginning with this word the idea of "cause" must be expressed.)

pa (in A 14 perhaps *pha*) : in 13-14 *bi꞉꞉ ri° pa* must mean "was pleased"; in 23 the sense is undetermined, see *na꞉*.

på꞉ : to give, 5, 6, 12, 13 ; perhaps also in 23, 26, though there the meaning is not so certain. (Early Burmese *piy*.)

pdạ̈ : 25.

pdṻ : possibly "to achieve" or "to enter" (*parinirvāna*), or "to be established" (of the Buddhist religion), 1.

pra : to do, done, deed (?), 14, 23.

pri꞉ : city, 2. (Early Burmese *prañ*.)

pḷå꞉ : 23. (Cf. *na꞉*.)

pḷi : grandchild, 24. (Early Burmese *mliy*.)

bradima : statue, image, 10. (Sanskrit *pratimā*.)

breñe : wisdom, 23. (Sanskrit *prajñā*.)

bro : meaning undetermined, but possibly the phrase which it begins contains the idea of "violence," "harm," 25.

bo : image, representation, likeness (?), cf. *cha꞉* and *bradima*, 10. (Cf. Burmese ့ ?)

ma : apparently a particle, 9, 19, (20 n.), 23, 25, 26.

mtu : in 7 the phrase *u mtu dṻ* must mean "nigh unto," in 24 *ti° mtu* may mean "as for."

mtau : perhaps "to nourish," "to foster," 9. (Or alternatively, the meaning ascribed to *mdau*.)

mdau : to remember (or alternatively, the meaning suggested for the preceding), 9.

maya꞉ : wife, consort, 3, 5, 6, 8, 18, 21. (Early Burmese *mayā*.)

mra : the phrase *mra ja hṅu* must mean "any other person" or "a stranger," or the like, 24.

mahaṭhe (and *mhaṭhe*) : chief monk, 15. (Pāli *mahāthero*.)

maḅū꞉ : possibly either a title of respect (like "my lord") or a deferential equivalent for the 1st personal pronoun singular; unless it is to be split up into *ma* and *ḅū꞉*, 12, 13.

yå : a demonstrative, "this"; also used where we should say "the," 2, 11–13, 21, 22, 24, 26. (Cf. Early Burmese *iy*, *īy*.)

ra꞉ sa꞉ : on behalf of, 11.

ri° (with *pa*) : to be pleased, 13.

ro꞉ : apparently a particle, perhaps meaning "when," 8, 20 n.

sa꞉ : child, son, 4, 6, 8, 18, 21, 24 (but not in 11). (Early Burmese *sā*.)

så꞉ : to pronounce, to declare (?), 20.

sgu: the meaning is undetermined but will depend on that of *pdū̃*, 1.

sagha: church, Buddhist hierarchy, 17. (Sanskrit-Pāli *saṁgha*.)

stabana (in B *staḅana*): to enshrine, to set up (a sacred image), 19. (Sanskrit *sthāpana*.)

stau: spire of a pagoda, 19. (Sanskrit *stūpa*.)

sniṣ: year, 2, 7. (Early Burmese *anhac*.)

sriṣ: to reign (?), 7.

sruṣ (reading not quite certain): kinsman, relative, 24.

saveñodeñe: omniscience, 23. (Sanskrit-Pāli *sarvañutañāṇaṁ*.)

si: the root meaning is apparently "to be," 2–5, 8, 14, 19 (though in 14 it is difficult to see how that meaning can be appropriate).

se: to make, 10, 12, 19.

ha: good, well (?), 14.

haṣ: 9.

hṁu: 17, 24. (See *di*° and *mra*.)

hñi (?): violence (?), 25. (Cf. Early Burmese *anhip* ?)

hniṣ: to be sick, 7. (Cf. Early Burmese *nā* ?)

hra: sacred image (?), 13.

hrå: eight, 2, 7. (Early Burmese *het*.)

hḷiṣ: in 7 it seems to go with *hniṣ*, with what sense is not clear; in 25 it seems to mean "to dedicate to," "to make a gift to pious uses." (Cf. Early Burmese *lhū* ?)

hḷau: dedication formula (?), 20. (Cf. Early Burmese *lhot* ?)

hi: to die, 5, 7. (Early Burmese *siy*.)

hoṣ: three, 5, 6, 12, 21. (Early Burmese *sum*.)

ḷoṣ: in 11 and 13 it seems to be a postposition, "in," "on" (so *ḍhau ḷoṣ*, "thereupon") (cf. Early Burmese *rhow* ?); in 9 the phrase *ḷoṣ troṣ* seems to mean "benefits."

ḅa: 1.

ḅaṣ: 26 (possibly an optative negative, "may not").

ḅåṣ: honorific particle or title, 1, 3, 5–18, 21, (22 n.), 26.

ḅi: error for *ḅiṣ*, 19.

ḅiṣ: particle preceding verbs, 1–14, 18–22. The doubled form in 23 is probably a distinct word (perhaps meaning "for myself," cf. Early Burmese *mimī* ?).

ḅūṣ: to do (?), 23, 25. (Cf. Early Burmese *mū*, *amho'* ?)

NOTE.—*siri*, "prosperity" (Pāli, or from Sanskrit *śrī*), which does not form part of any Pyu sentence, has not been included in the Glossary, nor have the proper names.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

VOLUME I PART II

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA

Epigraphia Birmanica

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

Edited by

CHAS. DUROISELLE

Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma Circle

1960

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNION OF BURMA

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.F.E.O. = Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.
E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.
I.A. = Indian Antiquary.
J.A. = Journal Asiatique.
J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. Burma Research S. = Journal of the Burma Research Society.
J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J. Siam S. = Journal of the Siam Society.
E.M. = Early Môn.
M.M. = Middle (or medieval) Môn.
L.M. = Later Môn.
tr. = translation.
n. = note.

G.U.B.C.P.O.—No. 2, Dir. of A.S., 20-2-60-1500 V.

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

General Introduction.—The Môn People and their History.

1.[1] The people who call themselves "Môn" and who are known to the Burmese, and generally to Europeans, as "Talaing," are probably the descendants of a race that settled in Burma earliest of all the races that now inhabit the province. They seem to have preserved no traditions of their migration into the country. At the present time they inhabit a small fringe of the coast-line of Lower Burma on both sides of the mouth of the Salween River, from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Pegu to a little to the south of the town of Ye. In the Census of 1911 the persons returning themselves as Môn by race numbered 320,629, of whom however only 179,443 claimed to be Môn in speech. Of this latter number 175,127 were returned as living in the Tenasserim division (139,970 in the Amherst district, where they considerably outnumber the Burmese inhabitants, and 34,805 in the Thatôn district), while in the Pegu division there were only 1,960, and in the rest of the province the numbers are negligible. Plainly the language is moribund outside of the Amherst and Thatôn districts, but in these and particularly in the former it still retains considerable vitality, though it is carrying on a very unequal contest with the much more important and growing official vernacular of the province, Burmese. However, as between the Census of 1901 and that of 1911, there has been a revival amounting to an increase of nearly 25,000 in the number of those who wish to be considered Môn in speech; so it would appear, either that the Môn-speaking population is actually augmenting now or that there has been a recrudescence of national

[1] For convenience of reference the commentary has been divided into numbered paragraphs and these will accordingly be referred to by their Arabic numerals. But in the case of the inscriptions, both as regards text, translation, and the notes thereon respectively, reference will be made by the serial (Roman) number of the inscription, the letter denoting the face (or fragment), and the Arabic number of the particular line, with the addition (when necessary) of "tr." for "translation" and "n." for "note."

self-consciousness in the race, leading it to insist more distinctly on its specific differences. This bids fair to postpone indefinitely the extinction of the language in Burma, which at one time seemed to be inevitable and imminent.[1]

2. In a remote past, which we cannot precisely date, inasmuch as it precedes local recorded history, the area occupied by the Môn people must have been very much more extensive than at present. To the northward their linguistic influence seems to have penetrated as far as Prome, where a completely different people and language were centred.[2] To the southward the race seems to have wandered very far. There is some reason to believe that at a very early period they settled in Ligor (on the isthmus leading to the Malay Peninsula)[3]; and as far south as the northern border of Johor (the most southern state in the Peninsula) there are jungle tribes who to this day use a series of numerals (up to "seven") which are substantially identical with the 11th century Môn numerals.[4] About the middle of that century the Môn area was much reduced by Burmese conquests, culminating in the total annexation of the Môn country to the Burmese kingdom of Pagan and the settlement of Tavoy and Southern Tenasserim by Burmese, who thus cut off the Môn race from their connexion with the more distant south. To the kingdom of Pagan they remained annexed (apart from occasional revolts of local Burmese governors or casual Tai incursions) until A.D. 1281,[5] when they again became at least partially independent under the rule of an adventurer, probably of Tai origin. He founded a dynasty which rapidly assimilated itself to its Môn subjects and by degrees united the bulk of them into a kingdom comprising the three provinces of Bassein, Pegu and Martaban, with its capital eventually fixed at Pegu. This, the medieval Môn kingdom (as one may conveniently style it), was in the clerkly Pāli terminology of the time called

[1] Cf. Haswell, *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language* (1874), pp. xii, xiii: "The language is gradually going out of use, and the sooner it is supplanted by the Burman the better, yet I think it will be a long time before it ceases to be the language in common use in country villages in the Amherst district, and near the sea coast of the Martaban district." Haswell was the first scholar who seriously studied the language, and it is rather surprising that he should have expressed a desire for its extinction: such an attitude of detachment towards the subject of one's life's work is decidedly unusual.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 380. See also Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883), p. 19.

[3] Bastian, *Geschichte der Indochinesen* (1866), p. 197, presumably basing the statement on native traditional history, says that this happened in Asôka's time. This author's sources are of very varying value, and of course this particular date, as a date, is absolutely worthless. But the tradition may represent a real event in some distant past.

[4] Compare the forms given in the Glossary with the Peninsular forms in the Comparative Vocabulary of Skeat and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (1906). It was the connexion with the jungle dialects of the Peninsula which impelled me originally to investigate Môn.

[5] I follow the commonly received chronology as given in Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 65. It agrees with the statements of the Môn chronicles (*e.g.* p. 122 of the composite collection headed by the *Sudhammavatirājā-vaṁsa*, Pak Lat, A. Bud. 2453).

"Rāmaññadesa," a name coined from the ethnic appellation "Rman,"[1] which is the medieval form of the word "Môn" and appears constantly in inscriptions of the 15th century. The kingdom lasted till A.D. 1540, when it was conquered by a Burmese dynasty from Taungu, which soon annexed Upper Burma as well. This event involved the final extinction of Môn political independence. Save for a few shortlived revolts and other, mainly local, episodes and for a brief and revolutionary interval in the 18th century, when a temporary Môn revival threatened to turn the tables and subject Burma to Môn rule, the Môns of Burma now remained definitely subject to the Burmese until the wars of the 19th century brought first one great section of them[2] and soon afterwards the remainder[3] under British rule.

Effects of Burmese Rule on the Môn People and Language.

3. One result of Burmese rule, which was often oppressive and became particularly severe under the Alompra dynasty in the 18th and 19th centuries, was the assimilation of a large part of the Môn people to their Burmese conquerors and a progressive dwindling of the area in which the Môn language prevailed. Its use was "strongly discouraged" after A.D. 1757 and "absolutely proscribed" in Pegu from 1826 to 1852.[4] Hence the great preponderance of the Môns of the Tenasserim division, where the British Government laid no restrictions on the use of the language, though on the other hand they took no active steps to encourage it. Another result was the degradation of the spoken language from its old position as a national tongue with a literary standard, into the disintegrated state of a congeries of local dialects, differing almost from village to village even in the small area where it still forms a general medium of communication. Burmese has largely taken its place as the form of speech of the educated and influential sections of the community. The Môn written language has remained more uniform than the spoken, but its use is even more restricted.[5] On the other hand the positive influence of the Burmese language on the Môn does not appear to have been as great as might have been expected under

[1] Probably pronounced *Rĕmân*, *i.e.* with a short neutral vowel in the first syllable and the accent on the final syllable (as usual in Môn words). See *J. Burma Research S.*, 1914, pp. 59, 60; 1915, p. 27.

[2] By the annexation of Tenasserim in A.D. 1826.

[3] By the annexation of Pegu and the rest of Lower Burma, 1852.

[4] *Census of India*, 1911, *Vol. IX, Burma*. Part I.—Report, p. 208.

[5] In 1893, Temple noted that "the Talaing language, though still spoken to a considerable extent, is ceasing to be a literary medium very rapidly; so much so that it is already extremely difficult to find an educated Talaing able to read even modern documents in his native language" (*I.A.*, 1893, p. 333 n.).

the circumstances. The two languages are fundamentally distinct and unconnected, and they contrast to a marked degree in phonetics, morphology, and syntax. Apart from a certain amount of mutual borrowing of words it does not seem that they have greatly modified each other, though it is possible that Burmese influence has been a contributory cause in the Môn tendency towards monosyllabism (which, however, is capable of another explanation) and that certain conventionalities of Burmese orthography have been imitated in medieval and later Môn.[1] A third consequence of Burmese rule was the emigration at various periods[2] of considerable sections of the Môn population to Siam, where their descendants still flourish in large numbers and keep up their ancestral speech and customs under the tolerant and sympathetic sway of the Siamese Government.

HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

4. The foregoing preliminary observations will have served to pave the way towards a clear understanding of the historical position of the Môn records that are contained in this collection. Some of them rank among the oldest vernacular records of Burma,[3] being approximately coeval with the earliest of the Burmese ones. It is true that of the first period of Môn history, which terminated in the Burmese conquest of the 11th century, nothing apparently remains in the way of inscriptions, though probably some may yet be discovered when the work of excavation is systematically undertaken. But the second period, the subjection to Pagan, and the third, the time of the medieval Môn kingdom, are well represented. They are not, however, illustrated quite in the same way by their respective sets of records, for these do not run in precisely parallel lines. The earlier ones, though in the Môn language and found in various

[1] On occasions where it may be convenient to use abbreviations for the three main phases in the historic evolution of the Môn language (as hereafter described), the following will be used :—E.M. = Early Môn ; M.M. = Middle (or medieval) Môn ; L.M. = Later Môn (including the modern form of the language).

[2] In some cases Môns were also taken away by the Siamese as prisoners during the wars between Burma and Siam. On the whole question of the immigration of the Môns into Siam, see *J. Siam S.* 1913, Vol. X, Part 3.

[3] In the large section of Indo-China in which Indian civilization became dominant it is the general rule that inscriptions in an Indian language (mostly Sanskrit, sometimes Pāli, in the extreme south in a few cases also Tamil) precede inscriptions in the local vernaculars. In Burma these early Indian inscriptions are, however, scarcer than, for instance, in Champa and Camboja. Two Pāli inscriptions attributed on palaeographical grounds to the 6th century (or thereabouts) have been found at Prome (*J.A.*, juillet-août 1912, pp. 121-36 ; juillet-août 1913, pp. 193-5). The so-called Pyu inscriptions, in a vernacular of that neighbourhood, seem to be somewhat later, but some of them appear to be older than any of the hitherto discovered Môn records (*E.I.*, 1913, Vol. XII, pp. 127-32). It is highly probable that in the early period the ruling and educated classes in the several countries of Indo-China were Indian settlers and their locally born descendants, by whom from various centres Indian culture was diffused among the ruder native races.

parts of Burma, nearly all emanated from the Burmese headquarters at Pagan and were in substance Burmese records; they really throw more light on Burmese than on Môn conditions. The later ones, belonging to the medieval Môn kingdom, with its centre at Pegu, were found in the really Môn country of Lower Burma, the old Rāmaññadesa, and are purely Môn records.

MÔN INFLUENCE ON BURMESE CIVILIZATION.

5. This difference should be borne in mind; but, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in a sense, apart from the linguistic one, even the Burmese records were to a very great extent, and probably more so in early times than in later ones, a reflex and copy of Môn thought and life. The conquest of the old Môn capital of Sadhuim (in Burmese pronounced Thatôn) was a critical moment in Burmese history in the same way that the Roman conquest of Greece was in the history of Rome. In each case the conquered nation imparted to the conqueror many things which he lacked and which he eagerly accepted. The Burmese took over from the Môns their form of Buddhism with its Pāli canon, their particular variety of the Southern Indian alphabet, and certain useful or ornamental arts and crafts. Monks, scholars, and skilled artisans were imported in considerable numbers from the Môn country[1] to the Burmese capital, and it is largely due to the religious, scholarly and artistic impetus thus given that Burmese civilization, as illustrated for example in the temples and inscriptions of Pagan, took its particular line and form. That is not to say that the Burmese prior to this period were a mere race of savages, any more than were the Romans before they fell under glamour of Greek art and literature. But just as Rome became in a great measure Hellenized, so the Burmese adopted much from the Môns, and a great deal of what is now supposed to be distinctively and characteristically Burmese was in fact derived by them from the Môns, who had themselves originally borrowed most of it from India or Ceylon. For a brief period and under rather exceptional conditions the Môn language seems to have become a favourite vehicle for epigraphic records at Pagan, Prome, and elsewhere in Burma, side by side with Burmese.[2]

[1] Burmese history goes so far as to attribute the conquest chiefly to the desire of the Burmese king for the possession of the Buddhist sacred books, though no doubt his real objects were mainly political. For a definite case of a Môn scholar being imported by a Burmese king (the same who inspired most of our early Môn inscriptions), see *J. Burma R.S.*, 1912, pp. 246–8. That was in A.D. 1107.

[2] And also, at least in one case, with the "Pyu" of the Prome region (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, pp. 365–88). In the same way Khmer (Cambojan) was occasionally used, as late as the middle of the 14th century, at the Tai court of Sukhothai, where it was just as much a foreign language as Môn was at Pagan (see Finot, *Notes d'Epigraphie Indochinoise* (1916), p. 254).

6. This use of Môn was fostered by the patronage of a Burmese king whose reign covers the end of the 11th, and the beginning of the 12th, century; and it is to him and to the fortunate circumstance of his having been a great author or inspirer of such records (which were largely panegyrics on himself) that we owe nearly all the earliest Môn inscriptions yet discovered. Apart from the much briefer documents engraved on small votive tablets and on glazed tiles illustrating Buddhist legends,[1] these early records constitute the whole of the material available for the study of the Môn language of the 11th and 12th centuries. After this period there is an almost blank interval of about three hundred years. It may be that the use of Môn for epigraphic purposes in Upper Burma was dictated mainly by the fancy of an individual monarch and practically ceased when that influence was no longer operative. Or it may be that as Burmese scholarship developed it became more independent, a Burmese national reaction set in, and Môn ceased to be a fashionable literary medium at the Burmese capital. At any rate, soon after the death of their chief royal patron, Môn inscriptions apparently became scarce in Upper Burma: there are only two, not very long or important specimens, in the collection, one being a brief record of a donation by a later king and the other, which is probably of Môn authorship, commemorating the foundation of a provincial monastic building.

7. The next big group of inscriptions in the collection dates from the 15th century, the high-water mark of the medieval Môn kingdom, and especially from the time of the great Môn king Dhammacetī. As already stated, these documents were found in the really Môn country of Lower Burma. To that fact, partly on account of the "exceedingly rainy"[2] climate of that region and partly by reason of the destructive wars which have devastated it, we owe the unfortunate circumstance that these medieval inscriptions are often less well preserved than the older records that have been left undisturbed in the deserted metropolis of Upper Burma. Both sets are, for the most part, temple records, and the temples in both cases were dedicated to the same faith. But, as even the most recent experience has again taught us, that fact is no safeguard in time of war; and there is reason

[1] Some of the inscriptions on glazed tiles adorning the Ānanda pagoda at Pagan were discussed by Huber in *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1911, tome xi, no. 1, and the whole set is now being edited by Professor C. Duroiselle. These are of the early period. Some of the medieval or later ones (also on glazed tiles) have been dealt with by myself (*J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 689-98, *J. Burma R.S.*, 1915, pp. 30, 31, 97, 98), and Duroiselle (*Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1914, 1915).

[2] It is thus characterized in the Kalyāṇī inscription, which discusses the point in some detail.

to believe that in Lower Burma, as elsewhere, the destruction of consecrated buildings was often systematic and intentional. Both the early and the medieval records are characterized by abundant expressions of religious sentiment, and both were probably as a rule, and perhaps invariably, drafted by ecclesiastics. But there is a marked difference between them. The earlier ones contain a much larger element of royal panegyric and also introduce, in some cases, many particulars about the state of the country and people. The picture is, no doubt, somewhat idealized, but it is drawn with graphic, vivid touches. Indeed, one or two of these documents have some claim to be considered as pieces of literature and not merely as specimens of epigraphy. The medieval records, on the other hand, restrict themselves more to specifically Buddhist matters (such as the incidents of Buddha's life, but including also the local legends or traditions about the introduction of the faith into Lower Burma, etc.), and to the details of the pious donations or of the construction or restoration of the buildings with which the records are connected. From the point of view of their contents they are, therefore, perhaps of somewhat less general interest than the older documents, but incidentally they sometimes contain items of historical, chronological, or topographical value.

LINGUISTIC IMPORTANCE OF THE MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

8. Owing to the fact that the Môn language, especially in its older forms, is at present almost a sealed book to European scholars, the chief point of interest in this collection of records is the language in which they are written. In that respect their value is beyond price. Môn is a member of a fairly large but much broken down and scattered family of languages, which extends (in detached fragments) from the extreme west of the Central Provinces of India through Assam and Indo-China right down into the Malay Peninsula. The family is of the highest linguistic interest, being very peculiar and characteristic in its structure, and apparently constitutes a series of links in a broken chain that formerly connected the still more extensive and important Malayo-Polynesian (or Austronesian) family with its original Asiatic home. Further, be it remembered that of all the languages of the scattered Austroasiatic family (as it has been styled) only one other besides Môn, namely Khmer (or Cambojan), possesses literary records going back beyond the most recent times.[1] All the rest are known only in their

[1] Annamese, though in some way connected, does not appear to be a genuine member of the family; and Cham, with its very mixed vocabulary, is claimed by some scholars for the Malayo-Polynesian family, and at any rate is not in line with the rest of the Austroasiatic languages but heads a little group of its own.

modern forms. When these facts are borne in mind, it will be realized how important these Môn records are, especially the older ones. From them alone can we form anything like an adequate picture of the language in its earlier phases, when its structure was still relatively unimpaired and perspicuous: for here too, as is so often the case in the history of languages, the process of change, both phonetic and morphological, has been mainly in the direction of decay; there has been a progressive breaking down and obliteration of distinctive features.

9. The medieval records represent, of course, a transitional stage between the early and the late, or modern, Môn, but on the whole they may be said to approximate more to the latter than to the former. That is, however, more apparent than real, and is due in great part to the fact that the written language (like our own) has lagged behind the spoken one. Its orthography does not constitute a simple, straightforward system, but an elaborate tangle of conventions, complicated of course by the dialectic differentiation referred to in § 3.[1] Some of these conventions in attempting to link the present with the past have only succeeded in falsifying both and producing spellings that never had any phonetic basis at all.[2] The medieval records, standing as they do between the early form of the language and the modern form, often throw light on both, and with their help the whole process of evolution of the Môn language during more than eight centuries can now be studied in detail. The fuller illustration of this subject must be left to a later stage, and it will suffice to have drawn attention here to its great importance from the point of view of linguistic study.

THE INDIAN ELEMENT IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

10. One point worth noting, on account of the general interest attaching to it and the historical conclusions to which it may lead, is the Indian element which is such a marked feature in these records. Having regard to the fact that the Môns

[1] Cf. *J.A.*, mai-juin 1910, pp. 477–505, in which an attempt is made to explain the phonetics of the modern stage of Môn in relation to the spelling.

[2] It is a fundamental defect of Schmidt's "Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen" (*Denkschriften der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1905), Band LI) that it is based solely on the modern forms of the languages with which it deals, though specimens of early Khmer were available when it was written. Some of its conclusions will have to be revised by the help of the early Môn records, as pointed out by me in *J. Burma R.S.*, 1915, pp. 28–30. Schmidt's reliance on the modern orthography of Môn and Khmer (on behalf of which he breaks a lance with Finot in the introductory section of his valuable dissertation) is far more extensive than the case warrants. The spelling of these languages has been modified from time to time, so that it is no longer a safe guide to the old sounds, and as a clue to the historic development of their phonetics it is just about on a par with modern English spelling.

at some very early period became acquainted with the form of Buddhism which uses Pāli as its sacred language,[1] it is not in the least surprising or remarkable that several of the inscriptions contain at the beginning, or the end, or in the middle, short Pāli sentences testifying to the somewhat pedantic erudition of the draftsmen. More important is the considerable number of Indian loanwords in the Môn text itself: for these form an integral part of the language and are not merely tacked on like the Pāli sentences. They are very common in the early inscriptions, and many of such loanwords have survived through the medieval into the modern form of Môn. A remarkable proportion of these words is of Sanskrit origin, not Pāli. Sometimes we find mixed forms, partly Sanskrit and partly Pāli, and of course also forms that are taken straight from Pāli. The Sanskrit forms include some of the commonest religious terms, such as *dharmma*, *swar* (from *svarga*), and the like. As to the reason for their presence in early Môn, allowance must be made for the fact that Brahmans, who are often mentioned in the inscriptions,[2] played a great part at all the Indo-Chinese courts, from Burma to Champa. Vestiges of Hinduism have been found in Lower Burma, though they are not so common as in several other parts of Indo-China. But there is much reason to believe that some form of Buddhism using Sanskrit as its sacred language also existed there in former times,[3] just as it did, for example, in Camboja. The fact is not without some bearing on the much discussed question of the Sanskrit words in Burmese: there seems to be no necessity for the assumption which has been made that they must have come through a Chinese channel, in view of the occurrence of words of the same class in Môn. The soundest inference seems to be the one drawn by Finot (*J.A.*, *l.c.*) that Sanskrit and Pāli (and the several forms of religion with which they are respectively associated) were more or less concurrent influences in the Môn country from an early period.[4] Whatever may have been the channel or channels through which the Sanskrit words came in, they are present in such numbers that the strength of the influences that introduced them must have been considerable and probably extended over a fairly long period.

11. Other, more superficial, evidences of Indian influence are not wanting in our records: in the earlier ones the proper names are Sanskrit, Pāli, or mixed; and

[1] Finot has shown (*J.A.*, juillet-août 1912, pp. 121-36; juillet-août 1913, pp. 193-5) that the *Vibhaṅga* and other religious texts in Pāli were known at Prome about the 6th century A.D. As Prome is on the Irrawaddy, the presumption is that the Pāli canon was introduced there by way of the river route, not by some difficult overland track; and consequently that it was known in the Môn region round the mouths of the river before it reached Prome.

[2] *E.g.* No. I G 17, 18.

[3] See *J.A.*, juillet-août 1912, pp. 121-36.

[4] Mahāyānist Buddhism from about the 5th century A.D. But the same learned scholar points out that the Hīnayāna with a Sanskrit canon also enjoyed a wide diffusion in the Far East.

this persists more or less in the medieval ones, though here a few other names occur which appear to be native. The kings, both Burmese and Môn, seem to have indulged in a double nomenclature: an elaborate Indian name, sometimes of stupendous length, was used by them as their royal style, though they had shorter native names as well, by which (as a rule) they are known in the histories. In the inscriptions the Indian style is given the preference, presumably because it sounded grander and was the specifically royal name, the other one being personal. Certain conventional phrases based on Indian originals are also sometimes used: for example, the people in general are styled "the four castes," although there is no real reason to believe that, apart from the Brahmans, who were of foreign introduction, any real division into castes was recognized in Burma.

ALPHABET, SPELLING, AND TRANSCRIPTION.

12. The alphabet of the inscriptions, like the generality of the so-called native alphabets of Indo-China and Indonesia, is manifestly derived from some South Indian type, akin to the old Telugu-Canarese. Its form in the early Môn records (as the late Professor Kern pointed out to me) is very nearly identical with that of contemporary Javanese inscriptions. It is evident that in the early centuries of our era there was constant intercourse between Southern India and the Eastern regions to which Indian civilization spread itself, and that the fashions in the former country were readily followed in the latter[1] The identification of the various symbols used in the early Môn inscriptions and their derivation from their Indian prototypes offer no special difficulties. The Môns discarded some of the Indian letters, as they had no use for them; others they used only in words of Indian origin. But they also invented two new signs, both labial letters. The first of these is really a new letter and is found in the early inscriptions, where it has the shape of a circle with a smaller one inscribed in the centre of it, looking in fact exactly like their combination *iṁ*, except of course that the latter is superscript whereas the new labial *ḅ* is on the line. This may have been based on some northern form of *b*, and finds its analogue in the so-called Pyu script. The sound denoted is in modern Môn described as something between *b* and *p*, *i.e.* a *b* deprived of sonority, and to me it sounds somewhat nasal and vaguely like *w*. The other labial is simply derived from the combination *mb*, the *b* here being in a subscript form which has been slightly modified in the modern language, where the

[1] Finot (*J.A.*, *l.c.*) points out that the alphabet of the Prome Maunggun plates (now in the British Museum and dating from about the 6th century) is practically identical with the Kadamba alphabet of North Kanara.

combination, when initial, is treated as a genuine letter (as it has now in fact become). It is extremely rare even in modern Môn, and of doubtful existence in the earlier phases of the language, and I have adhered to the transcription *mb*.

13. The alphabet of early Môn has become in its turn, through the medieval stage, the ancestor of the modern Môn alphabet, which is substantially the same as the modern Burmese one. In the early stage the letters, though already showing a tendency to become circles, or parts of circles, or aggregates of such elements, are still very distinctive and include some complex and beautiful forms. In the medieval period the tendency is towards less distinctiveness: certain of the letters and combinations of letters become very similar to one another, thereby increasing the difficulty of deciphering blurred or otherwise damaged passages. As regards the size of the letters, the descriptions of the several records should be referred to. Speaking generally it may be said that in the early stage there is much variability, the height of the typical letters varying from about an inch to three-eighths of an inch as between one inscription and another. The medieval ones tend to a more generally uniform scale of about half an inch. These particulars refer, of course, to the generality of the letters, neglecting all such as by their special forms project above or below the general limits, and also excluding superscript and subscript symbols from consideration.

14. As regards the use of the letters, it may be noted that when a word has two medial consonants (without an intervening vowel) the matter can be treated in two ways: the first consonant receives a *virāma* and the second then follows on the line; or the second is written under the first, without any *virāma*. The two methods are used interchangeably, but the second is preferred. The letters *r* and *ṅ* are sometimes superscript, the former very frequently, and are then to be read immediately before the letter over which they stand. Superscript letters and many of the subscript ones affect special, modified forms. Initial vowels have their own proper forms,[1] but may also be represented by the symbol for initial *a* with the appropriate auxiliary vowel symbol added to it. These several alternative methods are not differentiated in my transcription. Apart from such formal varieties as these (and a few others hereafter mentioned) and from certain interchanges of cognate vowels, early Môn spelling is relatively regular and appears to be a genuine attempt, in the main fairly successful, to write phonetically. Its transcription therefore offers few difficulties. Medieval spelling is less genuinely phonetic; it is partly more or less under the influence of the early spelling, partly an attempt to meet the phonetic changes that had taken

[1] Not, however, *ā* or the diphthongs.

place in the meantime. In fact it is on the way to the complexities of the modern system, and consequently the transcription is more remote from the phonetics in the medieval records than in the early ones. It is, of course, impossible to represent in a literal transcription the modifications which the various sounds have undergone in the course of the historic evolution of the language. An attempt will, however, be made hereafter to trace the outlines of these changes.

15. The system of transcription here adopted for Môn is as follows :—

Vowels and Diphthongs.

a å ā i ī u ū e ai o au

Consonants.

Velars :	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
Palatals :	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
Cerebrals :	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
Dentals :	t	th	d	dh	n
Labials :	p	ph	b	bh	m
Unclassed :	y	w	r	l	
	ś	ṣ	s	h	ḷ
	ḅ	'	ṁ	ḥ	

Excepting the addition of some extra letters, this scheme differs only in one particular from the system of transliterating the Indian alphabet that has won the widest international consent. The letter *w* has been adopted instead of *v*, partly because it is the modern representative in Môn (as in almost all the languages of Indo-China) of the Indian *v*, and chiefly because it is used in early Môn to form diphthongs and must therefore have had the value of *w* in that position at any rate, as it most probably had in all others. In the Indian sentences that occur in the inscriptions (but not in Indian loanwords and proper names found in a Môn context) the letter *v* will be used, in conformity with Indian spelling.[1]

16. Theoretically, the vowel *a* is, as in other Indian alphabets, inherent in the consonants in general, unless negatived expressly (in one of the ways indicated in § 14). It therefore represents no separate symbol save when initial of a word or syllable. As a matter of fact the actual sound is not always *a*, and even in the early period it is probable that in syllables preceding the final one the inherent sound was really a short neutral vowel (something like the *a* in *abide*). The symbol *å* stands for an inherent *a* modified by the addition

[1] In other respects, also, the usual Pāli spelling will be followed in the Pāli passages.

of the *anusvāra* symbol in a syllable closed by a velar. This begins to occur in the medieval records and the sound denoted is probably an open *o*, much like our English *aw*. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* also do not occur in the early stage of the language, though they are of course part of the Indian alphabet and are used in medieval and later Môn. In early Môn their place is taken (in the words where they subsequently occur) by various diphthongs formed with final *y* and *w*, respectively. The combination *ui*, not entered in the above scheme because symbolically merely made up of *i* and *u*, probably represented a neutral vowel (something like the one in our words *bird*, *cur*) and is very rare in early Môn, the vowel in question being therein usually represented by some other, almost at random and quite interchangeably (*e.g.*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ei*).

17. The cerebrals (except *ḍ* and occasionally *ṇ*)[1] and the letters *ś* and *ḷ* are confined to words of Indian origin (*ś* to Sanskrit, *ḷ* to Pāli words). The letter *ṣ* when subscript in Môn words merely represents *s*, a usage to be paralleled in Javanese, where conjunct *s* has a form derived from *ṣ*. Modern Môn has dropped *s* and *ṣ* from its alphabet. The peculiar labial *ḅ* has been explained in § 12. The apostrophe (') represents the symbol for initial *a* with the *virāma* over it and stands for the glottal check or abrupt ending of a vowel. This use is peculiar and un-Indian, but in early Burmese the same device was adopted to indicate the abrupt tone in words ending in a vowel. The letters *ṁ* and *ḥ* represent symbols (*anusvāra* and *visarga*, respectively) which the Môns put after the diphthongs, not among the consonants. They are properly speaking final sounds and of course involve no inherent vowel[2]; but they are really consonants. In early Môn *ṁ* is merely shorthand for *m* (final of a word or syllable) and interchanges freely with it. In medieval Môn *ṁ* is sometimes superfluously followed by a final *m*, and has no force at all, apparently, in such cases. Later usage has adopted it as an abbreviation for (') and even *h*, as well as for *m*. Its use as a vowel symbol has already been mentioned. In early Môn *ḥ* interchanges with *h* in certain words, and the latter is sometimes superfluously added to the former, as *m* to *ṁ* in the medieval stage. There seems to be no difference in their sounds as consonants, but in the later stages of the language they become definitely separated and affect the preceding vowel differently. It will be understood that these explanations are merely intended to make the system of transcription adopted intelligible, and that other phonetic details will be considered separately.

[1] There is some reason to believe that originally *ṇ* as well and also the aspirated sonants (which occur but rarely in Môn roots) were foreign to the language.

[2] Naturally (') has none either.

18. A hyphen is used, (1) at the end of a line if a word is not completed there, (2) to separate letters which would otherwise form one or other of the abovementioned digraphs (*ai*, *au*, *ui*, and the aspirated consonants), (3) between a consonant and a vowel to indicate that the consonant (with an unexpressed *a* or short neutral vowel) forms a syllable and the written vowel (which in the original is in its initial form or attached to an initial *a* as a fulcrum) begins the next syllable. This device is necessitated by the common habit of writing the second of such letters under the first as if there were no intervening short vowel. When the two letters do not fall into one of the above categories, the hyphen has not been inserted, but it will be understood that, *e.g.*, in such a combination as *td-* (initial) a short neutral vowel must be read after the *t*. Nor has the hyphen been used after *ṁ*, for by definition the *ṁ* must close the syllable that precedes and cannot commence the one that follows. The double hyphen is used to separate words which in the original are written in one. This is of decidedly rare occurrence in Môn inscriptions. Square brackets enclose letters or symbols which are more or less broken or illegible but capable of certain restoration. When there is any reasonable room for doubt, round brackets are used. The stops of the original have been reproduced. Dots indicate that something is missing which I have been unable to restore. As far as possible the number of missing or quite unidentifiable letters has been indicated by allotting one dot to each with another dot if there is believed to have been a vowel attached to it; or in the absence of any other indications, two dots for the space supposed to be occupied by each missing letter-group (*akshara*).

Beginnings of Môn Epigraphical Study.

19. The first attempt to decipher and interpret the early Môn inscriptions[1] was made in 1909, when by the help of the Pāli and Burmese texts the Môn text of the quadrilingual inscription of the Myazedi pagoda of Pagan was published (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 1017–52). The reading was tentative in many respects and a comparison with some of the other early records caused it to be much amended subsequently (*ibid.*, 1910, pp. 797–812, 1912, pp. 486, 487). It was, therefore, the Myazedi inscription, the only considerable early Môn record hitherto published, that laid the foundation of this course of research, by giving the clue to many of the phonetic and morphological factors that characterize the early stage

[1] A few short and not very important medieval or comparatively modern records had previously been interpreted: *e.g.*, see *I.A.*, 1893, pp. 343, 344 (reviewed in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 689–98). See also *J.A.S.B.*, 1836, Vol. V, p. 280, and Plate X (facing p. 340), and *ibid.*, 1838, Vol. VII, Plate facing pp. 294 and 295.

of the language. This line of study has been continued since then, in the intervals of other work, and the results here published represent the fruit of several years of intermittent labour on the materials put at my disposal, and supersede what I have already published on the subject.

20. The difficulties were manifold. The ink-impressions supplied to me were often imperfect representations of much weathered and battered originals, which of course I have never had an opportunity of seeing. I deduce the imperfections of the copies from their frequent diversities. The early stage of the language was quite unknown to everybody: even an intimate acquaintance with modern Môn, had I possessed it, would not have made it at once intelligible. The changes wrought by upwards of eight hundred years are often so radical that it is very difficult to recognize quite common words: *e.g.*, one may be excused for not seeing at a glance that *jiñjuñ* is the same as the modern *dayuiñ* or that *kandar* is the old form of *kalaw*. When detected, such cases of correspondence had to be further confirmed and definitely established by discovering the laws of phonetic change which they exemplify. Unfortunately some of the old words do not recur in the medieval records and seem to have disappeared altogether from the modern language. A great many of them are not to be found in the only existing vocabulary[1] and have not been met with in such texts as I have been able to read. It will therefore be understood that in such cases, unless the meaning or reading was sufficiently determined by the context, or by a comparison of several contexts, a considerable element of uncertainty remains. It is only too probable that such cases are fairly numerous, but in a first attempt imperfections of that kind are inevitable. To do full justice to these records would require in the editor a number of qualifications that are seldom found united; amongst others, a thorough knowledge of Môn, Sanskrit and Pāli, much experience in Indian epigraphy, great familiarity with Buddhist thought and legend, an intimate acquaintance with the local conditions of various parts of Burma, much leisure and a good deal of patience. To these, except the last two, I can lay no claim. But in view of the growing interest taken in the Môn language by scholars in Burma, I venture to hope that the defects of the present work will eventually be amended by their corrections, based on wider sources of information than have been available to myself

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF ASSISTANCE.

21. In the meantime it would not be right to omit here the thanks which are due to the numerous friends, critics, and correspondents who have contributed

1 Haswell, *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language*, 2nd ed., 1901.

to the production of the work. To Mrs. Bode, and Messrs. F. W. Thomas, L. Finot, and A. Cabaton, I am indebted for some assistance on individual points of reading or interpretation.[1] Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Professor C. Duroiselle, both in their official capacity as officers of the Archaeological Survey Department and individually, have been of priceless help. Without their aid and support, and that of the department which they represent in Burma, this work could not have been produced. To Mr. R. Sewell, Sir Alfred Irwin, and the late M. Auguste Barth I am much indebted for assistance towards the understanding of the chronological details contained in some of the records. In this connexion also the late Dr. J. F. Fleet's criticisms, even when I found myself unable to agree with them, have served to draw my attention to points that required further investigation or more precise treatment. But most of all, I am bound to single out for special mention the assistance of my friend Mr. Robert Halliday, whose unique mastery of the Môn language in its modern form, both written and spoken, has been of invaluable help at every stage of my work. To all these fellow-workers I tender my hearty thanks.

SECTION I.—THE EARLY MÔN RECORDS.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

King Kyansitthā in Traditional Legendary History.

22. The main conditions affecting the genesis of the early records having been summarily stated above, it will now be convenient, before dealing with these inscriptions individually, to mention certain matters which are common ground for most of them. The majority of these early records relate to the reign and achievements of the Burmese king Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. This was a royal style or title adopted by several monarchs of Burma, but the one with whom we are here concerned also bore the more familiar name of Kyansitthā (or Kyanzitthā, and other variants). Of him there are more or less legendary accounts in Burmese traditional history, which can only be very briefly summarized here.

23. According to these tales, Anawrahta (Anuruddha), king of Pagan, who subsequently conquered the Môn country about the middle of the 11th century,

[1] I must also put on record my obligations to the writings of that very distinguished scholar, Edouard Huber, who included a critical acquaintance with Môn in his extraordinarily long list of linguistic acquirements and whose premature death is an irreparable loss to Oriental studies.

sent a minister to India some time after his accession to search for an eligible princess as an addition to the royal household. The choice fell upon a daughter of the king of Vesālī, who on the journey to Burma became involved in an intrigue with the minister and on her arrival in Burma was secluded in a remote village, where she became the mother of Kyansitthā. Another version of the story fathers him on a Nāga. Warned by an astrologer, the king (without knowing the child's identity) makes repeated attempts to kill him, because he has been led to fear his eventual rivalry and contingent succession to the throne. These attempts all fail and ultimately, after hearing that the dreaded event foreseen in the stars is not to take place till long after his own death, the king appoints Kyansitthā, now full-grown, to be one of his chief officers. In that capacity he renders valiant and faithful service, until after the conquest of Thatôn he is enthralled by the charms of a Môn princess whom he should have escorted to the king: he falls from grace and has to flee from the royal wrath, taking his love with him. Thus, a second time, does the Tristan and Isolde *motif* occur in this legend. After having passed through many perils and miraculous adventures, Kyansitthā, after the death of Anawrahta and of his son and successor Sawlū, returns to expel the usurper who had dethroned and killed the latter; and so succeeds to the throne of Burma.[1] The story goes on, introducing the strange and tragic episode of the Indian prince who came to Pagan as a suitor for the hand of Kyansitthā's daughter. But for our purposes it need not be pursued further.

King Kyansitthā in Contemporary Records.

24. Contrasted with the wild legends that have gathered round his name, the king's own records are relatively sober and matter of fact documents. As seen through the veil of tradition, he is a fantastic hero of a fairy tale. In his own inscriptions, with their strong ecclesiastical flavouring, he is presented as a grave and religious, but quite human, monarch, taking a deep interest in the spiritual and temporal welfare of his people, and actively contributing thereto by his piety and good works. It is true that the records contain legendary matter enough and to spare; but it recedes (as legend usually does) into a still remoter past. And though his reign is highly idealized by his courtly draftsmen, and the records teem with superlatives, their atmosphere is quite different from that which pervades the

[1] I am indebted to Professor C. Duroiselle for the legendary account of which the above is the merest abstract: it would be worth publishing in full in another place. Bastian (*Geschichte der Indochinesen*, pp. 36, 43–7) gives, from Burmese sources, a somewhat similar story. Actual historical information relating to Kyansitthā seems to be very scanty: Phayre (*History of Burma*, p. 38) has comparatively little to say about him.

traditional story. The supernatural element (as judged by our standards) is not indeed altogether excluded even from the king's actual reign: thus natural phenomena are represented as being favourably affected by his benign influence (I D 53—E 1). But in the primitive and Oriental conception of kingship that is mere common form, and it should not blind us to the actuality and realism which is in fact the background of these rather florid documents. They give us quite a vivid representation of the life of the people of Burma at this period, wherein the king and his court, the monks, Brahmans, chiefs, and commonalty of divers degrees, all appear in their turn. On the other hand the events recorded in them are relatively, and disappointingly, few. There are some vague references to warfare, but no definite accounts of actual campaigns. The building of tanks or reservoirs for storing water for purposes of irrigation (Nos. III and IV), the repairing of a temple (No. V), and the like, are sometimes made the occasions for the inscription of a panegyric. But other records seem to have been made without any such particular incentive, merely for the glorification of the king. Of events of wider historic interest, the most notable are the mission to India with funds for the rebuilding and endowment of the Vajrāsana at Bodh Gayā (VIII A 4–8), being the earliest instance, I believe, in which such an act is recorded of a Burmese king; and Kyansitthā's friendly intercourse with a "Colī" prince (*ibid.*, 10–6), who may perhaps have been a member of the great Dravidian Chola dynasty.

25. The legend which forms the introduction and framework of several of these records is of a typically Buddhist complexion, relating as it does the successive rebirths of the king and in one of these incarnations embodying an alleged prophecy by Buddha Sakyamuni as to the monarch's career. We have the story in two versions. In the more extensive, but less detailed, recension, the prophecy is preceded by brief statements about three of the king's still earlier existences. In Buddha Kassapa's time he was a wealthy and pious man, apparently living at Benares. Next, he was born in the family of the kings of Patna, and eventually succeeded to that throne. And, thirdly, he was born in the royal house of the Rāma dynasty of Oudh and became king there. These preliminary particulars are given in Nos. III–V.[1] They are followed by the incidents which are common to the two recensions (and are embodied, therefore, though with varying elaboration, in Nos. I, II, VI–VIII). In the time of Buddha Sakyamuni the future king was a sage named Bisnū. Of him Buddha prophesies that in his next human incarnation he is to become the founder of the city of Prome (Śrī Kṣetra, Śrī Kṣet, or Sisit), and in a subsequent rebirth (after an interval of bliss in Brahmaloka) king

[1] The first half of No. IV is lost, but as the remainder agrees very closely with the corresponding portion of No. III it is a reasonable inference that the inscription as a whole belongs to this group.

at Pagan (Pokām or Arimaddanapūr). Eventually he is to be reborn in still higher spheres and finally to be a Buddha and a saviour of the world.

26. The less extensive version (particularly as presented in Nos. I and II) introduces much wealth of detail into the Bisnū episode, which is treated as the most important stage in this preparatory course of evolution. In the setting of the prophecy (according to this version) the chief *dramatis personae* besides Buddha himself are Ānanda, the great disciple, to whom in the first place the prophecy was made, Gawaṁpati, who has been styled the patron saint of the Môns,[1] and who appears here as the patron saint of Pagan, Indra, the king of the *devas* (Môn *dewatau*, Burmese *nat*), to whom the prophecy is repeated by Gawaṁpati, and of course the sage Bisnū himself, to whom it is again communicated, twice over, first by Gawaṁpati and then by Indra. Minor personages, who are mentioned as destined to assist in the foundation of Prome, etc., are Bissukarmma (Viśvakarman, the celestial architect) and a Nāga king named Katakarmma (or Kaṭakarmma). The story is repeated with much tautology and almost *ad nauseam*, but these repetitions, though wearisome in themselves, have proved of great value from the point of view of lexicography and interpretation by reason of their occasional variations in expression.

27. In No. VIII Bissukarmma and the Nāga king join with Gawaṁpati and Indra in exhorting Bisnū to accept the great future that is offered to him. This is apparently a modification of the less extended version. The more extensive one, as contained in Nos. III–V, merely gives the prophecy as delivered to Ānanda (with some embellishments in detail, which can often be paralleled almost verbatim from other parts of No. I), but it stops there. It mentions the other personages in the prophecy itself; but they are not introduced as parties to the action. It seems not impossible that the less extensive, though more elaborate, recension represented by Nos. I, II, VI, VII (and probably VIII) is the earlier one. In that case we may perhaps plausibly conjecture that the further development of the story took place at some time between the date of No. VI (A Bur. 455, A.D. 1093–1094) and the probable date of No. V (A. Bur. 460, A.D. 1098–1099). In No. IX Kyansitthā is introduced as the reigning monarch who takes part in the great ceremonial described in that record. This inscription, which is devoted to details of ritual and architecture, is in a class by itself, and has no reference to the royal legend. Nor has the Myazedi inscription (*Ep. Birm.*, Pt. I), which records that near the close

[1] This personality is interwoven with the legendary accounts of the foundation of Thatôn, the history of which kingdom is put into his mouth in the form of a prophecy in a work that sometimes bears his name for a title: see the *Suddhammavatīrājāvaṁsa*, Pak Lat, A. Bud. 2453, and *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1913, p. 23.

of the king's life, after a reign of 28 years, his sickness occasioned the votive dedication by his son and chief minister Rājakumār of a golden statue of Buddha. This pious act was duly carried out with the king's personal approval; and the inscription records the circumstances in a simple and straightforward manner. The remaining inscriptions in this section are apparently subsequent to Kyansitthā's reign and have no concern with him.

Chronology of King Kyansitthā and of his Records.

28. The period with which we are dealing here is really the dawn of Burmese history properly so-called, meaning thereby history supported by contemporary records and an ascertainable chronology. Prior to the Burmese conquest of Thatôn it may fairly be said that we have nothing but a more or less doubtful tradition; soon after that event the historical inscriptions begin, and from this time onwards they are very numerous in Burma. By far the greater part of them are in Burmese and lie outside my scope. But the Môn records here published speak for themselves: they are manifestly genuine contemporary documents. That appears plainly from the very nature of their contents: royal panegyrics like these, elaborated in such full detail and spread broadcast over the land with such frequent repetition of the same theme, must obviously have been written during the reign and by the order of the monarch whose praises they sing. The fact is so self-evident that it would be superfluous to mention it had not some doubt been cast upon it. The doubt did not arise from any intrinsic considerations, but merely from a question, altogether external, as to the origin and antiquity of the current reckoning of the Buddhist era. It was alleged that that era was not used in Ceylon till some time late in the 12th century, and the inference was drawn that it must have been invented in Ceylon somewhere about that time,[1] and could not therefore have been in use in Burma in the 11th. It necessarily followed from these premisses that the early Môn records could not be genuinely contemporary, and must have been composed at a time when the king they somewhat fulsomely celebrate had been dead for nearly a century or perhaps even longer; which, in my judgment, is absurd, for the reasons already stated.[2] As the whole basis of the argument was a purely negative one, viz. the non-existence at this early date of Sinhalese records embodying the current Buddhist reckoning, the matter could not be satisfactorily pursued any further at the time. No conclusive reason was alleged for the assumption that this mode of

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 332, 333.

[2] The discussion on the subject may be read in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 474-81, 850-60, 1911, pp. 209-17. But so far as my own share in it is concerned, it should be read as amended by what is stated here and in the accounts of the several inscriptions contained in this collection. See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 322-56.

reckoning must have originated in Ceylon, and at a date just prior to the first surviving evidence of its existence in that island. And this last point, after having been again asserted in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 241, was eventually abandoned by its author in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 1113, when it appeared that he had misunderstood the import of the Sinhalese evidence.[1] As against the concrete evidence of our Môn records it is absolutely unarguable.

29. These records tell us that the king whom they celebrate became king of Pagan after the lapse of 1,628 years[2] from the Parinirvāṇa (that is, the death) of Buddha; and after a reign of 28 years lay "sick nigh unto death," so that we may fairly assume that his demise followed very soon after. Here, then, we have the use of some form of the Buddhist era. But of course this still leaves open the loophole: "What was the initial point of the reckoning?" I admit at once that on the evidence here published a definite conclusion would be hard to come by. But there are at any rate the following indications. Our inscription No. VI was composed by the king's order (so it seems to say) in A. Bur. 455, that is A.D. 1093–1094, if the Burmese year is to be taken as an "expired" year. Inscription No. V contains a date towards the end, in an unfortunately obliterated context, which probably indicated the occasion of its composition: the date is A. Bur. 460, *i.e.* A.D. 1098–1099. Both documents relate the royal legend, the former in the shorter, the latter in the more extended version. These dates therefore must fall within the period of the years 1628–56 above referred to. The two dates are consistent with the ordinary Buddhist reckoning and would be incompatible with any reckoning that did not place its initial point within a very few years of the usual one. That is as near as we need go on the evidence contained in these records. But it seems sufficient to shift the *onus probandi* onto the shoulders of anyone who may choose to contend that the Buddhist reckoning therein mentioned refers back to some other than the conventional starting point. Even if we take the result as being merely approximate, it gives us within a possible margin of a few years the date of Kyansitthā's reign. If we assume that the reckoning is from the conventional initial point, his accession must have taken place in A D. 1085–1086 if the years are taken as "expired": and the phraseology used makes this the better interpretation. If they are taken as "current" years, the date of his accession fell in A.D. 1084–1085.

[1] Geiger, in the Introduction to the *Translation of the Mahāvaṁsa* by himself and Mrs. Bode, remarks (p. xxviii): "From the middle of the eleventh century the new era took its rise, being reckoned from the year 544, and this is still in use." He seems to prove it as far back as A. Bud. 1590.

[2] Or 1,630 years in some passages. This last may be a statement in round numbers, or may possibly refer to the date of his actual anointment as king.

30. Until recently this king's reign was given in the history books[1] as extending from A.D. 1057 to 1085, and the Môn records will have borne their share in correcting that erroneous chronology to some extent at least. It is no part of my task to anticipate here the conclusions which may be drawn from the Burmese inscriptions of this period. But it may be permissible to refer to one Burmese record in which Kyansitthā's predecessor Sawlū is associated with A. Bur. 444[2] and another of Kyansitthā himself dated A. Bur. 469[3]: these two documents confirm the general soundness of the rectified chronology.[4]

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

No. I.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGÔN PAGODA, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

31. This inscription is on the whole the most interesting and important of the early Môn records. Its great length and the variety of matters with which it deals make it a rich mine of linguistic material and it has often served to confirm words which were doubtful in some of the other records. The inscription is noticed (but left undeciphered and untranslated) in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava* (both Text and Translation), where it figures as No. I (1)–(8). Some extracts from it were given in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 797–812, a few words in *J.A.*, mai-juin 1910, pp. 499–503, and a few more together with another extract in *J.A.*, juillet-août 1912, pp. 128, 129, and it was referred to in the discussion mentioned in § 28 (note) and in the *Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1910, 1911. The inscription is engraved on two stone columns standing within the precincts of the Shwezigôn Pagoda at Pagan. Each column has four faces, and their dimensions, as reported to me, are as follows:—Southern column: height, 9 feet 4 inches; breadth of the two broader faces, 2 feet 5 inches: of the narrower faces, 2 feet 1½ inches. Nortnern column: height, 8 feet 1 inch; breadth

[1] Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 37–9, 281; Cocks, *Short History of Burma*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] *J. Burma R.S.*, 1913, Vol. III, pp. 84–6. [3] *Ibid.*, 1912, Vol. II, pp. 246–8.

[4] As regards the difficulty arising from inscriptions which would apparently make Kyansitthā's accession fall before A.D. 1085, it must be borne in mind that according to the traditional history he was (for some time before the death of Sawlū) resident at a village called Hti-hlaing (Thi-lhuiñ or Dhi-luiñ) and styled himself lord or king of that place, a title which he seems to have often used even after he had become king at Pagan. Hence the apparent overlapping of the two reigns of Sawlū and Kyansitthā.

of the two broader faces, 2 feet 2½ inches: of the narrower faces, 2 feet 1½ inches. I have lettered the faces consecutively A–H. The first (or Southern) column having been broken at one corner at the top, the ends of the first 15 lines in Face C and the beginnings of the first 14 lines in Face D are lost, but can be replaced in part by the aid of the context and of the replica of this record (No. II). The text has been determined from four sets of ink-impressions, together with photographs of one of the sets, and checked with a set of ink-impressions of No. II, the variants contained in the latter (so far as legible) being entered in the notes to the text of No. I.

32. The space actually covered by the lettering of this inscription on its several faces, as measured on the ink-impressions, is as follows :—Southern column : Face A, 6 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; B, 6 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 10½ inches; C, 6 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; D, 6 feet 11 inches by 1 foot 10½ inches. Northern column : E, 5 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; F, 5 feet 4½ inches by 2 feet; G, 5 feet 4½ inches by 2 feet 2 inches; H, 5 feet 5 inches by 2 feet ½ inch. On Faces E–H this record is followed by a much shorter one of later date, which will be separately dealt with; and this in its turn, on Face F, by a Burmese inscription transcribed and translated in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava.* The letters of our inscription are well cut and measure about ¾ inch in height.[1] Letter *t* (which may be selected as a convenient one for purposes of comparison between the different inscriptions) is about ⅞ inch long. The space between the lines, in the absence of subscript and superscript letters, is about ¾ inch.[2] One disconcerting feature of this inscription (which it shares to some extent with some of the others, notably Nos. II and VI) is the fact that the surface of the stone seems to have been somewhat imperfectly prepared and is affected in a number of places by flaws which were there before the record was cut. In such cases the engraver has simply cut his lettering up to one edge of the flaw and, skipping over it, has resumed his work just beyond the other edge. This results in irregular spacing, which when the part happens to be weathered or otherwise damaged by subsequent vicissitudes often makes it very hard to restore the more or less illegible text, particularly if the flaw extends to several consecutive lines, as is often the case. One is apt to fail at first to recognize the existence of such an original flaw, unless it happens to occur in the middle of a common word whose identity is positively

[1] Here and elsewhere I do not take into account the few letters which habitually project above or below the usual level.

[2] It will be understood that there is a certain amount of variability in these dimensions, partly perhaps unintentional, partly caused by the desire of the engraver to adapt his letters to the particular space available. The same observation applies to the other inscriptions.

determined by the context. When these conditions are not present, restoration becomes more or less conjectural. The presence of original flaws. when material, has been indicated in the notes accompanying the text. Irregularity of spacing by reason of the presence of subscript letters attached to the line next above is also a common and more normal occurrence, and sometimes gives trouble when the letters are not quite clear.

33. In editing the text of this inscription a somewhat more liberal use has been made of square brackets than in the case of the other records. It must not, however, be inferred that it is in a worse state of preservation than the rest. Precisely the contrary is the case: apart from the loss of the portion already mentioned and a certain amount of weathering and other damage, it is in good condition. The square brackets have been freely used, first in order to show (negatively) how well preserved a great part of it is—there being quite a number of lines where not a letter is bracketed—and secondly because, in view of the special lexicographical importance of this record, it seemed desirable to indicate exactly which words are absolutely unmistakable as regards their spelling and which are not.

34. The contents of this inscription are too miscellaneous to be summarized, but have been described in general terms in §§ 25, 26. No special object or occasion is recorded as having given rise to the engraving of it, except a desire to inform the people at large of its contents: it is in fact a pure panegyric, a sort of royal advertisement. An account of the general framework of this record (and most of the other inscriptions of King Kyansitthā) has been given in §§ 25–7, but in view of its great length it may be convenient to give here a sort of Table of Contents indicating the several sections into which it may be analysed:—

A 1–12. Pāli exordium, followed by a *nissaya* (Pāli words explained by a Môn paraphrase) of the fact that Buddha Sakyamuni prophesied concerning King Kyansitthā.

A 12–54. The circumstances of the prophecy, made first to Ānanda and next to Gawaṁpati; the latter informs Indra of it.

A 54—F 19. After Buddha's death, Gawaṁpati again goes to Indra and expounds the prophecy in full detail.

F 19–28. Indra replies, accepting the duties imposed on him.

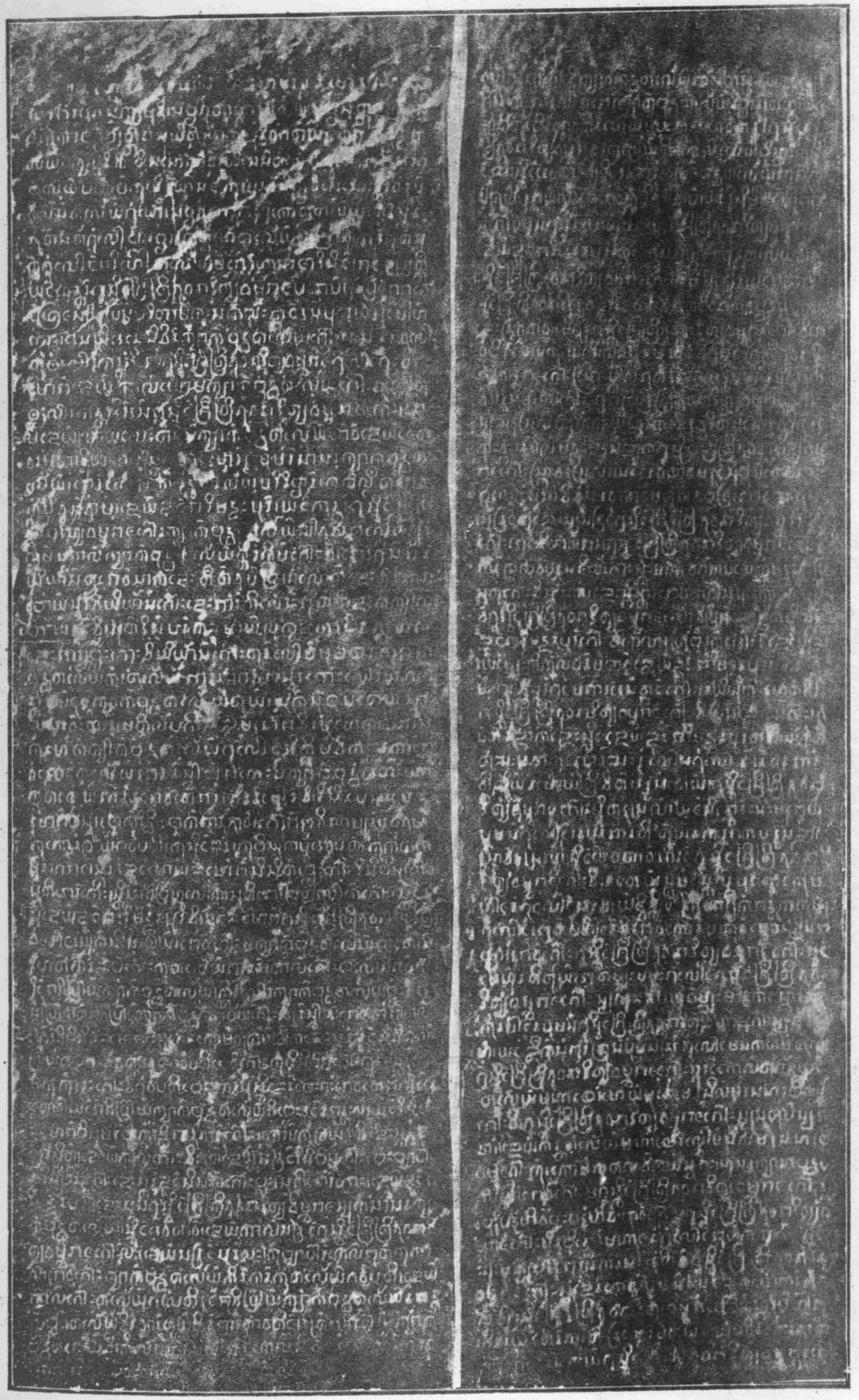
F 28—G 23. Gawaṁpati goes to the sage Bisnū and communicates the prophecy to him, exhorting him to act up to it.

G 23–39. Bisnū replies, accepting the position, and Gawaṁpati leaves him.

G 39—H 17. Indra goes to Bisnū and after repeating the substance of the prophecy promises his aid and that of the Nāga king.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.

A B



H 18–25. Bisnū replies to Indra.

H 25–43. Peroration: all men should know that the king of whom this prophecy was spoken is the king now reigning.

35. The proper names contained in this inscription, so far as they are material to the story, have been given in §§ 25, 26, and further explanations will be found in the notes appended to the translation. The dates contained in it have been discussed in §§ 28, 29. They will be found in A 17 and 18, B 5–7, and H 34 and 35. Further, in F 14 and 15 there is a statement to the effect that the city of Prome shall have been in existence for 1,200 years before (but it does not say precisely how long before) King Kyansitthā becomes king in Tattades (apparently the region in which Pagan is situated). There is no evidence as to the date when the inscription itself was engraved except the general nature of its contents and the tenour of its peroration; but see § 27. In the translation of this record the order of the original has been followed as much as possible, sometimes even at the expense of English idiom, with a view to retaining the balance and emphasis of the original and facilitating comparison between translation and text.

Text.

A

1. ॥ [śrī] ॥ na[mo B]u[ddhā]ya ॥ namo dhammāya ॥ namo sa[ṅ]ghā[ya] ॥
2. ॥ aṅgīraso Sakyamuni ꞉ sabbabhūtānuka[ṁ]pa[ko] ॥ [sab]basatt[u]t-[tam]o [sī]-
3. ho ॥ rāja-uppatti(ṁ)[1] desayī ti ॥ Sak[yam]uni [bhag]avā yaṅ k[y]ā[k B]uddha ta-
4. [r]ley Sakyamuni ꞉ ki[ṁ] viseso (l)h(ā)w [rū]p wises ta[rl]e[y] (yo) ꞉ aṅ[gīra]so
5. tarley ma nom ku yiryās jirku ꞉ (mu)n . . . . (kiṁ) v[i]seso (l)h(ā)w rūp
6. wises tarley g(a)ṁ yo ꞉ sabbabhū[tā]nukampako tarley [ma chā]n smin
7. [u]t sat guṁloṅ ꞉ sabba'sa[ttut]tamo tarley [ma pre]y nor ut sa-
8. [t] guṁloṅ ꞉ sīho [tar]ley ma row kesarajādisiṅ ꞉ rāja-uppattiṁ
9. yaṅ kantar gna smi[ṅ] Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja ma nom pu[n] pra[j]ñā gar(go)-
10. [ṅ] trejas wī[r] yas pariwār ma kaḥ sak ñaḥ c-āṅ das pu(ṁ)rey[2] sumoh
11. [go]ḥ ꞉ desayi desesi cin kyāk Buddha ta[r]ley go[ḥ] desanā culoḥ

[1] The ṁ is not in the original.

[2] The ṁ is very doubtful.

12. tuḅa[ḥ] lār kantar dirdas g[n]a smi[ṅ] Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja guṁloṅ gun goḥ
13. mo' ḍey kāl y[o] ma kyāk Buddha tarley goḥ culoḥ tu-
14. ḅaḥ lār kantar dirdas gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ ı no-
15. m ḍey moy leḥ kāl kyāk Buddha tarley tāw ḍey Jeta-
16. wanamahāwihār ı ma strak [tlū]ṅ (mno)r dṅaḥ marmar sāsana kyāk Buddha ta-
17. rley ı [n]or ma kyāk Buddha [ta]rley parini[r]bbān ı kuli lṅiṁ turow
18. klaṁ p[i] cwa[s] cnām' ı ḍey dūṅ Arimaddanapūr ı yaṅ kantar gna smiṅ Śrī Tri-
19. [bhuwa]nādityadhammarāja goḥ kyāk Buddha tarley ñāc (c)i (ı)[1] tarley ktir
20. k-im ı [k]āl kyāk Buddha tarley ktir k-im goḥ ci ı nor g[n]is pan
21. yiryās turow sāk ḍeḥ tīt cup Brahmalok ḍeḥ tin ār ı
22. boy sma[r] ci yiryās goḥ ḍeḥ ār kirloḥ ut ti ḍāk (t)yāl[2] ı
23. boy[3] (gna)[ṅ][4] ci ı ut dis pan kaḥ moy lakṣa koṭi cak[k]awāl
24. ḍeḥ ār ı blaḥ goḥ ci yiryās goḥ tūn lo[p] mukhawār kyāk
25. Buddha tarley kuṁ ı tarle[y] Ānan ñāc ascar goḥ lṅor yil ki-
26. ntā[l] ju[ṅ] kyāk Buddha tar[l]e[y] tūy ı [y]uk suṁḅup tey smā-
27. ñ r[o]w wo' ı ma tirla pa ki[r]-īm[5] wo' ci ı mu het yo ı sa-
28. k het kyāk Buddha [t]arley guṁloṅ sik-im[6] ci kaḥ sak ı ro-
29. w goḥ tarley Ānan smāñ da ı goḥ ma kyāk Buddha tarley [gaḥ]
30. [ku] tarley Ānan row wo' ı Ānan [m]nor ci ı [r]isi moy ma i-
31. mo[' B]isnū ı jnok riddhi ı jnok ānubhāw ı go' abhiñā mṣūn ı [k]o[m]
32. ku k[o]n ey Gawaṁpati ı ku smiṅ In ı ku Bissukarmmadewaput ı ku Kataka-
33. rmmanāgarāja ı skandaṁ ḍūṅ moy imo' Sis(ī)t[7] ı blaḥ goḥ risi Bisnū g[o]ḥ [ı]

[1] There seems to be an original flaw after the stop; and the reading is conceivably *chi* or *ci ra*, but probably as in the text.

[2] Apparently the reading is *tyāl*, though etymology seems to require *kyāl*.

[3] There is an original flaw just before the *y*.

[4] The reading is very doubtful, though the last letter seems to be *ṅ*.

[5] There is an apparently original flaw before the *ī*. The letters *i* and *ū* are often used for (or interchangeably with) *ī* and *u* (respectively) in this and other early inscriptions.

[6] The *si* is the verbal prefix (usually written *s* or *sa*, but cf. D 6, E 8, 23-4, H 16).

[7] Possibly the reading is *Sisit*.

34. scuti nor goḥ ı stin ār Brahmalok ı scuti nor Brahmalok goḥ ı s[t]lūṅ [da]-
35. s ḍey ḍūṅ [A]rimaddanapūr ci ı s[d]ūṅ imo' gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanāditya-
36. dhamma[r]āja ı syuk sāsana ey ı row g[o]ḥ ma kyāk Buddha tarley gaḥ kel
37. h[e]t k(i)r-īm[1] goḥ ku tarley [Āna]n ı kāl [g]oḥ tarley Gawaṁ[pat]i
38. rmiṅ abhiprāy kyāk Buddha [t]arl[e]y ı ktir [lṅo]r kyāk Buddha tarley blaḥ [ci] ı dṅaḥ
39. spa prākat abhiprāy kyāk Buddha tarley goḥ [ı] t[ū]n smāñ row wo' ı tarla
40. [m]nor ci ı risi ma imo' Bisnu goḥ kom ku ey ḍīk ḍeḥ skandaṁ ḍūṅ Sisīt abhi-
41. prāy tarla gaḥ ci cmat=tā ı cmat Gawaṁpati row goḥ kuṁ ı risi Bisnū goḥ kuṁ da ma skandaṁ ko-
42. m ku kuṁ ı dṅaḥ goḥ ci Gawaṁpati beḥ [ā]r suṁ smiṅ In beḥ gaḥ row wo' ı smiṅ de-
43. watāw ı yaṅ abhiprāy kyāk Buddha tarley ci beḥ dūṅ na antūl ı yaṅ risi ma
44. imo' Bisnū ma jnok riddhi ānubhāw [g]oḥ ı kom ku ey ci ḍeḥ skandaṁ ḍū-
45. ṅ Sisīt ı ḍey kāl goḥ ci ut ḍe[y] sanraṅ risi Bis[n]ū goḥ beḥ byāpā-
46. [r] ı risi Bisnū goh ḍeḥ skan[d]aṁ ḍūṅ Sisīt goḥ blaḥ ı scuti [n]or goḥ ı ḍey ḍūṅ A-
47. rimaddanapūr ı ḍeḥ sdas gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja syuk sāsana kyā-
48. k Buddha tarley ı smin dewatāw ı ḍey kāl sanraṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
49. tyadhammarāja goḥ laḥ ı ḍey sanraṅ pun laḥ ı ku[ṁ] byāpār kel ut ku kā-
50. l ı row goḥ kyāk Buddha tarley kinkan ku tarley Gawaṁpati ı [ḍ]ey
51. kāl goḥ tarley Gawaṁpati dūṅ abhiprāy kyāk Buddha [t]arley na antū-
52. l blaḥ ı tarley cwin dhyān tūy tin ār Tāwatiṅ ı ut abhip[r]āy [k]yāk

[1] The reading may be *kīr-īm*, but a long vowel in an infix is quite abnormal (the sound represented being probably a short neutral vowel), and the mark in the *ī* which would convert it into *i* is probably merely accidental, and not original.

53. Buddha tarle[y] ci ı tarl[e]y Gawaṁpati guraṅ kel smiṅ In ı tarley guran
54. kel smiṅ In blaḥ tarle[y] cis tūn Jetawanamahāwihār ı ka phār[1]

B

1. lo' nor goḥ ci ı kyāk Buddha tarley ār nirbbān ḍey ḍūṅ K[u]si-
2. nār [da] ı ka phār[2] lo['] nor kyāk Buddha tarley nirbbān ı tarley Ga-
3. waṁpati tū[n] ti[n T]āwat(i)ṅ[3] moy leḥ tūn da ı yaṅ kantir gna smiṅ Śr[ī]
4. Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja ı tarley ki[n]kāl [b]oy bistār ku smi-
5. ṅ In ı smiṅ [d]ewatāw kuṁ rmiṅ da ı nor kyāk Buddha tarley ār ni[r]bbā-
6. n ı kuli moy lṅ(i)m[4] turow klaṁ pi [cw]as cnām ı yaṅ isi ma imo' Bi-
7. snū goḥ ı sdas [g]na smiṅ moy ma imo' Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja
8. ḍey ḍūṅ Ari[m]addanapūr ı [ya]ṅ sāsana kyāk Buddha tarley ci ı gna
9. smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goh ma syūk ı yaṅ yas g[n]a
10. smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ ci ut jirnok Jambudīp muleḥ
11. ḍeḥ sprākat ı m(i)r(gu)ḥ[5] gna [s]miṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja go[ḥ] ci ro-
12. w bi[r]sey kuṁ ı yaṅ s(ī)l(a)dharmma[6] dumhi[c] ci gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
13. t[y]adhammarāja goḥ scroḥ ptāw ı ut dussī[l] ṁa dmas marsa na sī[l] duṁhi-
14. c ma dmas marmal goḥ gna smiṅ Śrī [T]ribhuwanādityadhammarāja g[o]ḥ
15. spliñ duol ı ut kāyaduccarit wac(ī)ducçarit[7] manoducca[r]it ma
16. kaḥ c-aḥ ı na s[ī]l ma c-aḥ ma dmas ḍāk gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanāditya-dhamma-
17. rāja goḥ skrāc duol ı yaṅ dewatāw ma dūṅ suṁḅuḅ te[y] ñaḥ
18. guṁloṅ ma rap cir[cū]n dewatāw ma tmūy na bajra ı row [ñ]aḥ pu(m)a[8]
19. sanraṅ [k]uṁ ḍeḥ spa sanraṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja

[1] Or in one word, *kaphār*, perhaps. [2] See last note. [3] Possibly *Tāwatiṅ*. [4] Possibly *lṅīm*.

[5] The vowels may possibly be *i* and *a* respectively, and perhaps the *g* is doubled; but this, though normal after *r* in Indian loanwords, is not usual in native words.

[6] Or in two words, *sīla dharmma*, or *sīl dharmma*, but there is no *virāma* visible. The first vowel may possibly be *i*, but *ī* is normal.

[7] Conceivably *waciduccarit*, but the other is more correct.

[8] Possibly *pupa* or *pumaṅ*, but the text is probably right: cf. B 41.

20. goḥ ı ut [j]irnok rās gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja g[o]ḥ [c]i
21. [yaṅ] ku[ṁ]lac ma dmas jir[l]a goḥ skaḥ sak wel ı yaṅ sat[ru] ma dmas grip
22. [s]umtum[1] goḥ ci s[k]aḥ sak ı ḍeḥ sbistār row mahāsamudra kuṁ ı [y]aṅ pum(i)-[2]
23. c gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ ci pras [ḍeḥ s]ḍūk piñ ı
24. ḍūṅ Ari[m]addanapūr goḥ [c]i kāl satru bumrūk goḥ ḍeḥ sp[l]iñ
25. ı yaṅ mñaḥ kirkūl [p]an ma tāw ḍey ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr ma [d]as jlū-
26. y [boy] smar gaṅ ma ār des c-āṅ goḥ ı na yiryuk dirhat w(ī)r[3]
27. gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ ci ı [pr]as ḍeḥ ta goḥ scā-
28. s [t]i[n] ḍāk ḍeḥ slhīṅ ḍey ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr tū[n ı] yaṅ rumḅa-
29. t ñaḥ [ma] cāk [n]or ñaḥ rumlos gumloṅ ı na [pun]-ār[4]
30. [ti]r[t]ūy na [mo]ytricit[5] ma dmas tey ı gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanā-
31. d[i]tya[dh]ammarā[ja] goḥ sjit duol ı yaṅ sinmor ñaḥ ma aj[e]y
32. [pum]as gumloṅ ı na pun-ār tirtūy na karuṇā ma dmas ḍāk
33. sk[r]ā[c d]uol ı smiṅ dewatāw ı yaṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
34. tyadha[m]marāja goḥ ci ı [n]a te[y] stūm skel pū[ṅ] (t)wāṅ[6] ku ma-
35. [hā]ja[n] gumloṅ ı na tey jwi skjl kr[iy]ā glīk a[nta]k ku [m]ñaḥ
36. gumḷ[oṅ] ı ut ma[h]ājan [c]i row kon ma tā[w p]ḍey cris a-
37. [m]bo ı row goḥ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ smaṅ
38. me[y] na tirtūy ı ut mñaḥ ma (mg)ūḥ[7] gumḷ[o]ṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhu-wan[ā]·
39. dityadhammarāja goḥ spa lu-i[n] ı [y]aṅ mñaḥ ma [s]ak smo(ḥ) na ji-
40. rku na pāṅ na pumas gna smiṅ Śrī T[r]ibhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ spa (sumo)-[8]
41. [h] ı yaṅ ḍīk sumur [t]rūs pu(m)a[9] sanraṅ gumloṅ ma sak tīm [t]arla ı
42. gna smiṅ Śrī T[r]ibhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ sguraṅ kel tar[l]a [ı y]aṅ
43. tārley mahāther moy ma nom sīl ma das sārathī dharmma
44. goḥ ci ı gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ s[pa] su[t]ū(m)[10] spa ā-
45. cār ı ḍey kanta tarley [m]ahā[th]er lmom sīl ma das sārathī

[1] Or *sum tuṁ*.
[2] Possibly *pumī-*.
[3] Conceivably *wir*.
[4] Conceivably (but, if so, incorrectly) *pūn-ār*.
[5] Irregular spelling: cf. G 41.
[6] Conceivably *kwāṅ*, but see D 49.
[7] Cf. B 11, where apparently the substantive derived from this adjective (?) occurs; unfortunately the reading is doubtful in both places.
[8] The reading seems almost certain.
[9] Possibly *pupa*: see B 18.
[10] The final letter may possibly be *p*.

46. dharm[m]a goḥ kuṁ ı ko[m k]u tar[l]a ci ey scuaḥ ı[1] sāsa[na] kyā[k] Buddha ta-
47. [r]le[y] ı r[ow] goḥ ma gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ s[g]aḥ
48. [ı] bna[ḥ] pa [d]uṁhic bnaḥ pa d[u]ṁhic ı row goḥ ma gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhu[wa]nādityadha-
49. mmarāja goḥ s[di]ndu binton mahājan [g]uṁloṅ [u]t ku kāl ı yaṅ
50. ñaḥ ma [k]ṣap suṁ(ū)r[2] ı na kansap duṁhi[c] gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanāditya-
51. dhammarāja goḥ s(tu)ḍen kel p[u]mas ı yaṅ ñaḥ [m]a pihā[r suṁ]ū-
52. r ci gna s[m]iṅ [Śrī] Tribhuwanādityadham[m]arāja goḥ s[-]or pihā[r d]uṁ-
53. hi[c] ı yaṅ tinlūr [ti]nraṅ [s]war ma tmūy na thar [m]a cin[c]o[n] na ra[t]
54. [na] prajñā ma dma[s] t[e]y gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja [g]oḥ

C

1. [s]jak po[k k]el ku[3] (mahājan guṁloṅ) . . . . . [gna smi]-
2. ṅ Śrī Tribhu[w]anādityadham[m]a[rāja] (goḥ) . . . . . .
3. [w p]umat ḍey Mahā-A[wīc](i[4] st)[r](ak) . . . . . .
4. war ı yaṅ sa[k]kār ut ñaḥ ma [t](āw ḍey ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr goḥ)[5] [gna smi]-
5. ṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ sduṅ . . . . . (ro)-
6. w gati di[ṅal] thar ma ñ[i]n cincon ku rat (gna) [smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanā]-
7. dityadhammarāja goḥ sci[n]l[o]ḥ tuṁbaḥ ı kon lwū[t s]m[iṅ] (guṁloṅ ma nom)

1 This stop is clearly superfluous and probably due to an error.

2 Or perhaps *suṁur*, which seems to be the more usual spelling.

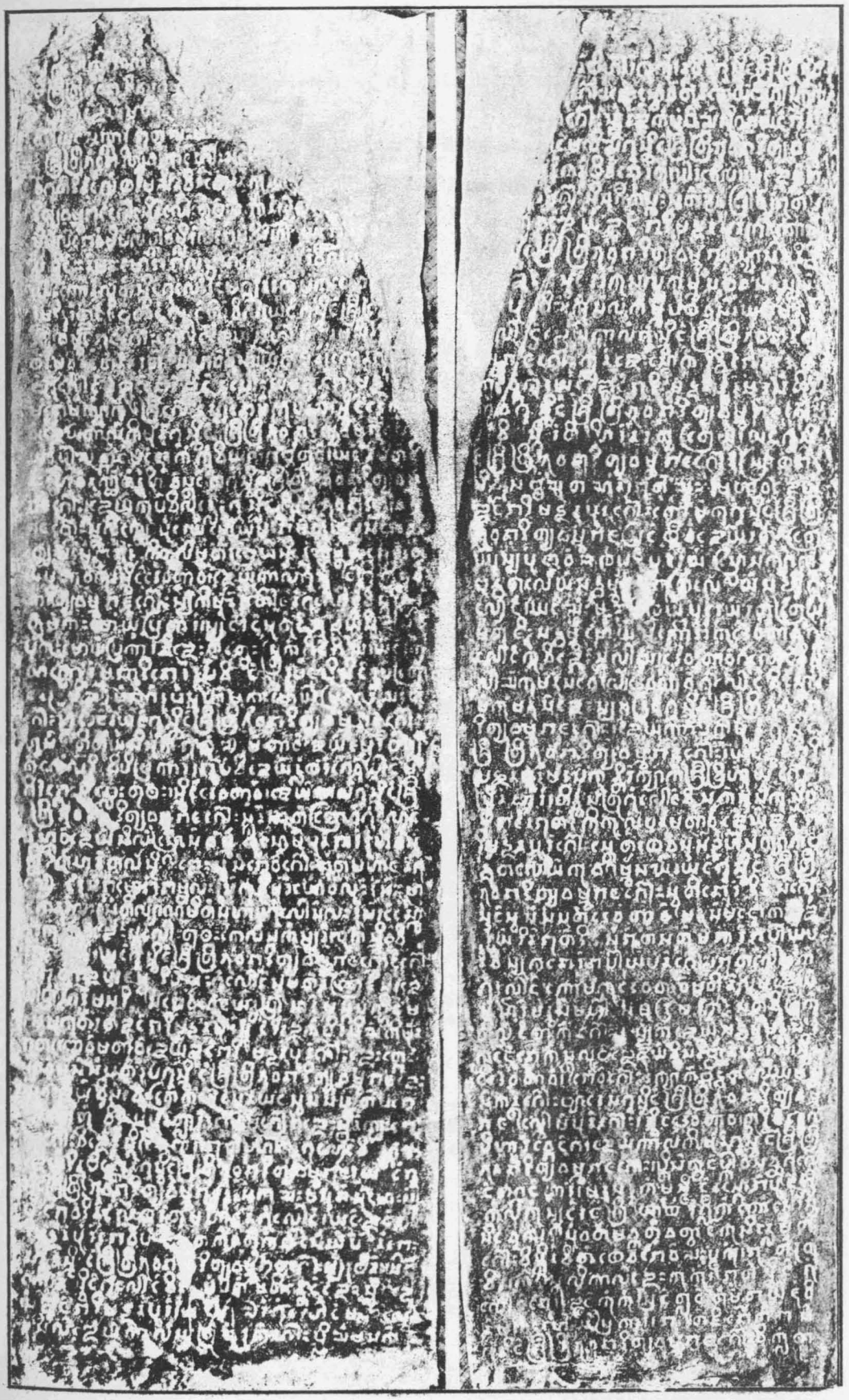
3 The stone is broken off here and the words following are conjectural restorations. The same applies to the ends of C 2-11.

4 Or possibly *Awici*, *Awīc*, or *Awic*. L.M. has *Awīk*. The next word is very doubtful.

5 This restoration is extremely doubtful.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.

C D



8. mirmal row mirmal pkāw mlir ı ma no[m] cirhāy ro[w] (cirhāy) [ka]-
9. ndar smiṅ In ma imo' Alambusā goḥ ma stirwīl ı [nor ḍūṅ duṁ]-
10. poḥ kon lwūt smiṅ guṁloṅ ma gñi na rat ma kaḥ mo[y prakā]-
11. r ma dindar tḍuṅ buṁtā[ṅ] (ma) [st]l(ū)ṅ[1] tirw(ī)l[2] ı yaṅ gna smiṅ Śrī [T]r[ibhuwanā]-
12. dityadhammarāja goḥ s(dm)o[ṅ[3] ḍ]ey sīhāsana ma ñi[n kindaṁ na][4]
13. thar ma cincon na rat s-anubhaw [c](i)r[h]āy[5] [k]irmun ı kon [lwūt smi]-
14. ṅ guṁloṅ [m]a tlūṅ n[o]r ḍūṅ [d]uṁpoḥ [yaṅ] ḍūṅ Arima[ddanapūr]
15. ma [n]om kyā[k] śrī goḥ spa no[m] ku ya(s)[6] ı smiṅ dewa[tā]-
16. w ı [ḍ]e[y k]āl [k]irmun gna smiṅ Śr[ī] Tri[bh]uwanādityadham[m]arāja [goḥ]
17. yaṅ pnāñ [c]-āṅ ma jnok kuṁ ci ya[l] gabbha tl[ū]ṅ ı yaṅ nimit ji-
18. rnaḥ duṁhic nakṣa[t du]ṁhic stlūṅ ta gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhamma-
19. rā[ja] goḥ ı ḍey kup cinleḥ g[n]a smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadha[mma]-
20. [r]āja [g]oḥ sḍ[ūk[7] kṣ]eḥ pu(ṁ)rey[8] [mo]y [m]a nom k[u] p(u)nras[9] [ro]w
21. kṣeḥ [ṁ]a das nor kirk[ūl][10] mat bre[y] scinleḥ [c]i [st]u(ṁ)[b]aḥ[11] ro[w t]ṅe-
22. [y]ma [t]āw kuṁ ı smiṅ dewatāw ı ḍey kāl g[n]a smiṅ Śrī Tri[bh]uwa-
23. nā[d]ityadhammarāja goḥ spa kirmu[n mah]ājan [guṁ]loṅ ci sgñi [na] ra
24. [t m]a kāḥ m[o]y prakār ı s[p]kaṅ raṅ [m]u(k)uṭ[12] [s]u[kh]ūy sirpū[ṅ]
25. ma kaḥ moy prakār [ci] ḍeḥ t[-]eḥ strak gi[ṅ]giñ ı [yaṅ] kr(a)-[13]
26. [y]ā [kto]r [m]a [ā]di nor r[ūp] ci[ṅ] rūp [jād]i[s]iṅ [rūp] tro-
27. ṅ [p]u[miñ[14] rūp n]āg rū[p s](u)[par[15] m]a kaḥ [mo]y [prak]ār ñaḥ [t]a
28. g[o]ḥ spkaṅ raṅ ı yaṅ [g]na smiṅ Śrī Tri[bh]uwanādi[t]ya[dh]amma-[r]ā[j]a g[o]ḥ

[1] Possibly *stluṅ*. [2] Possibly *tirwil*.
[3] Looks like *sdwoṅ* but can hardly be anything but *sdmoṅ*.
[4] The ends of C 12-5 are restored from the replica (No. II).
[5] Possibly *cīrhāy* (which would be incorrect).
[6] Looks rather like *yarsa* or *yaṅsa* (words unknown to me), but probably *yas* is right.
[7] II has *sḍuk*. [8] The *ṁ* is almost certain, but II appears to read *purey*.
[9] This might be *pūnras* (which would be incorrect); but II has *punras*.
[10] II may read *kirkul*: the passage is damaged. [11] The *ṁ* is almost certain.
[12] Looks like *muṅtuṭ*, which is impossible, but might be *muṅkuṭ*, though I think the superscribed mark that might be taken for *ṅ* is accidental.
[13] One would expect *kriyā* or *kiryā*, but there is no trace of an *i* here.
[14] This reading is confirmed by II, where the middle consonant is certainly *m*.
[15] The reading is almost certain.

29. tnas tirtūy [s]irsu[k] u[t ñ]aḥ [m]a [t]āw ḍey Jamb[u]di[p] (spu)-[1]
30. k [k]el nidhi pi [p]rakār (ı na)[2] rū[p] ci ḍey (d)laṁ [3] thar ro[w p]nāṅ [m]a
31. (g)ir [4] rgoḥ [sc]inloḥ tu(ṁ)ḅaḥ [5] ı smiṅ dewatāw ı ḍe[y kāl] gna smiṅ Śrī
32. Tri[bh]u[w]a[nā]dityadha[mm]arāja goḥ skmun [ı u]t [b]r[ow] guṁloṅ
33. [c]i s[t]ā[w] ḍey sīl srl[o]s dhar[m]ma sn[om pu]n-[ā]r d[u]ṁhi[c s](ba)-[6]
34. [k]=t(ī)[t][7] han tarla sṅi ḍeḥ [s](d)a[s] row go[ḥ u]t [m]ahājan [g]u[ṁ]-
35. loṅ dūs amb[o' a]mba laḥ dūs [k]u(ṁ) [cimun [8] y](o)w [9] laḥ dū[s] i[m]ā-
36. ṅ [k]a[n]dar laḥ [dū]s kalyāṇa[m](i)t [10] sahāy [r]u[ṁ][o]s laḥ dū[s] raṅ sko-
37. ['] kuṁ [ku]ṁ [c](i)[11] ḍ[e]ḥ s[c](u)loḥ [12] tuḅaḥ kel sạ[k] sp(u)r[l]ūk [13] smi(c) ci-
38. r[-aḥ] (ḍeḥ)[14] ı [y]aṅ [gn]a smi[ṅ] Śrī Tribhuwanādityadha[mm]ārāja g[m]oṅ go(ḥ)-
39. h u[t ḍey] Ja[m]budī[p ñ]aḥ gu[ṁlo]ṅ scu[m]at [na t]r[e]jas ı ḍe-
40. [y] prāsād ma sa[d]is [ro]w [Wejayanta pr]ásād ma sga(p)[15] lh(ī)[ṅ][16] ma
41. da[s] muku[t] rat ḍūṅ Ari[m]addana[p]ū[r s](d)ūṅ [17] (r)i[nḍ]ūk [18] pir[p]íñ kir[m]un
42. ut b[r]ow ma [tāw] ḍey [ḍ]ūṅ Arimaddanapū[r go]ḥ ḍeḥ t-eḥ
43. [s]ñāc swas [s]aṁpa[t] rūp gna smiṅ [Ś]r[ī] Tribhuwanādi[t]yadhamma-rāja ḍeḥ
44. [s](t)[ā]w ḍey cnis (rac c)[ro]k (p)[ā](ṅ pa)n [19] yaṅ swas sa[ṁ]pat [ma] ro-
45. [w] w[o]' c[i d]ṅa[ḥ pa p]u[n t]lār (da)[20] [goḥ ma go'] ḍeḥ [s]th[i]n [k]ṣaḥ ro-

[1] The conceivable alternatives are: for the *p* a *y*, and for the *u* either *i* or *ui*.
[2] What I have read ı *na* looks rather like *sa*.
[3] The *d* is almost certain.
[4] Looks rather like *kir*, but *gir* is almost certainly right.
[5] The *ṁ* is practically certain.
[6] The reading is very doubtful here; for *b* there are possible alternatives *m* or *c*, or it may be an accidental mark, or conceal a *u*; a dot over the *s* may be accidental or stand for *ṁ*. In the last case the *k* in the next line would have to be the initial of the following, not the final of this.
[7] Possibly the vowel is *i*.
[8] Or in two words, *ci mun*.
[9] Conceivably the reading may be *ṅayāw*, or (as the *virāma* is not certain) *yowa*.
[10] The last vowel may conceivably be *i*.
[11] Apparently *ci*, which is properly spelt *ci*.
[12] The first vowel may conceivably (but improbably, and certainly wrongly) be *ī*.
[13] The first vowel may perhaps be *ū*, which would be wrong.
[14] There seems to be a trace of an *e* here, but the rest is entirely blurred; the restoration is purely conjectural and very likely quite wrong. At the end there is a mark which might be the trace of a *virāma*, in which case the restoration is of course untenable, though we might read *ḍeh* or *ḍeḥh*.
[15] The *virāma* is not clear.
[16] Possibly *lhiṅ*.
[17] The reading is almost certain.
[18] Almost certain, though the initial might conceivably be *d*.
[19] The four preceding words are rather damaged and the reading is doubtful; but it makes good sense and is probably right.
[20] What I have read *da* may be merely a stop.

46. [w] goḥ ci ḍeḥ sgi[ṅgiñ ā]r [ı u]t [mahājan] guṁloṅ [c]i [st]āw
47. ḍey dindu bi[nto]n gna smiṅ Śr[ī] Tri[bh]uwanāḍit[y]a[dh]am[m]ar[āj]a ı yaṅ gna
48. smiṅ Śri Tri[bh]u[w]anādityadhammarā[j]a [d]ṅah [s](d)ak ñah [m]a s[d]as sumoḥ stuṁ-
49. [ḅ]aḥ row di[nṅa]l thar t(a)[1] ma[hā]jan guṁloṅ ı yaṅ [ḍ]ūṅ A-
50. ri[m]addanapūr row [m]a . . . . .[2] tak (na)[3] [tn]a[k birsey p]an rgoḥ
51. [d]a gna smiṅ Śr[ī] Tr[i]bhuwanādityadha[mm]a[rāja] g[o]ḥ [s]pa (r)u(b)[i]n[4] ı yaṅ
52. k[o]ṇ smiṅ guṁloṅ ci . .[5] [sa]ṁ[pat m]a [tin]t[eṅ] ḍeḥ s[l]h[ī]ṅ ḍe-
53. y ḍūṅ Ari[m]addanapūr ı (yaṅ)[6] [g]u[ṁ]īr [g]uṁ[lo]ṅ ma [l]m[o]-
54. [m] sīl ḍey [kā]l [satru][7] (buṁr)ū[k][8] goḥ p[l]iñ [m]a sak

D

1. . . . . n[9] [b]ihār kuṁ kuṁ ı [n]a w[īr] gna s[m]iṅ [Śrī T]ri[bhuwa]-
2. [nādityadhammarāja] goḥ ı [ḍ]eḥ scow tūn [ḍ]e[y bi]hār [kuṁ ku]ṁ
3. . . . . .[10] goḥ sp(u)nḍ(ū)k[11] pu(ṁ)piñ[12] [s](ī)l[13] ı yaṅ rās
4. (twāñ guṁlo)ṅ[14] ma liñ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwa[n]ādityadhamma-
5. [rāja] (goḥ) [s]tūn ka[nd]aṁ thi[c] nor tuṁlār wel ı [y]a[ṅ ḍū]ṅ A-

[1] Conceivably *tu* or *tna*, but see C 18.

[2] At this point there is a blurred space (measuring about three letters of the original). It is possible that there was here some short word (such as *ḍeḥ*), but more likely it is an original flaw in the stone, which appears to extend through the next two lines (between *nā* and *di* and *ci* and *saṁ*, respectively, though its extension to the second line is not certain, and if there was in C 50 a letter with a tail, such as the *ḍ* is *ḍeḥ*, or a subscript letter, the flaw need not have been an original one).

[3] Looks like *ca*.

[4] The dot in the *b* is probably accidental, the shape of the letter not being quite circular enough for a *ḅ*. Conceivably (but improbably) the initial might be *d*.

[5] This space is occupied by a blur which may conceal some short word like *ku*. Or it might conceivably have been *na* followed by an original flaw; or something else.

[6] A mark after *yaṅ* looking like a stop throws some doubt on the reading but may have been an original flaw.

[7] There is either an original flaw between *sa* and *tru*, or (less probably) we must read some short word like *da* before *satru*.

[8] The first syllable is so badly blurred as to be quite uncertain, but cf. B 24 and E 35. The mark taken for *ṁ* may be accidental. Conceivably (but improbably) we might read *d* instead of *r*.

[9] The stone is broken off and the beginnings of the lines, down to D 14 inclusive, are imperfect and the restorations conjectural.

[10] There is a mark here, which is probably an *r*, and possibly we might restore the word *guṁīr*.

[11] The first vowel may conceivably (but incorrectly) be *ū*, the second may possibly be *u*.

[12] The *ṁ* is doubtful.

[13] Possibly *sil*.

[14] Possibly we should restore *twāñ ḍūṅ*: cf. G 31.

6. [rimaddanap]ūr goḥ sisubhī[k] s[k]aḥ [s]a[k] u[p]adro[w] ı ut ma(-)
7. (nus [1] ma tā)w [ḍ]ey ḍū[ṁ] Arimaddanapūr g[oḥ] ko[m]
8. (ku gna) [2] smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarā[j]a syās [n]a [r]iddhi
9. . . .[3] ḍ[e]ḥ sw[e]ṅ akusalaka[r]mmapatha cas ı [sp]ū[n]-
10. [ḍūk] pu(ṁ)piñ [4] [k]usalaka[r]mmapatha cas ı yaṅ ma[n]u[s]
11. [guṁ]l[o]ṅ ḍey kāl g[n]a smiṅ Śrī [T]ribhuwanāditya-
12. [dhamma]rāja goḥ k[m]un ḍeḥ sjnok [r]iddhi row de[w]a-
13. [tāw] kuṁ ı [y]aṅ ḍūṅ Arimadda[n]a[p]ūr [m]a das [t]ir-
14. [t]ā[w g]na [s]miṅ Śrī [T]ribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ
15. . .[5] ci sg(u)[i]r [6] tinhir na ratna tre[y] ı yaṅ gna smi-
16. ṅ Śrī Tribhuwa[n]ādityadhammarāja go[ḥ] spr[āth]a[n]ā
17. [m]ic [7] sabbañutañān ı ut ñaḥ [8] ma tāw ḍe[y]
18. [ḍū]ṅ Arimadda[n]apūr goḥ kom ku gna smiṅ Śrī Tri-
19. [bhu]wanādityadhammarāja [sr]jūṅ [th]i[c ḍ]ey ra[t]na tre-
20. y ı spa pūjāw iey p[urey] srlos kyāk
21. Buddha tar[l]ey saddharmma [9] [k]u [t]arley saṅ[gh]a [g]uṁ-
22. loṅ ı [y]aṅ ñaḥ ma i[e]y purey ratna t[rey]
23. [m]a [k]ujiḥ saddharmma [mo]y siṅ[k]o' k[u] dewatā[w] g[uṁ]-[10]
24. loṅ ku[ṁ] ci ḍeḥ s[g]ulāñ ı dewat[ā]w guṁ[loṅ ci s]g[u]-
25. [l]āñ ku manus wel ı dewat[ā]w [g]uṁloṅ [c]i s[ko]-
26. [m] ku manus [ḍ]eḥ spa [s]anraṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tri[bhuwa]nā-
27. di[t]yadhammarāja [g]oḥ ı ḍey k[ā]l kirmu[n] gna smiṅ
28. Ś[r]ī Tribh[u]wa[n]ādit[y]adha[m]marāja goḥ ı [y]aṅ [ḍ]ūṅ Ari-
29. [m]addana[p]ūr ma das kantir kyāk [ś]r[ī] c[r]ih[āy] g[o]ḥ
30. [sr](b)in [11] [phā]ṙ ı [t]i[nm]a satru guṁ[l]oṅ [c]i sa[k s]das kusīw
31. (rāṅ ı) u[t] kir[kūl] pa[n] ma t[āw ḍe]y ḍū[ṁ] A-
32. ri[m]adda[n]apūr go[ḥ] stg[et] thec sdas u[pā]s kyāk Bu-

[1] Another possible restoration is *mahājan*, though there seems to be scarcely room for it.
[2] Conjectural but practically certain. [3] Restore *kuṁ* or ı *yaṅ*, perhaps.
[4] The *ṁ* is very doubtful indeed.
[5] There is a more or less blurred space here of the size indicated, probably due to a flaw which runs through several of the preceding lines; or possibly there may have been some short word, such as *da*.
[6] The *u* seems very doubtful and is not strictly necessary, though quite possible.
[7] There is a flaw here (which may be original), in shape something like *du*.
[8] Before *ma* there is another flaw, and the spacing seems to indicate that it is original.
[9] Here there is a flaw, of the size of about two letters of the original. It was probably an original flaw, for it extends to the next line, occupying the space of a letter between *i* and *e*. The only alternative is to suppose that a word containing a letter with a tail (or a subscript letter) is lost in D 21; but none is needed, and the one which would seem most appropriate, viz. *kom*, does not fulfil the conditions.
[10] Conceivably (but most improbably) *gūṁ*-. [11] Cf. C 51.

33. ddha ta[rley] ku [dh]ar[m]ma [s]aṅ[gh]a ı yaṅ [gn]a smiṅ Śrī [T]r[i]-
34. bhu[w]anādi[ty]adhammarā[j]a goḥ scuti nor dirdas goḥ
35. sdūṅ swas saṁ[p]a[t] dewatā[w m]anus ma [jṅ]ok ḍ[e]-
36. y rin-ut dirdas [u]t sat ma [ā]r [apāy] pa-
37. [n ci] syu[k[1] n]or apā[y p]an goḥ ı ut l[o]k[2]
38. [g]uṁo[ṅ] kom[3] ku dewat[āw] ma [t]inl(u)m[4] [ḍ]ey
39. [s]aṅsār ma dma[s m]a[hās]amudra[5] [m]a[6] [k]aḥ sa[k c]i[n]ruk
40. [t]i[l]ḅ[o]k[7] goḥ [ı] spḍuk ḍ[e]y saddha[r]mma[8] ma [dm]a[s]
41. [kḅ]aṅ j[u]ṁ[no]k stulūṅ [ḍ]ey [cni]s nirbbān [p]u(ṁ)rey ı s[mi]-
42. ṅ dewa[t]āw ı row goḥ da kyā[k] Buddha [t]a[rl]e[y m]a dma-
43. s [k](a)ntu[9] goḥ byādes gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanāditya[dh]a[mm]a-
44. rāja [l]mom pun goḥ ı [s]miṅ d[ew]a[tāw] ı kuṁ r[m]i[ṅ we]l
45. [pih]ār c-eṅ gaṁ ı [ḍ]ey kāl kir[m]uṁ gṅa smiṅ [Śr]ī [Tr]i-
46. bhu[w]a[n]ādityadhammarāja [go]ḥ ı ptis [tḅ]aṅ pkāw sac=chu guṁ[lo]-
47. [ṅ] sgl[o]ṅ [ph]ār ı [m]a[nu]s dmuk ma [s]j(i)ṅ[10] [n]a sg[o]' pū[ṅ] (ı)[11] glī-
48. k kuṁ spkaṅ ra[ṅ] kri[y]ā thaı glīk k[o]ser sca-
49. siṅ cnak ı suṁwat ma ckat[12] ca twāṅ ku sinl[em] ta
50. goḥ ci [s]t[g]in [c]i[t] thec row ñaḥ pju [k]u[ṁ] ı ut rut[u]
51. ci sak skuli kāl ḍeḥ kuṁ kuṁ [ı][13] ut smi[ṅ] guṁ-
52. loṅ nor ḍūṅ kuṁ kuṁ sraṅ tlūṅ tumwāy[14] juṁwi-
53. n [m]a [k]aḥ [mo]y p[r]ak[ā]r ı ut ji[r]nok rās
54. [g]na [s]miṅ Śrī [T]ribhuwa[n]ādityadhammarāja goḥ ci klaṁ ḅā-

[1] Here either II inserts a short word, illegible but apparently ending in *t* or *k*: it might be *nuk*, "to take out of." Or, more probably, the broken letter is merely the *k* of *syuk* and there was a big original flaw in the stone.

[2] Between *o* and *k* there is an original flaw. II seems to read *lok*.

[3] Here II may have inserted something, now illegible; possibly *ku manus*. Or, more probably, there was a very big original flaw.

[4] Conceivably, but most improbably, the last vowel may be *ū*. II seems to support the text.

[5] Here, as in the last line, II has a blurred space of the size of three or four letters of the original.

[6] Here the original has what appears to be an original flaw shaped like an *r*. II appears to read merely *ma kaḥ*.

[7] Looks rather like *tuil ḅok*, but II has no trace of any *u*.

[8] Here again II has a blurred space, of the size of some three or four letters of the original; probably part of the same original flaw that appears to affect the preceding lines.

[9] Possibly, but improbably, *kintu*.

[10] The reading appears to be with *i*, but II has *i*.

[11] This stop is doubtful: it is too close to the *g* and rather too high up. II is badly damaged here, but seems to have no trace of a stop, and none seems to be needed.

[12] The *virāma* is damaged and might conceivably, though improbably, have been an *anusvāra*.

[13] The stop is quite clear in II.

[14] There may possibly be an *ṁ* before the *m*, but that would be quite unusual in E.M. spelling, and as II has nothing of the sort the mark is probably merely accidental.

E

1. r c[w]a[s l]eḥ brey s[g]ūr ı [u]t [k]u [kāl s]r[o'] sḍ(u)k [1] pi[ñ] ı
2. [ḍey] rās [gn]a smi[ṅ Śrī Tribhuw]anād[ity]adha[mm]arā[j]a goḥ ci
3. sm[i]ṅ dewatāw [sglo](ṅ) [c](i)[ṅ kṣ]eḥ [preṅ] (j)[lo]w [2] [c]lik ba[ḅ]e-
4. ' tyāṅ ı [kon s]miṅ [k]o[n ñ]aḥ [jnok gumlo]ṅ [3] [yaṅ]
5. [k]ri[yā puwiñ ḍeḥ] t-eḥ [c]i [th]ar s[r]a[ñ c]o[m ı]yaṅ mñaḥ [gu]ṁ-
6. [loṅ m]a [k]aḥ r[b](i)[n [4] tinr]aṅ ci [ḍ]e[ḥ t-e]ḥ [s]pa tinraṅ (p)irnik [5]
7. [ktor cī]ṅ s[ṅ]i [ḍeḥ t-eḥ ci skumir k]u [cl]ā[k] com ı gna sm[i]ṅ [Śrī]
8. [Tribhuw]a[n]ād[ity]a[dh]a[mm]a[rā]ja g[o]ḥ [ci] sisugiḥ ñaḥ gu[ṁ]loṅ
9. (sa)[ṅ] [6] (ar)[i](y) [duṁpoḥ pr]a[k]ār s[c]uroḥ kel dharmma ma [d]mas
10. [p]k[ā]w spa [m]al na sīl [m]a d[m]as [m]i[rm]al ı sm[i]ṅ de[w]a[tāw] dap
11. tṅe[y k]ā[l gn]a [sm]iṅ Śrī [Tr]i[bhu]wanādityadhammarāja goḥ di-
12. [ndu bi]nton ma[hāj]an [g]uṁl[oṅ] ı [y]a[ṅ binr]u anumodanā b[i]-
13. n[ru tirhin] kirsaḥ binru sādhu[kār m]a [m]ah[ā]jan guṁl[o]ṅ spa [7] [ci]
14. [row b]inru [b]re[y] juṁ[nok ḍey] kāl tirḍey [b](ī)r[t]aṁ [8] k[uṁ]
15. ı [m]ahā[j]an guṁ[l]oṅ sgñi sūcar[it l]uṁ[ḅ]āc ma [dm]a[s kr]iyā
16. [duṁhic] s[l]hīṅ ḍey sad[dh]ar[mm]a ı [y]a[ṅ] ñaḥ ma [an dñāt] guṁ-[lo]-
17. [ṅ c]i [st](ū)[n] [9] glo[ṅ d]ñā[t] ñaḥ ma linlas [guṁloṅ] ḍeḥ stir
18. (bṅo)['] [10] ı ñaḥ [m]a j[r]ā[y guṁl]oṅ skro[' wel ı] ñaḥ ma a[n]
19. [yi]ryuk dirhat [g]uṁl[o]ṅ snom yiryu[k] d[i]r[h]at ı [y]aṅ ñaḥ
20. [m]a [k]aḥ [j]ik pta[m gu]ṁloṅ [c]i spupiñ (pu)[nd]ūy [11] jurām [n]a sro-
21. ' sro' yow [12] [m]a [k]aḥ [mo]y pra[k]ā[r] ı j[āp] j[ā](p)[13] sṅi ñaḥ ta
22. goḥ sisgiḥ [ph]ā[r n]a rat ı yaṅ bro[w pj]u ma du[k] ma syo' tuṁḅā-
23. [y] lāmī guṁ[lo]ṅ ku[ṁ] na gir[go]' [ṅ]ūs [m]a [glo]ṅ ḍeḥ t-eḥ si-

[1] Conceivably, but improbably, *sḍūk*.

[2] The reading is probably *jlow* as in E 24, not *glow*, though the latter is conceivable.

[3] There are marks here which might be traces of a stop (or a short particle); but this would make the spacing very cramped, and probably they are merely accidental.

[4] Conceivably (but improbably) *rbiṅ*. Cf. C 51, D 30. [5] The initial may conceivably be *m* or *s*.

[6] Between *sa* and *ṅ* there is an original flaw shaped something like *rw*.

[7] A mark here, which at first inclined me to read *spā*, is almost certainly accidental.

[8] Apparently the original reads *birtaṁ*, but the proper spelling is certainly *birtaṁ*. [9] Or *stun*.

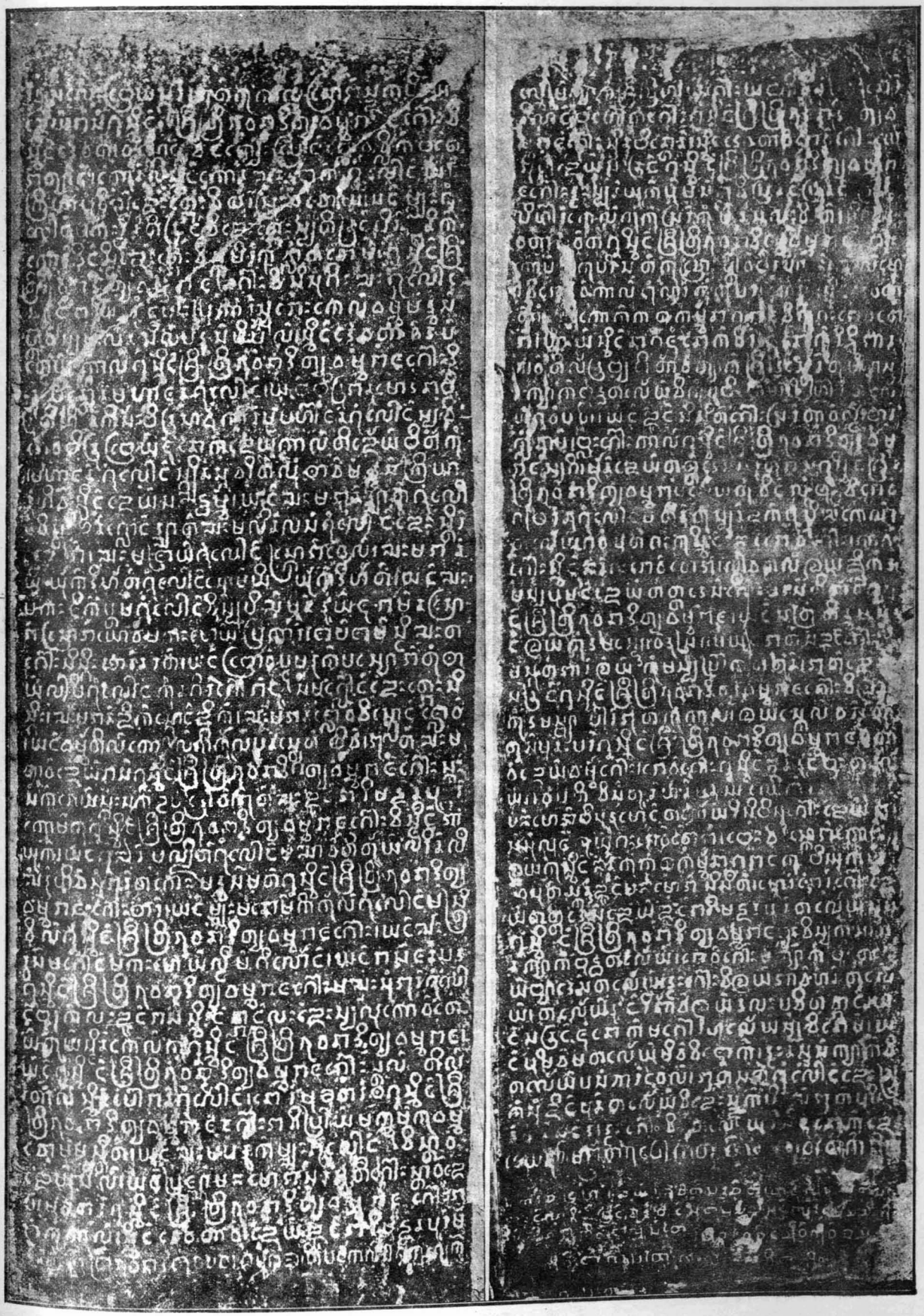
[10] The reading is extremely doubtful, all the impressions being bad here and the stone apparently damaged. The initial might be *ṅ* or *j*, and the subscript *j* or *n*. That there is a subscript letter is shown by the space between *yi* and *ryuk* in the next line. [11] Conceivably (but improbably) *pūndūy*.

[12] The *virāma* is broken and might have been an *anusvāra*, but the reading seems certain.

[13] The word looks like *jām*, but either the *m* is a mistake for *p* or the cross bar is accidental or was added later by some defacer.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.

E F



24. s[g]iḥ ı ñaḥ ma an d[ī]k sgloṅ dīk ı [ñ]aḥ ma an jlo[w] c[i sg]loṅ [j]low
25. ı yaṅ dharmma tiltol [k](ī)r[k]ūl [1] pan stge[t] thi[c] ı ut ñaḥ ma
26. [t]āw ḍey rās g[n]a [s]m[i]ṅ Ś[r]ī Tri[bhu[wan[ā]dityadhammarāja goḥ skaḥ
27. sak bhey skaḥ [s]a[k] upadrow ı [u]t ñaḥ [ḍ]ūṅ Ari[m]addanapūr
28. kom ku gna smiṅ Śr[ī] Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ ci sjlīṅ ā-
29. yūk ı [y]aṅ [gu]ṁīr paṇḍ[i]t guṁloṅ [m]a ñāc tirtūy rinli-
30. ñ duṁ[h]ic s[u]ṁ[u]r [t]a goḥ [m]a [dm]as mat g[n]a smiṅ Śrī T[r]ibhuwanāditya-
31. dhammarā[j]a goḥ ḅār ı yāṅ [mñ]aḥma [n]om kirk(ū)[l [2] gu]ṁloṅ [m]a s[t]ri-
32. [w]ī[l g]na [smiṅ] Śrī Tribh[u]wanā[d]ityadhammarāja goḥ ı yaṅ [ñ]aḥ
33. rwas [m]a [goṅ] ma kaḥ [mo]y,lṅ(i)m [3] g[irl]oṅ ı [y]aṅ rās jana[p]ad [4]
34. gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwa[nā]dityadhammarāja g[oḥ m]a [ñ]aḥ sumur [5] [g]umlo-
35. [ṅ] b(uru)[k] [6] laḥ ḍūṅ rā[s] smiṅ [c]-āṅ [l]aḥ ḍeḥ spa lukow [t]e-
36. [y t]ū[y] sj(i)n [7] kel [k]u gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja ı
37. yaṅ [gna] smi[ṅ Śr]ī T[r]i[bhu]wa[nā]dityadha[mm]arāja [go]ḥ stḅa[l] til-
38. [tol] smi[ṅ p]orā[n g]uṁ[l]o[ṅ] ı nor mukha[w]ār gna smiṅ Śrī
39. Tr[i]bhuwanādityadha[mm]arāja [g]oḥ abhipr[āy] ma (kc)um [8] ku dharmma
40. [com m]a stīt ı [y]aṅ ñaḥ [m]a [p]a dūk mñaḥ [guṁlo]ṅ ci stāw
41. ḍey s[ī]l ı ya[ṅ p]raj[ñ]ā [m]a imo[' s]a[r]a[s]wa[tī] g[o]ḥ stāw ḍe-
42. [y] m[ukh]a[w]ār [gn]a [s]mi[ṅ Śrī Tribhuw]anādityadha[mm]ar[ā]ja goḥ u-
43. [t ku k]āl ı smiṅ dewa[tāw] ı [ḍ]ey ḍū[ṅ Ar]i[m]addanapūr ma

F

1. [lmom ky]ā[k śrī crihāy go]ḥ [yaṅ ki] . . . . [9] [m]a [cḍ](aḥ) [10] [nor]
2. (d)[ilā]ṅ [bu](ṁ)[hok] goḥ g[n]a s[miṅ Ś]r[ī Tri]bhu[w]a[nādity]a[dh]a

[1] Perhaps *kirkūl*, as it should be. [2] Very possibly *kirkul*. [3] Perhaps *lṅim*.
[4] Possibly *janapada*, for the *virāma* is not certainly visible. However, the L.M. form is *janaḥ puid* in the Môn *Akkharavidhāna* of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (Pak Lat, A. Bud. 2453).
[5] Perhaps *sumār*. [6] Possibly *burūk*. [7] Possibly *sjīn*.
[8] The first letter might be *t*; the second may be *m*.
[9] The illegible word appears to have two medial consonants and may end in *r*; it looks rather like *kintir*, which seems unsuitable here. [10] Almost certain.

3. [mm]a[rāj]a [goḥ] sd[i]ndu [bi]nton ı smi[ṅ] de[w]atā[w row] goḥ [yo]
4. [ut] ḍ[e]y sanraṅ[1] gna smi[ṅ Śrī] Tribhuwa[nā]di[t]ya[dh]a[mm]arā-
5. ja goḥ dṅa[ḥ] spunyūk pumas ku[ṁ] ci [pr]a[n]a[ṅ pr]a[n]a[ṅ] e[y]
6. pi[h]ār kel ku[2] kuṁ or[3] kuṁ [mirn](a)s[4] [l]a[ḥ wit] ı [sm]i[ṅ de]-
7. [w]a[tā]w[5] ta gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwa[n]ādit[y]a[dh]a[mm]a[rāj]a [goḥ]
8. k[om] ku pa[r]isat ku[ṁ] cr[o]ḥ [ptāw j](i)[rhān][6] ı [kāl] (m)[no]-
9. [r c]i r[ow] kāl [t]u[ṁl]ā[r k]uṁ [k]uṁ [p]a [sumoh][7] ı [smiṅ] dewa[tā]-
10. [w kuṁ] kok Ka[t]aka[rmm]anāga[rāj]a [ci kuṁ gaḥ ro]w [wo]-
11. ['] ı [hā]y smiṅ nāg(a)[8] jumn[o]k[9] [w](ī)r[10] (ı)[11] j[uṁ]n[ok r]id[dh]i [ānu]-
12. bhāw [ti]rla drabya tirtā[w k]yā[k śrī] ı d[ṅ]a[ḥ st]u[n][12] t[umi s]ā[sa]-
13. [n]a [kyāk] Buddha tarle[y] c(i)[13] [k]uṁ [p]a [bi](r)[bo]y[14] [p]ihā[r tarle]-
14. [y G]awaṁpa[t]i ı yaṅ ḍūṅ [S]i[sīt go]ḥ or tāw l[ṅ](iṁ)[15] [ḅ]ā[ṛ]
15. [kl]aṁ [c]nā[m] ı blaḥ goḥ kāl gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādi[ty]a[dh]a-[mm]a-
16. [rāj]a s[p]a kirmun ḍey Ta[tt]ades ı [ut] rās g[n]a smiṅ [Śrī]
17. [Tribhu]wa[n]ā[d]ityadham[m]arāja [ḍ]ey tuṁwīṅ [luṁḅ]ū(ḥ) c[i] row
18. [l]u(ṁ)[ḅar] ch[u] guṁloṅ ma t[in k]uṁ sp[u]nḍuk[16] [pu](ṁ)[p]iñ[17] ke [l] ı
19. tar[l]e[y][18] Gawaṁ[p]ati [g]aḥ ku [s]miṅ In ro[w] g[o]ḥ ı [kāl]

[1] II has *sinraṅ*. [2] Conceivably *kuṁ*.

[3] There is a faint mark here which might be taken for a stop, but is certainly not one: it would make the spacing too cramped, II (which, however, is by no means clear here) has nothing, and a stop would be out of place syntactically.

[4] There is a faint mark here which may be the trace of an *e*, making the word *mirnes*, but it is probably accidental. The spacing can be accounted for by the long tail of the *u* in *kuṁ* of F 5.

[5] Here begins a long original flaw which extends to F 11 and has caused gaps in the spacing as follows: F 7, between *tā* and *w*; F 8, between *kom* and *ku*; F 9, between *ro* and *w*; F 10, between *kuṁ* and *koḳ*; F 11, between *hā* and *y*.

[6] Looks like *jīrhān*, but the stroke in the *i* may be accidental.

[7] II, which (as usual) is by no means clear, may perhaps have *sumoḥ*.

[8] II has *nāg*. In our text there is no *virāma* visible, but a blur which may perhaps be the remains of one. Of course either form is possible (cf. *swarga* and *swar*); the modern language writes *nāk*.

[9] II has *jumnok* (both times in this line).

[10] The vowel is perhaps doubtful in our text, but II has *wīr* distinctly.

[11] After *wīr* our text has a mark which may be a stop. But II has nothing here.

[12] II may have *stūn*.

[13] A mark across the *i* is probably accidental, not intended for *i*.

[14] There is no *r* visible in our text, which is blurred here, but II seems to have a trace of one, and the word is elsewhere spelt with one.

[15] A mark here (resembling *r* with a *virāma*) must be accidental.

[16] II seems to have *spunḍūk*. [17] II seems to have the *ṁ*. [18] II may have *tirley*.

20. [go]ḥ [s]miṅ In gaḥ row wo' ı [lḅ]āc [t]arla e[y ḍ](ī)k [1] (da) [2]
21. [m]a spa [p]u[m]aṅ ḍey Tattades [go]ḥ [m]a [d]a[s] tir[t]āw [gn]a [smi]-
22. [ṅ] Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhamma[r]āja [3] ı yaṅ [s]a[t]r(u) [4] [tinm]a [m]a [stl](ū)-[5]
23. ṅ ey [k]u[ṁ] da [m]a spd[o]w duo[l] ı[ya]ṅ [6] a(ta)s ḍū[ṅ goḥ] [7]
24. [m]a [sg](ū)[t] [8] ār ey [k]uṁ ma spa [prāk]a[t tūn] ı u[t ḍ]e[y]
25. saṇraṅ gna sm[iṅ Śrī T]ribhu[w]a[nād]i[tyadh]ammar[ā]ja [9] [g]oḥ ci e[y]
26. kuṁ da ma sbyāpār u[t k]u kā[l] ı [e]y ske[l] wa[r] (wel)
27. [t]na[s mu]nmar gna smiṅ Śr[ī Tri]bhu[w]a[n]ā[d]it[y]adhammaraja [ma tā]-
28. w ḍey dharmma goḥ ı ro[w go]ḥ gna [s]m[i]ṅ I[n] dūṅ [b]laḥ [10] [t]a[rle]-
29. y [G]awaṁpati cis tūn [h]a[n m]a[ṇu]ssalok ı [11] [ār suṁ risi]
30. [m]a [im]o[' Bi]snū dumoṅ tarl[e]y risi Bis[nū goḥ] ḍe[y ā]-
31. [s s]uṁlū[ṅ tūy] gaḥ [row wo'] ı [be]ḥ ci [s]k[o' kom ku]
32. [e]y ku [smi]ṅ [12] [In k]u [K]a[t]a[k]a[rmm]a[n]ā[g]arā[j]a [ku Bissuk]a-[rmmade]-
33. [wapurta [13] s]kànda[ṁ] ḍū[ṅ m]a [imo]' Si[sīt] ı [mno]r-[n]or [goḥ ḍe]-
34. [y T]a[t]tade[s ḍ]e[y ḍū]ṅ [Ar]imadda[n]a[pū]r ta[rley sdas]
35. [gn]a [smiṅ] Śrī Tri[bh]u[w]a[n]ā[d]it[y]adha[mm]a[r]ā[j]a [bl]a[ḥ] ci [s]y(u)k [14] [sāsa]-
36. [n]a [ky]āk Bu[d]dha [t]arle[y] ı r[ow go]ḥ [m]a [15] [k]y[āk Buddh]a [t]a[rle]-
37. y [b]y[ā]de[s] ta[rley [16] ı] dṅaḥ g[o]ḥ c(i) [17] ey āc ha[n t]a[rle]-
38. y ı tarle[y] dū[ṅ [18] ri]r-ā[c ey] da laḥ pa [c]it [c-]ā[ṅ ı ya]-
39. [ṅ] sanraṅ juṁnok ma go[r] tar[l]e[y s]pa c[i nom] ı [ya]-
40. ṅ pumic ma [t]arle[y] mic [ci] jnok ı dṅaḥ na sda[s] kyā[k ci]
41. tar[l]ey pa saṁbhār wel ‖ [ut] sa[t gu]ṁloṅ ḍe[ḥ scru]-

[1] Or *dik*; but II apparently has the *i*.
[2] II apparently also has *da*.
[3] II may have a *virāma* here.
[4] Conceivably *satrū*.
[5] II has the *stl* quite clear, but its vowel may possibly be *u*.
[6] Looks like *yuṅ*, probably by accident, as II shows.
[7] The bracketed words at the ends of F 23-5, 27-30, 33, 35, and 37-9 are confirmed by II.
[8] The vowel may be *u*. II (which is not clear here) probably has *ū*.
[9] II seems to have a *virāma* here.
[10] Here II inserts a stop.
[11] II has no stop here.
[12] Conceivably *smīṅ*.
[13] A mistake for *waput*, the superscript *r* having been wrongly put for the *virāma*. See A 32.
[14] Conceivably, but improbably, *syūk*.
[15] II has *ma*.
[16] II seems to have *tirley*.
[17] Conceivably, but improbably, *ci*.
[18] A small flaw between *dū* and *ṅ* is apparently original, as there is an abnormal space there.

42. [k s]uṁḍ(i)[ṅ[1] p]un [t]a[rl]ey c[i] ḍeḥ s[ḍ](u)[k[2] pi]ñ ut pu[mi]-
43. [c] (m)un[3] saṅ da ı dṅaḥ [g]oḥ [ci][4] tar[l]e[y] r[i]si [j]uṁ[nok] ḍ[e]-

G

1. y [d]i[rd]a[s p]i [pi] l[eḥ tūn] (ci) [t]a[rley casi]ṅ [cr]ihāy k[irmu]·
2. [n] da [ı t]arley [l]a[ḥ kḍas m]le' [cri]hā[y k]i[rm](u)[n][5] g[o]ḥ ı [mn]or [ci]
3. ḍe[y] dirda[s pi pi] le[ḥ t]ū[n t]a[rley] sdas [s]miṅ [dh]ar[m]marā[j]a ı ḍe-
4. [y kāl tarley][6] da[s smiṅ dh]ar[mm]a[rāj]a [go]ḥ [ci kyāk śrī t](a)-[7]
5. [r]le[y[8] sj](nok) [phār] ı [ḍe]y [sth]ā[n] (ma)[9] [t]a[rl]e[y] (kuta)[10] [ci u]t [ti]-
6. [nm]a sat[ru guṁloṅ sak] sda[s t]u[tāw ı t]arle[y scinl]o[ḥ t](ū)[ṁḅ]a[ḥ][11]
7. r[ow] tne[y] ḍ[ey s]a[r]a[d]a [k]ā[l[12] m]a [t]ā[w ı ḍey k]ā[l] kir[m](ū)-[n[13] t]a-
8. rle[y c]i (yaṅ)[14] [swas saṁp]at [ḍey ti jnok wo]' ci sad[is]
9. [row] swas [s]a[ṁ]pa[t swar mle]ḥ [ı yaṅ trūs] b[row suṁ]wa[t] guṁl[o]-
10. [ṅ] ci s[j]lī[ṅ] ā[yuk sk]aḥ sak añje[y] (gwīp)[15] [we]l ı [m]ahā[j]an guṁ-
11. [loṅ] ci s[k]aḥ sa[k bhey sk]aḥ [s]ak [up]ad[row] ı [ḍe]ḥ [sca[16] hāp] c(a)-[17]
12. r[n]a=r[h]ā[p[18] m]a [g]lo[ṅ ḍ]eḥ [s]lh(ī)[ṅ[19] su]k ı [ḍe]y r[ās t]ar[l]ey [c](i)[20] [bre]-

[1] Possibly *suṁḍiṅ*. [2] Conceivably, but improbably, *sḍūk*. [3] Conceivably *pun*, but cf. H 17.
[4] Apparently there is an original flaw here, of the size of a small letter.
[5] Conceivably, but improbably, *kirmūn*.
[6] Apparently there is an original flaw here, of the size of a small letter. [7] Possibly *ti-*.
[8] Between *rle* and *y* there is a small original flaw.
[9] The letter is not clear, it might be *pa* or *paṁ*, but the sense seems to require *ma*.
[10] The reading is very doubtful, but the consonants must be *k* or *t*, though the vowels may be *u* and *a*, or *u* and *u*, possibly.
[11] The reading is certainly as given, unless the second stroke of the *ū* is accidental, but the proper spelling is *tuṁbaḥ*.
[12] Or in one word, *saradakāl*. [13] Perhaps *kirmuū*, as II seems to have.
[14] There was here a word of one syllable, ending (apparently) in *ṅ* (or *w*?). The first part looks as if it might have been *ya*, *ha* or *pā*, but is broken and very doubtful.
[15] Or *gwiṁ*? II distinctly has the *w* and seems to have the final *p*.
[16] There is a mark here which might be taken for a superscript *r*, but II has nothing of the sort.
[17] II has *ci-*.
[18] The *r* is superscript over the *h* and is difficult to justify, either orthographically or morphologically, unless due to the *r* in the preceding word, with which this really forms a sort of compound.
[19] Possibly *slhiṅ*. [20] Possibly *ci*.

13. [y sg]ū[r] klaṁ [ḅ]ā[r[1] cw]as leḥ tū[n] u[t] ra[s t](i)[2] [j]nok [wo']
14. [k]u[ṁ] st(ī)t[3] [p]u[ndū]y [ju]rā[ṁ] g[u]ṁ[lo]ṅ ci spiñ [u]t [n]a [dr]ap [guṁ]-
15. [lo]ṅ ı de[y r]ā[s t]a[r]ley c[i ut] ñaḥ [m]a micchād[r]i[s gu]ṁ-
16. [lo]ṅ ci [s]das saṁ[mā]dris [ut][4] ı [u]t guṁīr guṁloṅ [c]i [sḍu]k
17. [piñ na sīl] ku [p]a[tip]a[t d]uṁh[ic] ı [u]t [b]uṁ[n]aḥ gu[ṁl]o[ṅ m]a [gr]a-
18. [ṅ] (b)[e]d[5] [ci ḍ]eḥ t-e[ḥ s]pu[n]ḍ[uk] pu(ṁ)p[iñ][6] ut dhar[m]ma [b](u)[ṁn]aḥ[7] [ı] ut
19. [smiṅ guṁlo]ṅ ci sp[-]ār dha[rmm]a w[e]l ı yaṅ kirk[ūl pan][8] ci ḍeḥ
20. [t-e]ḥ s[p]unḍuk pu(ṁ)piñ[9] dha[rm]ma ḍeḥ t-eḥ kuṁ ku[ṁ] ı u[t] ḍ[e]y sthā-
21. [n ci sabh]āw twos cirmat goḥ spr[ā]ka[t] ı [t]arley risi
22. (yaṅ) [sa]bhāw [t]wos cir[m]a[t gn]a smiṅ [dh]a(r)[mm]arāja[10] [m]a [n]om kyāk
23. [śrī m]a d[m]a[s t]uṁbaṅ (sā)[11] stl(ū)ṅ[12] [go]ḥ sprā[k]at [kā]l goḥ ri[s]i
24. [ma imo'] Bi[s]nū g[oḥ n]a kirjeḥ [ci d]ūṅ [k]e[t p](i)hā[r][13] tarle-
25. [y Gawaṁp]a[t](i)ther[14] ı th[ec] ta[r]ley [m]nor ci ḍe[y T]atta[de]-
26. [s ḍey] ḍ[ū]ṅ Ari[m]addana[pū]r [ey k]uṁ [d]a [m]a sda[s g]na [s]miṅ [m]oy
27. [ma imo]' Śrī Tri[bh]uwanāditya[dh]a[mm]a[r]āja [ı] yaṅ ju[ṅ tey ñ]aḥ
28. . . . . .[15] [ci] ey kuṁ [k]uṁ [m]a stḅal ı sā[s]ana kyā[k] Buddha [t]arley ma di-

[1] There is an original flaw between *ḅā* and *r* which affects the two following lines also (between *dū* and *y*, and *ḍey* and *rās*, respectively). But part of the wide spacing in *bār* is due to the subscript *l* of *gloṅ* in G 12.

[2] Conceivably, but improbably, *tī*. [3] Conceivably *stit*.

[4] The *virāma* here, probably owing to accidental damage, looks rather like a superscript *r*. But I know of no word *urta*, and the reading *ut* seems fairly certain.

Most probably *b* (as in *bajra*, *bihār*), though conceivably it might be a very broad *w*. The L.M. form is *buit*.

[6] The *ṁ* is extremely doubtful. [7] Conceivably, but improbably, the first vowel may be *ū*.

[8] Accidental damage has made this look like *pun*, but cf. D 31. [9] The *ṁ* is very doubtful.

[10] I doubt if there is a superscript *r* at all in this word, but it is usually spelt as above, except when part of the king's name, in which case the form with *dhamma* is used.

[11] Looks like *ha*, or *sā*. Probably the latter is right, though the point remains doubtful.

[12] Conceivably, but improbably, *stluṅ*. [13] Conceivably, but very improbably, *pīhār*.

[14] Conceivably, but very improbably, *Gawaṁpatīther*.

[15] There are traces of three letters here: the first looks like *p*, or *m*, or perhaps *s*, the second seems to have been *s*, and the last was *t* or possibly *k*. Vowel marks (if any) are doubtful. Probably the lost word, or phrase, helped to define the *ñaḥ* in the preceding line.

29. . . . . .[1] [ci] e[y k]uṁ ma [syuk] ı [m]ahā[j]an guṁloṅ ci [e]y s-or [m]a-
30. [ṅ sīl[2] s]-[o]r p-ār dharmma ı brow ma [p-]ār pun-[ā]r suṁur goḥ
31. [ey s-]o[r] p-ā[r p]un-ār du[ṁh]ic ı d[uk]up rās [twāñ ḍū]ṅ[3] suṁ-
32. [wat guṁloṅ m]a [li]ñ ey k[uṁ d]a [m]a [s]tu[n][4] pa prā[k]at ı [y]a[ṅ]
33. [sīl](a)dha[rmm]a[5] [du]ṁh[i]c ci e[y ku]ṁ [m]a [s-or] cr[o]ḥ p[tā]w ı e[y] sda-
34. [s tu]ṁ[b]a[ṅ ās]a[bh]a [pn]āṅ [m]a[h]ā[j]an [g]uṁl[o]ṅ [ı] tar[le]y [ri]si [g]aḥ
35. [row goḥ bl]aḥ ta[rle]y Gawa[ṁ]pa[ti]ther kom ku tarley
36. [risi Bis]nū juṁnok [go]ḥ sḍ[ik[6] mlik t]ūy[7] [u]t b[y]ādes kyāk
37. [Bu]d[dh]a tarley tarley Gawaṁpat[i] gura[ṅ ke]l blaḥ ı dṅaḥ mahā-
38. [j]an guṁ[l]oṅ sgo' swar nirbbān [ci] tarle[y] ār giṅgiñ
39. [d]a ı [mn]or [n]or goḥ [ci] smi[ṅ In c]is [n]or [T]ā[w]atiṅ ār suṁ
40. [t]arle[y] risi Bis[nū] gaḥ ro[w] wo['] ı tar[ley] risi juṁnok
41. ri[ddh]i ān[ubhā]w [m]a [p]a me[trici]t sm[o]ḥ [h]a[n] ñaḥ ruṁlos ku ñaḥ
42. [t]i[nm]a [we](r)[w]e[y][8] guṁloṅ ı ta[rl]e[y] ci ko[m] ku [t]arle[y]
43. [G]awaṁpa[ti ku] ey ku [Bis]sukarmma ku Kataka[rm]manāgarāja [sk]a[n]da[ṁ]

H

1. [ḍū]ṅ [Sisīt ı tarle]y [s]ka[nd]a[ṁ ḍūṅ Sisīt] g[o]ḥ [b]laḥ sc[uti]
2. [nor goḥ mnor ḍey T]a[tt]a de[s ḍey ḍūṅ A]ri[m]a[dd]a-
3. [n]a[pū]r [sd]as [gn]a sm[i]ṅ[m]a [imo]' [Śrī] Tri[bhuw]a[nā]d[i]t[y]a-[dh]a-
4. [mm]arā[j]a[9] syuk sā[s]a[n]a [ky]ā[k B]uddha ta[rley] ı[10] [dh]a[rmm]a li-
5. [ñ ci st](ū)[n][11] pa [pr]ā[k]a[t] ı dṅaḥ s[punḍūk[12] pu](ṁ)piñ[13] u[t s]a-

[1] Here again a similar amount of matter has been effaced. The last symbol looks like *t* or *ti*, but is quite uncertain.

[2] This word is confirmed by II, as are also the bracketed readings at the beginnings of G 31-5.

[3] II has *ḍuṅ*.

[4] II has *stūn*.

[5] As in B 12, there is doubt as to the reading and transcription. Here II probably has *sīladharmma*.

[6] Conceivably, but improbably, *sḍuik*. II has *sḍik*.

[7] II puts a stop here.

[8] The doubtful letter might conceivably be *d* or *n*, and it is doubtful whether there is a *virāma*, and whether the whole is one word or two. Probably it corresponds with the L.M. *wīwai*, and the formation is by reduplication together with the infix *-ir-* (assimilated as to the vowel by reason of the vowel of the root). Possibly, however, the first syllable is the Pāli *veraṁ* and the second the L.M. *wai*. But this seems less likely.

[9] II seems to have something obliterated here, but it may only be an original flaw, with (perhaps) the relative particle *ma*.

[10] II has no stop here.

[11] Perhaps *stun*, but II seems to have *stūn*.

[12] Conceivably, but improbably, *spūnḍūk*.

[13] The *ṁ* is doubtful.

6. nraṅ tarley [ci] ı [an]tūl swa[r] wo[' e]y s[mi]ṅ [In m]a [pk]a-
7. [ṅ r]aṅ [k]am baj[r]a n[om] ı [b]oy s[m]ar wel s[m]i[ṅ nāg]a[1] [m]a
8. [jn]ok ri[ddhi] ā[nubh]ā[w m]a nom kirwā[s] lṅi[m][2] le[ḥ tūn]
9. [g]oḥ [nom] we[l ı ḍey di]s pa[n] ci sm[i]ṅ lo[k]a[pā]-
10. l pa[n] scr[o]ḥ ptāw pu[m]aṅ ı ut parisat kirkūl pa[n]
11. ko[m] ku [sm]iṅ [m]a tā[w] ḍey sthā[n m]a kaḥ [s]ak k[ṣī]-[3]
12. w [m]u[n[4] t]a[rl]e[y G]awaṁ[p]a[t]ither croḥ ptāw [ci s]ka[ḥ] sak
13. blie[y sk]aḥ sak duk [wel] ı ut tinma sat[r](u)[5] tarl[e]-
14. [y] ci [sk]aḥ sa[k] upāy [pr]ajñā(ṅga)[6] ı [mno]r [ci t]arle[y ḍe]y
15. kāl tarley das gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwa[n]ād(i)tyadhamma[r]āja[7]
16. goḥ ı [y]aṅ paṇḍit guml[o]ṅ sisāmarttha bicāraṇār[8] a-
17. r[t]tha ma jmo' k(ñ)an[9] ma [r]juḥ sḍuk piñ pum(i)c[10] [m]un san wei ı
18. ḍey kāl g[o]ḥ ci yaṅ risi juṁnok ma i[m]o' Bi-
19. snū [g]oḥ rm[i]ṅ pi[h]ā[r smi]ṅ In blaḥ ı [m]nor ci dṅaḥ ñāc munmar
20. [s]āsana kyāk Bud[dh]a tar[l]e[y][11] ı thec thec smiṅ de[w]a[t]ā-
21. w ı tarley Gawaṁpatither ci guraṅ arttha g[oḥ k]u [ey] ı
22. [ku]ṁ ci gura[ṅ][12] e[y] we[l] ı row [m]a kuṁ [t]-eḥ ña[ḥ] ḅār [pi]hā-
23. r ı row g[o]ḥ k[u](ṁ)[13] [mn]or [c]i dṅaḥ syuk sāsana kyāk B[u]ddha ta-
24. rley ci gor ku bnaḥ spa [wī]r[14] laḥ a[mb]ā[y ı t]ar[ley] ri-
25. si gaḥ row goḥ [k]u In blaḥ s[ḍ]ik gap pumas da ‖[15] [y]aṅ [b]yā-
26. des ma kyāk Buddha tarl[e]y by[ād]es kel k[u t](a)r[le]-[16]
27. y Ānan go[ḥ] laḥ ı yaṅ suṁmāñ ma [t]arley Ga[w]aṁ[p]a[ti smi]-
28. [c] pa [pr]ākat ma tūn smā[ñ] kyāk Buddha tarley[17] goḥ laḥ
29. [18] kyāk Buddha [t]arley [s]oḥ kel ku tarle[y G]awaṁpati
30. [b]laḥ ı [o]r tar[l]e[y] Gawaṁpati ti[n] kiṅkan [k]el ku

[1] II has *nāg*.
[2] II has *lṅiṁ*.
[3] Confirmed by II.
[4] II has *ma*.
[5] Possibly, but improbably, *satrū*.
[6] The *ṅ*, if there is one, is superscript
[7] The *i* looks like *ī*.
[8] The reading is quite certain, though the final *r* is difficult to account for etymologically.
[9] The letter subscript under *k* is very uncertain: it might, conceivably, be *y*, *ṣ*, *m*, or even *n*, being badly blurred.
[10] Conceivably, but improbably, *pumīc*.
[11] II may possibly have *tirley*.
[12] Above the *gu* there are marks in several of the estampages (and also in II) which might be taken for the traces of an *anusvāra*. But this seems improbable, and the marks are perhaps accidental.
[13] The *ṁ* seems somewhat clearer in II, and would appear to be required by the syntax, balancing the *kuṁ* in the preceding clause.
[14] II seems to have a stop here.
[15] II has only a single stop here.
[16] II may have *tirley* here, and so (conceivably, but improbably) may our text.
[17] II may have *tirley*.
[18] A small space here may be due to a slight original flaw, or conceivably there may have been a stop. But this seemss unnecesary and unlikely, II having nothing here.

31. smi[ṅ I]n goḥ [l]aḥ ı ya[ṅ] pihār [m]a ta[rley][1] Ga[w]aṁpa-
32. ti ku smiṅ In cis kiṅ[k]ā[l] ke[l] ku [t]ar[ley] ri-
33. [si Bi]snū goḥ laḥ ı[2] [y]a[ṅ] p]ihār ma [k]yāk [B]uddha tarle-
34. [y g]aḥ ku tarle[y] Āna[n] sāsa[n]a ey kul[i] ār
35. [m]oy lṅiṁ turow k[l]aṁ ḅār cwas di[ñc]ām cnām ı ya[ṅ]
36. ta[rle]y risi [m]a i[m]o' Bisnū [go]ḥ sdas smiṅ ḍe-
37. [y ḍ]ū[ṅ] Ar[im]addanapūr s[d]ūṅ imo' g[n]a sm[iṅ] Ś[r]ī Tribhu-
38. [w]a[n]ādityadha[m]marāja syuk [s]āsana e[y m]a [ky]āk [Bu]-
39. ddha tar[le]y gaḥ goḥ c[i gn]a smiṅ wo' [kuṁ d]a [go]ḥ ı [g]uṁ-
40. īr laḥ paṇ[ḍ]i[t] laḥ buṁnaḥ laḥ ñaḥ jno[k g]uṁloṅ
41. [l]aḥ ut lo[k m]ahājan guṁlo[ṅ l]aḥ [ut bn]aḥ o-
42. [r] graṅ da ut b[n]aḥ or gra[ṅ] da ı g[n]a smiṅ wo' k[u]ṁ [d]a [go]ḥ ı
43. [l]aḥ sandeḥ gaṁ da laḥ sandeḥ [g]aṁ da laḥ sandeḥ gaṁ da ॥ o ॥ ᔓ ॥ ᔓ

Translation.

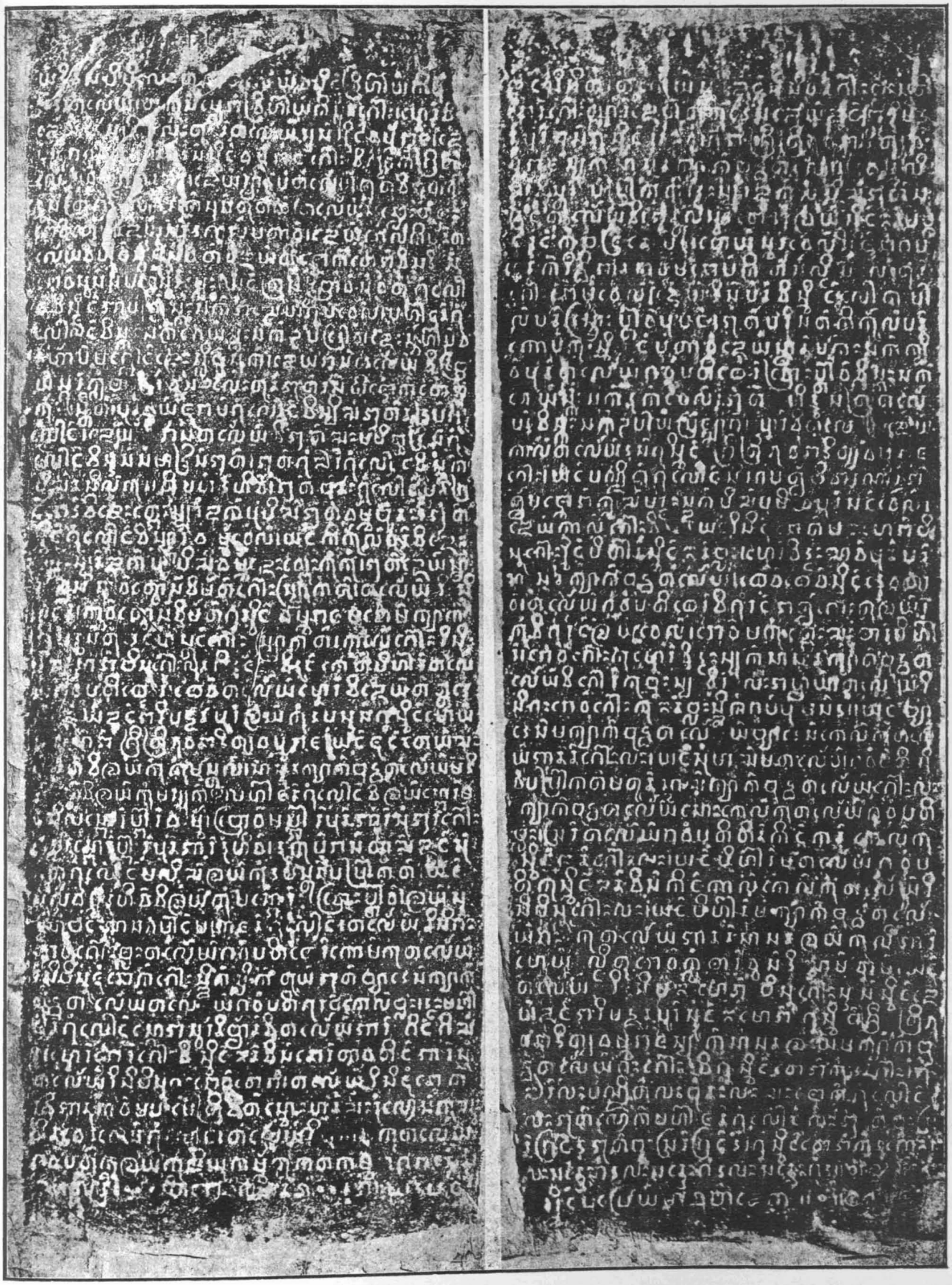
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Prosperity![3] Honour to Buddha! Honour to the Law! Honour to the Church! The brilliant Sakyamuni, who has compassion upon all beings, the lion who is the most exalted of all beings, (l. 3)[4] thus showed forth the origin of the king. *Sakyamuni bhagavā*[5]*:* the Lord[6] Buddha Sakyamuni; *kiṁ viseso:* of what manner[7] is the distinctive shape of the Lord? *aṅgīraso:* (l. 5) the Lord who has brilliance of body; *mun . . . . (kiṁ) viseso:* of what manner is the distinctive shape of the Lord?[8] *sabbabhūtānukampako:* the Lord who loves all beings; *sabbasattuttamo:* the Lord who is exalted beyond all beings; *sīho:* the Lord who is like a maned lion; *rāja-uppattiṁ:* (l. 9) the origin of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, who has piety,[9] wisdom, courage, glory, energy, renown (and)

[1] It has *tirley*.
[2] It does not appear to have a stop here.
[3] Sanskrit. What follows, as far as the middle of A 3, is in Pāli (cf. VI 6-9). Then comes a *nissaya* of Pāli words paraphrased in Môn.
[4] These references are to the lines of the text.
[5] "The blessed Sakyamuni," or Sakya sage. These words begin the *nissaya*.
[6] Etymologically *tarley* is "my lord," *tarla* (or *tirla*) *ey*, being either a contraction or a mere abbreviation thereof; but in actual use it is the other way about, *tarla* being generally the mode of address (A 27) equivalent to our "my lord," and *tarley* the honorific title used when speaking of the person. There are many exceptions, however, *e.g.* F 34.
[7] The meaning and identity of *lhāw* (if that be the right reading) are not absolutely certain, but the general sense of the Môn phrase is determined by its Pāli equivalent.
[8] The meaning of *gaṁ* is undetermined; probably it is a particle. Cf. D 45, H 43.
[9] Or "religious merit." Alternatively it might be possible (following L.M. usage) to take *nom pun* in the sense of "possesses," thus eliminating "piety." But I prefer the other rendering.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.

G H



pomp,[1] who is without a peer[2]; *desayi desesi:* the Lord Buddha preached, made manifest, (and) showed forth all the coming into being of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja.[3]

Therefore, (l. 13) at what time did the Lord Buddha make manifest (and) show forth the coming into being of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja? It was once upon a time when the Lord Buddha was dwelling in the Jetawanamahāwihār,[4] that the Lord Buddha saw[5] that which was to come (to pass) thereafter[6] for the advancement of the Lord Buddha's religion, (namely) the coming of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja in the city of Arimaddanapūr,[7] when a thousand six hundred and thirty years should have elapsed after the Lord Buddha's attaining Parinirvāṇa.[8] (And consequently) the Lord (l. 20) smiled.

When the Lord Buddha thus smiled, from his four eyeteeth rays of six colours issued forth (and) went up as far as Brahmalok[9]; (while) down below the rays penetrated[10] all earth, water, (and) air; (l. 23) across[11] all the four quarters of more than a thousand million[12] universes they went; and then the rays entered the Lord Buddha's mouth again. The Lord Ānan,[13] seeing this miracle, bowed down (and) put on his head (l. 26) the soles of the Lord Buddha's feet, (and then) lifting his joined hands[14] questioned (him) thus: "What reason was there) that my lord smiled thus? (For) without reason Buddhas do not smile." Thus (l. 29) did the Lord Ānan ask.

[1] Or "(and) the fame of pomp," taking *yas pariwār* together.

[2] Literally "who lacks others exalted equally" (possibly "who lacks superiors and equals").

[3] At this point the preliminary part or introduction ends, if we translate *gun goḥ* by "therefore." It is conceivable, however, that the words might be taken to mean "(and) his virtues" or "(and) the benefits (*i.e.* accruing from the king's accession)," and in that case "all" (or "many") might go with it, though the order would be unusual. VI 5 rather supports this interpretation, which is favoured by Duroiselle.

[4] The great Jetavana monastery.

[5] By virtue of the supernatural power which Buddhas have of seeing into the future, etc, Cf. III B 3-4; and with the whole passage down to I A 37 (as well as some subsequent parts of the inscription) cf. III A 27—C 26 and VI 9—end.

[6] The meaning of *mnor* is inferred from the passages where it occurs, especially F 8-9. The others (A 30, 40, F 33, G 2, 25, 39, H 14, 23) are not so definite.

[7] Pagan.

[8] It has been found necessary to transpose the order very drastically after *Jetawanamahāwihār*. In the original the order of the clauses is: (1) "that which should come to pass for the advancement" (lit. "increase"), etc., (2) "from the Lord Buddha's attaining," etc., (3) "elapsed 1630 years," (4) "in the city," etc., (5) "the coming of King Ś.T. did the Lord Buddha see," Parinirvāṇa was attained by Buddha at his death.

[9] Brahmaloka, the higher heavens.

[10] The meaning of *kirloḥ* is not absolutely determined: forms with the infix *-ir-* are usually substantives.

[11] The partly illegible expression in the text is conjecturally restored.

[12] I have taken *lakṣa* and *koṭi* in their L.M. values. If the Indian values be taken, the result is a million millions.

[13] Ānanda, a leading disciple of Buddha.

[14] Or the passage may mean that Ānanda bowed down and "lifted up the soles of the Lord Buddha's feet and bearing them up on his hands joined together," etc But cf. III B 21-2, VI 14.

Thereupon the Lord Buddha spake (l. 30) to the Lord Ānan thus: "Ānan, hereafter a sage named Bisnū,[1] great in supernatural power, great in glory, possessing the five transcendental faculties, together with my son Gawaṁpati, and King In,[2] and Bissukarmmadewaput,[3] and Katakarmmanāgarāja, shall build a city called Sisīt.[4] After that, the sage Bisnū, (l. 34) departing[5] from thence, shall go up to Brahmalok; (and) departing from Brahmalok, shall come to be[6] in the city of Arimaddanapūr, (and) shall bear the name of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (and) shall uphold[7] my religion." Thus did the Lord Buddha tell (l. 37) the reason of that smile to the Lord Ānan.

At that time the Lord Gawaṁpati, hearing the explanation of the Lord Buddha, did obeisance to the Lord Buddha; and then, in order to elucidate the Lord Buddha's statement, questioned (him) thus: "My lord, (l. 40) did my lord truly[8] say that hereafter a sage named Bisnū together with me should build the city of Sisīt?'

"Truly, Gawaṁpati, thus (it is). The sage Bisnū[9] shall build (it), together (l. 42) with thee.[10] Therefore, Gawaṁpati, go thou to King In, (and) speak thou thus: 'O king of devas! Receive with deference[11] the saying of the Lord Buddha: (to wit, that) the sage named Bisnū, who is great in supernatural power (and) glory, together with me shall build the city (l. 45) of Sisīt. At that time, in all the (good) works of the sage Bisnū do thou bestir thyself! After the sage Bisnū has built the city of Sisīt, he shall depart from thence (and) in the city of Arimaddanapūr he shall become King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (and) shall uphold[12] the

[1] As to Bisnū and the other personages mentioned, see §§ 25-6.

[2] Indra. The title *smiñ* is very elastic, being applied to gods (*e.g.* the sun god, L.M. *smiñ ṭhai*), kings, provincial governors and even subordinate officials, and in deferential address to private individuals. Indra, of course, as king of the devas has a good claim to it.

[3] I.e. °*putra*.

[4] Prome: apparently we must take the name to be a vernacularized form of *Śrī Kṣetra*, which occurs in the parallel passage VI 20, while III C 6 has the intermediate form *Śrī Kṣet*.

[5] By death and rebirth.

[6] That is, come into being, existence, as king of Burma.

[7] Or "uplift"; cf. A 26, D 37. Some of the other inscriptions have *stḅal*, *e.g.* III B 29. In L.M. usage, however, *yuik duik* often means "to reverence."

[8] The sense of *tā* is undetermined; I think it is probably a particle with interrogative force, like L.M. *hā*. Strange as it may seem, Gawaṁpati is apparently made to ask the Buddha (not, as might have been expected, whether the asker had correctly understood the Buddha's statement but) whether the Buddha's statement is true. However, the other interpretation ("is it a fact that my lord said" . . .) is also possible and may be the right one after all.

[9] Lit. "(It is) the sage Bisnū who shall"; the *da ma* serving to emphasize the subject.

[10] It would seem that *kuṁ* here does duty for a personal pronoun. Cf. A 49, B 5, 19, D 44, F 6, 10, 13, H 22.

[11] Conjectural; the meaning of *antūl* in this connexion is undetermined. Cf. A 51. Duroiselle suggests that it stands for "head" here: to receive the message of a superior on one's head is of course a regular Oriental phrase for respectful deference.

[12] Cf. A 36 n.

religion of (l. 48) the Lord Buddha. O king of devas! In the time of the (good) works of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, and in works of piety, do thou bestir thyself at all times!'"

(l. 50) Thus did the Lord Buddha instruct the Lord Gawaṁpati. At that time the Lord Gawaṁpati received the saying of the Lord Buddha with deference,[1] and my lord,[2] having practised Dhyān,[3] went up to Tāwatiṅ[4]; (and) the Lord Gawaṁpati expounded all the saying of the Lord Buddha to King In. My lord having expounded (it) (l. 54) to King In, my lord came down to the Jetawanamahāwihār. Some considerable

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time[5] after this, the Lord Buddha went to Nirvāṇa in the city of Kusinār.[6] Some considerable time after the Lord Buddha (had achieved) Nirvāṇa,[7] the Lord Gawaṁpati (l. 3) went up to Tāwatiṅ once more, (and) of the coming of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja my lord informed King In in full detail:—

"O king of devas, hear thou! When one thousand six hundred and thirty years have elapsed after the Lord Buddha's going to Nirvāṇa, the sage named Bisnū (l. 7) shall become a king named Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja in the city of Arimaddanapūr; (and) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall uphold[8] the religion of the Lord Buddha. The renown of (l. 10) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall become celebrated throughout the whole expanse of Jambudīp[9]; the hardness of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja (shall be) like iron.[10] The true principles of morality[11] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall maintain.[12] All vice, which is even as a stench, with true morality, which is even as a perfume,

[1] Cf. A 43 n.

[2] Gawaṁpati.

[3] Taking *cwin* to represent L.M. *swuin*. If it represents L.M. *cuin*, the meaning would be "having become perfect in" Dhyāna (the latter being the high form of trance whereby supernatural powers are acquired). I prefer the first interpretation.

[4] Indra's heaven, Tāvatiṁsa.

[5] Apparently a fairly long time is implied, but the phrase is not at all definite. Cf. B 2.

[6] Kusināra.

[7] Here *nirbbān* is used verbally, and possibly it should be similarly rendered in the preceding line, *i.e.* "went to achieve Nirvāṇa in the city of K." But this seems improbable: see B 5. The reference, of course, is to Buddha's death and in this use the word is equivalent to the *parinirbbān* of A 17.

[8] Cf. A 36 n.

[9] Jambudipa, the southern continent of the inhabited world, including (*inter alia*) India and Indo-China, but no doubt used here quite indefinitely.

[10] Possibly this sentence is to be taken as part of the king's fame, *i.e.* that it shall be said of him that he is as hard as iron. And perhaps it is to be read closely with what follows, *i.e.* his hardness consists in his persistency in maintaining virtue and true religion; but the point does not seem quite certain.

[11] Reading *siladharmma*, for which, however, I have found no authority. If we read *sil* (or *sila*) *dharmma*, the meaning would be "morality (and) the Good Law" (*i.e.* the true faith of Buddha). Cf. G 33.

[12] Or, perhaps, "establish," or "practise," "observe," etc.

shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja (l. 15) utterly blot out. All sin in deed, sin in word, (and) sin in thought, that are beyond cleansing,[1] with pure morality,[2] which is even as water, shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja wash away.

" The devas who receive the joined hands of (l. 18) all men,[3] who hold celestial sceptres[4] made of *bajra*,[5] like the executors of thy (good) works they shall execute the (good) works of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. The whole realm of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja (l. 21) shall be altogether[6] free from robbers, who are even as thorns, (and) free from all[7] enemies, who are even as a forest.[8] It shall be wide as the ocean also. The desires of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall quickly be fulfilled.[9] (l. 24) The city of Arimaddanapūr, when enemies afflict[10] (her), she[11] shall suppress them. The men of the four castes that dwell in the city of Arimaddanapūr, who are (taken as) captives

[1] Or " which need cleansing," or " which are unclean "? [2] Or " with virtue, which cleanses "?

[3] The meaning is not absolutely certain, but I take it to be that the devas receive the reverent supplications of men: cf. A 26 for an illustration of what is implied by *sum̀bup tey*. Duroiselle prefers another interpretation of *dūṅ*, viz. " The devas with " (lit. " who hold their ") " joined hands raised (in worship)," taking *ñaḥ gum̀loù* as referring to *dewatāw*.

[4] Lit. " devas' staves." See the next note.

[5] The word may mean " thunderbolt," " adamant," " diamond," or according to Haswell (L.M. *buit*) " emerald." It is the Sanskrit *vajra*. Possibly, however, the passage should be construed thus: " devas who receive the joined hands of all men " (or alternatively as in B 18 n.), " (devas) who hold staves, devas who are armed with the *vajra* " (a kind of celestial sceptre). The absence of *dewatāw* in the second of these relative clauses makes this interpretation less probable, even if *tmūy* can be taken to mean " armed." On the other interpretation, *tmūy* may mean that the staves or sceptres are headed or tipped with *bajra* (in one or other of its possible senses).

[6] The precise force of *wel* is undetermined but it seems to be a particle giving emphasis: cf. D 5, 25, 44, E 18, F 26, 41, G 10, 19, H 7, 9, 13, 17, 22.

[7] The meaning of *sum̀tum̀* is not absolutely determined: perhaps it is connected with L.M. *stuim* and we should leave out " all " and insert " thick " before " forest." If the meaning is " thick," we must read *sum̀tum̀*; if it is " all," probably we should read *sum̀ tum̀*.

[8] The preceding sentences have been rendered on the footing that " realm " is the grammatical subject. But this involves the position of the object between the subject and the verb, which is not normal and is not the case elsewhere with *kaḥ sak*: see A 10, D 6, E 20-7, G 10, 11, H 12-4. On the other hand, it seems hardly consistent with these passages to treat the verb as intransitive and translate: " throughout the whole realm of King Ś.T., robbers . . . . . shall be altogether absent, enemies . . . . . shall be lacking." Perhaps the order is determined by the presence of the relative clauses.

[9] Or, perhaps, " it (*i.e.* the realm) shall quickly fulfil the wishes of King Ś.T."; cf. F 42. (But in L.M. the verb appears to be intransitive.) One might also translate: " King Ś.T. shall quickly fulfil his desires," for though the pronoun *ḍeḥ* (L.M. *ḍe'*) is not apparently used of royalty in L.M., it is sometimes applied to Kyansitthā in these inscriptions (*e.g.* VI 29, 31).

[10] Or " damage," " ravage." There is some doubt as to the precise force of *bum̀rūk*. Cf. C 54, E 35. It may be an adjectival (participial) form, so that the literal rendering would be " in times of ravaging foes." See the next note.

[11] As to the pronoun, see the last note but one for the reason why I have not translated: " he (*i.e.* the king) shall suppress them." It seems to be theoretically possible to interpret the line in quite another way, viz. " when ravaging foes destroy the city of A.," running on the next sentence, " the men," etc. But it is rather unlikely that such a contingency would be admitted as even possible, unless we assume that it took place before the king's accession.

downstream, (and) who go[1] to other countries,[2] by (virtue of) the strength, power (and) energy (l. 27) of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja quickly shall they return upstream, shall they take (their) pleasure in the city of Arimaddanapūr again.

"The tears of those who are severed from all[3] (their) trusty friends,[4] by a course (l. 30) of benefits, by loving kindness which is even as a hand, shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja wipe away. The nasal mucus of all who are sick at heart, by a course of benefits, by compassion which is even as water, (l. 33) shall (he) wash away. O king of devas! King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja with (his) right hand shall give boiled rice (and) bread to all the people, with (his) left hand shall give ornaments[5] (and) wearing apparel to all men.[6] All the people (shall be) like a child[7] that is in (its) mother's bosom. Thus shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja keep watch (l. 38) and ward with benefits.[8]

"All men who are harsh,[9] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall make gentle.[10] Men who are not equal[11] (to the rest) in body, in speech,[12] (or) in spirit, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall make (them) equal.[13] (l. 41) Wicked male slaves, doers of all[14] (sorts of) deeds that their masters know not of, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall report to their masters. A Lord Mahāther,[15] who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall make . . . . . ,[16] shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. (l. 45) In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in[17] virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha,' thus shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja say. (l. 48) 'Do good! Do good!': thus shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja teach all the people at all times.

[1] Conceivably, "down the river, which goes." [2] Or "districts."

[3] Perhaps "all" goes with "those," not with "friends."

[4] The precise meaning of *ruṁlos* is undetermined, but cf. C 36, G 41. It seems to be related to *srlos* (C 33, D 20).

[5] Perhaps not necessarily "ornaments" but just "articles" (of wearing apparel).

[6] In the general sense, not necessarily excluding women and children.

[7] Or "children," though there is no plural particle here. [8] That is, with beneficial effect.

[9] Meaning not strictly determined: cf. A 11. [10] Meaning conjectural.

[11] If the reading is right, it would seem to bear this interpretation. The idea seems to be that those who are below the average standard of the community are to be brought up to it. Or perhaps the meaning may be that men, who do not agree (or are not in harmony with) their fellows, shall be made to agree: cf. C 48.

[12] Lit. "mouth": the threefold division is the same in principle as in B 15.

[13] See last note but one.

[14] I take "all" with "deeds" rather than with "slaves" because of its being immediately followed by the relative clause. [15] A leading monk.

[16] Possibly the doubtful word is connected with *stūm*, "the right (side)," and bears the figurative meaning that the Chief Monk is to be the king's right-hand man, as it were. But this seems very doubtful and even the reading is not quite certain.

[17] Cf. C 53-4, D 44, F 1. The sense is inferred from the context.

"Those who intend evil, with good intent shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja soften their hearts.[1] Those who speak evil, (l. 52) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall exhort to speak good. The bar of the gate of Heaven, which is made of gold, which is adorned with gems, (l. 54) by wisdom, which is even as a hand, shall King Srī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja

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draw open for (all mankind[2] ?) . . . . . King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja . . . . . the fire in Mahā-Awīci[3] . . . . . (l. 4) . . . The offerings[4] of all those that (dwell in the city of Arimaddanapūr ?) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall sustain[5] . . . . . (like ?) the appearance of a golden mirror that is set with gems, King Śrī T ibhuwanādityadhammarāja shall shine brightly

"The maiden daughters (of many princes, having ?) (l. 8) fragrance like the fragrance of jasmine flowers, (and) having splendour like (the splendour ?) of the spouse of King In, who is named Alambusā, (they)[6] shall attend (him). (From seven cities[7] ?) the maiden daughters of many princes, adorned with gems of divers kinds (l. 11) (and) holding[8] white umbrellas, shall come to attend (him). King Srī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall be seated on a throne made of gold (and) adorned with gems, (and) shall enjoy the splendour of royalty.[9] The maiden daughters of many princes, coming from seven cities, the city of Arimaddanapūr, which is glorious, shall endow (them) with renown.[10]

"O king of devas! (l. 16) In the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, if another[11] great army should come, a good omen of victory, an auspicious constellation, shall come before[12] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja.

[1] The original has the same word as in B 40, where it is rendered "spirit."

[2] Conjectural restoration, as are the words in brackets with queries in the following lines. Cf. III C 18-20, VI 30-1.

[3] Or "Awic," *i.e. Avīci*, one of the hot hells. L.M. *Awik*. [4] Or "festivals," or "hospitality."

[5] Apparently the suggestion is that the king is to bear the expenses, but in the mutilated state of the context the meaning must remain doubtful.

[6] Or "who." But in that case there is an *anacoluthon*, there being then no principal verb. The same is true of the next sentence.

[7] Or "countries." Perhaps one ought to prefix "the," as these seven localities seem to represent some conventional group cf. C 14), but I am unable to place them definitely.

[8] Or "shaded by"? [9] Or "sovereignty"; lit. "reign."

[10] This seems to be the meaning: it is more reasonable to assume that the metropolis confers social distinction on these provincial ladies than the converse, and it would be rather abnormal to put the object between the subject and the verb.

[11] That is "foreign" or "hostile."

[12] Conjectural: this is perhaps the root of *kinta* (L.M. *gata*). Cf. C 49, F 7.

In time of war King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall ride upon a noble steed that has swiftness even as (l. 21) the steeds that are of the breed of the clouds,[1] (and) shall fight (and) shall shine like the noonday[2] sun.

"O king of devas! At the time when King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall bear sway, all the people shall be adorned with gems (l. 24) of divers kinds; they shall go about, wearing diadems,[3] *sukhūy*[4] (and) loincloths[5] of divers kinds. Ear-ornaments, for example in the shape of elephants, lions, *troṅ pumiñ*,[6] Nāgas, Garuḍas,[7] of divers kinds, shall they wear. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (l. 29) for the sake of the advantage and happiness of all that dwell in Jambudīp, shall . . . .[8] treasures of three kinds, with[9] images[10] in a golden reliquary, like a candle[11] that glows; so shall (it) brightly shine.

"O king of devas! At the time when King Śrī (l. 32) Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall reign, all women shall be steadfast in virtue, shall trust[12] in the Law, shall be of good conduct, (and) shall (obediently) follow[13] their lords[14]: thus shall they be All the people, be it the faults[15] of[16] mother or father, nephew or brother-in-law,[17] husband (l. 36) or wife, good friend or trusty[18] companion, or the faults of one another, they shall openly declare (them), shall not conceal (them), (and) shall desire their purgation.[19]

[1] Evidently some kind of supernatural horse is referred to; possibly the horses of the sun god are the starting point of the idea. It is not unlikely that in *Sudhammavatīrājāvaṁsa*, p. 10, l. 13, we find a corruption of the term in the phrase *khyeḥ rat nū gakū ma prai prai*.

[2] Conjectural: lit. "the sun that stands" (*i.e.* straight overhead at noon); cf. L.M. *tṅai katau*. Cf. G 7.

[3] Though the royal word (*mukuṭ*) is used, the reference is presumably merely to the turban or scarf wound round the head.

[4] An unidentified article of clothing.

[5] Probably stands for the long skirt, the principal garment of both sexes.

[6] Unidentified.

[7] Monstrous supernatural birds, the deadly enemies of the *Nāgas*.

[8] The reading being doubtful, it is not clear whether the king is to discover the treasures or deposit them.

[9] Reading doubtful.

[10] Or "an image."

[11] Possibly "lamp."

[12] Conjectural: cf. D 20 and B 29 n.

[13] Reading and meaning doubtful.

[14] Lit. "house lord(s)," *i.e.* husbands.

[15] Or "sins" or "offences."

[16] Conceivably the passage might refer to offences committed against, or in respect of, these various relatives and friends. But this seems improbable, as there would be no particular point in the offender reporting himself, when it was always open to the injured party to complain. The sense seems to be that the duty of reporting offences is paramount, even overriding the claims of family and friendship, and that this fact was recognized in practice.

[17] Both words doubtful. If correct, they may include the other sex also.

[18] Cf. B 29.

[19] Meaning somewhat doubtful, but the word appears to be the verbal noun formed from *c-aḥ*, "clean," *cuaḥ*, "to clean."

"The brave King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (l. 39) in the whole of Jambudīp all men shall glorify[1] (him). In a pavilion[2] that is like unto Wejayanta,[3] a pavilion that shall be fit for delights, that is the jewelled crown of the city of Arimaddanapūr, (he) shall enjoy the fulness of (his) reign.[4] (l. 42) All the women who dwell in the city of Arimaddanapūr, (when) they see the grandeur (and) magnificence of form of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (as) they stand by the river shore,[5] (or) on highways, (or) at crossroads,[6] (they shall say): 'Such grandeur (and) magnificence as (l. 45) this (is) because of doing pious deeds in the past!': thus shall they be able to go about praising (him).[7]

"All the people shall be steadfast (l. 47) in the teaching of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, in order to attach (to himself) those that shall be like (him),[8] shall shine like a golden mirror in the presence[9] of all the people. The city of Arimaddanapūr, as if fastened down with four stakes of iron, so (l. 51) shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja make (it) firm. All the princes,[10] (with?) . . . . . magnificence,[11] they shall delight in the city of Arimaddanapūr. All monks, who abound (l. 54) in virtue, (who?) at the time when ravaging[12] foes destroy (are?) without

[1] The sense of *scumat na trejas* is doubtful. Primarily *cmat* means "true," and *cumat* should mean something like "to recognize as the truth": Haswell's L.M. *cmat*, "to discern," seems to be somewhat in point here. Perhaps the whole sentence means that the people unanimously recognize and do homage to the king's bravery. In that case the first clause should be read "That King Ś.T. is brave," perhaps, though the order would be rather queer. It has been suggested that the king is the subject and *scumat* means that he is to judge the people: but that also involves an abnormal order.

[2] The word *prāsād* seems to be applicable to structures of several kinds, platforms, towers, palaces, etc. I use "pavilion" as a non-committal word.

[3] A name of Indra's palace. Curiously enough, in Burmese it is applied to a graduated roof (Judson, *Burmese-English Dictionary* (1893), s.v.).

[4] That is, shall fully accomplish his reign and enjoy to the full the splendour of royalty. Or, conceivably, it means that "he shall receive," by the ceremony of anointment, "the plenitude of royal power and glory": cf. III C 11-4, VI 27-9.

[5] More specifically the landing-place, quay, or ghaut. The same word, in the sense of "haven, landing-place," is applied figuratively to Nirvāṇa in D 41.

[6] In the town, where one street crosses another.

[7] While the general sense is certain, there may be some doubt as to the precise construction. In particular, it might be possible to take *ma go'* with what precedes, meaning "on account of former good deeds, *which (the king) was able to do*," or "*succeeded in doing*." The next few words might perhaps be rendered alternatively: "thus shall they praise him (and) go their ways." In any case the reference is at any rate, *inter alia*, to meritorious acts performed in previous incarnations of the king.

[8] The meaning is not quite certain, and for *sdak* it may be possible to read *sjak*, "draw, attract." Conceivably the idea is that the king endeavours to induce other people in general to become like himself or be in spiritual harmony with himself, but I find some difficulty in getting that sense out of the words. Cf. B 39 n.

[9] Cf. C 18.

[10] Lit. "children of kings," or "of princes." It may refer to a wider class than the actual royal family: see A 32 n.

[11] The preposition is doubtful, the epithet *tinteṅ* undetermined, and for "magnificence" one might substitute "prosperity, success, welfare, affluence," etc.

[12] See B 24 n.

D

. . . . . .[1] monasteries also, by (virtue of) the energy of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, they shall return again to the monasteries. (l. 3) (All ?) the (monks ?) shall fulfil the precepts of morality. (All ?) country (districts and villages ?) which were ruined, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall build up finer than ever before. The city of (l. 6) Arimaddanapūr shall have plenty, shall be exempt from calamity. All (men who dwell ?) in the city of Arimaddanapūr, together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, shall shine with supernatural power (l. 9) (too ?) : they shall avoid the ten ways of sinful action, they shall fulfil the ten ways of meritorious action. All men, in the time when King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja is reigning, they shall be great in supernatural power like devas also. The city of Arimaddanapūr, which is the dwelling-place of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (l. 15) shall glow (and) glitter with the Precious Gems.[2] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall pray desiring omniscience.

"All those who dwell in (l. 18) the city of Arimaddanapūr, together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, shall delight worthily[3] in the Precious Gems, shall worship, revere, (and) put their trust in[4] the Lord (l. 21) Buddha, the Good Law, and all the lords of the Church. Those who revere the Precious Gems, who are zealous for the Good Law, (in) one fellowship with all the devas shall they converse : all the devas shall indeed[5] converse (l. 25) with men ; all the devas shall unite together with men, they shall execute the (good) works of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja.[6] In the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, the city of Arimaddanapūr, which is the source of honour (and) splendour, (l. 30) shall be very[7] firm : all (its) enemies shall fail to shake (it). All the four castes that dwell in the city of Arimaddanapūr shall practise righteousness, shall be disciples of the Lord Buddha, the Law, and the Church.

"(When) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall depart from that (state of) existence, (l. 35) (he) shall enjoy great prosperity and magnificence (in

[1] The beginnings of D 1-14 are broken off, and when possible conjecturally restored ; hence this gap. The idea is that the monks have been forced by a raid or invasion to leave their monasteries.

[2] The three elements of the Buddhist Triad : Buddha, the Law, and the Church.

[3] It is not certain that *thīc*, "good," "worthy," retains any definite force in this expression, which may simply mean "to take pleasure in," like L.M. *sjuṅ sḍuik*, which may perhaps be a corruption or slightly variant form of it (though it must be remembered that *sḍuik* by itself has the same meaning).

[4] Cf. B 29 n., C 33. [5] Cf. B 21 n.

[6] The import plainly is that the devas are to unite with men in carrying out the king's pious plans : cf. B 17-20. [7] The exact force of *phār* is not determined, but cf. D 47, E 22, G 5.

the states) of deva (and) man,[1] (and) in his final existence (he) shall raise out of the four Apāy[2] all those that are going (in)[3] the four Apāy. All the world,[4] together with the devas, that are immersed[5] in (l. 39) Saṅsār,[6] which is even as an ocean that is devoid of shelter (or) place of refuge,[7] shall (he) lift into the Good Law, which is even as a great ship, (and) shall bring (them) to the haven of exalted Nirvāṇa.[8]

"O king (l. 42) of devas! Thus did the Lord Buddha, who is even as the moon,[9] prophesy (concerning) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, abounding in piety. O king of devas! Hear thou also (l. 45) another saying[10]! In the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja all (manner of) fungi, sprouts,[11] flowers, (and) fruits of trees, shall be very[12] plentiful. Even poor people, who had[13] difficulty in getting food[14] (and) clothes, shall wear golden ornaments (and) handsome clothes, (and) shall enjoy (them) fittingly.[15] Children who are learning to eat bread with their fingernails,[16] (l. 50) shall maintain a worthy spirit[17] just like older persons. At all seasons, without (any intervening) lapse of time, both they,[18] and all the princes from the cities[19] also, shall bring[20] presents (and) gifts of divers kinds. Throughout the whole realm (l. 54) of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, rain shall fall

E

an hundred (and) twenty times.[21] At all times rice (plants) shall be full (in the ear). (l. 2) In the realm of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, O king of devas,

[1] Or, possibly, "shall enjoy prosperity (and) magnificence as a deva and as a great man." But with this whole passage generally cf. III C 20-1, V 43, VI 31.

[2] Apāya, being four undesirable forms of being, viz. as an *asūra* (a kind of demon or Titan), in hell, as a *preta* (ghost), and as a beast. [3] Or "to." [4] Or "worlds," or "people."

[5] Or "submerged," or "sinking." [6] Saṁsāra, the state of continuous transmigration and rebirth.

[7] The rendering "shelter . . . . . refuge" is conjectural. [8] Or "the exalted haven of N."

[9] Except as a continuation of the above marine simile, the appositeness of this comparison is not obvious to me.

[10] As to *kuṁ*, see A 42 n., as to *wel*, B 21 n., as to *gaṁ*, A 6 n. The general sense of *pihār* is determined by B 51. It also occurs in F 6, 13, H 19, 22, 31, 33, in some of which contexts it may conveniently be rendered by "message," as it might be here also.

[11] Especially edible bamboo-shoots, no doubt. [12] Cf. D 30 n.

[13] The rendering is conjectural: possibly the meaning is "few men shall have any difficulty in getting." It turns on the meaning of *dmuk* and the force of the prefix *s-* (if it is a prefix in *sjiṅ*).

[14] Lit. "boiled rice," but often used to cover food generally. [15] The meaning of *cnaḳ* is doubtful.

[16] The translation is conjectural, and seems on the face of it improbable. The doubtful words are *ckat* and *sinlem*.

[17] That is, goodness of heart and a proper mental attitude generally.

[18] Presumably this refers to the inhabitants of Pagan in general.

[19] Or "countries": the reference is, no doubt, to provincial governors, vassal princes, etc.

[20] Or "come bringing": the presents are for the king. [21] That is, in each year or rainy season.

there shall be plenty of elephants, horses, buffaloes, cattle, pigs, goats, (and) fowls. All the children of princes, the children of chiefs,[1] their playthings (shall be of) gold (and) silver only.

"All men (l. 6) who (wish to) increase (the) security[2] of their doors shall make doors (of) . . . . . .[3] Their roof-ridges shall (they) roof with bronze[4] only. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall enrich them all. (l. 9) The Saṅ Ariy of seven degrees[5] shall shower down[6] the Law, which is even as a flower, shall make a fragrance[7] with virtue, which is even as a perfume. O king of devas! Every day when King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja gives instruction to all the people, the sounds of approval, the (l. 13) sounds of praise, the sounds of applause, which all the people shall make, (shall be) like the sound of a great rainstorm in the middle of the night.[8] All the people shall be adorned with good deeds; the *luṁbāc*,[9] who are even as the ornaments of righteousness, shall delight in the Good Law.[10]

"All those who lacked relatives,[11] (l. 17) shall have plenty of relatives. All those who were lazy, they shall be diligent.[12] All those who were lean shall become quite[13] fat. All those who lacked (l. 19) strength (and) vigour, shall have strength (and) vigour. All those who excel in ploughing (and) planting, shall fill (their) barns (and) granaries with rice (and) millet[14] of divers kinds. All their houses shall be very[15] rich in gems. Even all poor old women, who sell pots (and) (l. 23) potlids,[16] by getting good prices (for their wares) they shall become rich. Those who lacked slaves shall have plenty of slaves. Those who lacked cattle shall have plenty of cattle. The families of the four castes shall observe the Law

[1] Conceivably, "the children of the king, the children of all the great men."

[2] The meaning seems doubtful: literally the words seem to mean "who exceed security."

[3] Unidentified, presumably doors of some particular type; but there is some doubt both as to reading and meaning.

[4] Or "brass": some mixed metal, wherein copper is an ingredient.

[5] *Ariya saṁgha*, those members of the Church who have entered upon the fourfold path of eight degrees leading to Nirvāṇa, the degrees here are seven because as soon as the eighth station is reached the perfected saint is absorbed in Nirvāṇa and no longer available for earthly tasks.

[6] Doubtful, possibly "maintain," or "establish," cf. *scroḥ ptāw*, B 13 n. But in *Sudhammavatirājāvaṁsa*, p. 43, l. 21-2, I find: *slep pitakat pi glāai crah pkau kusuiw*. Cf. also III C 21-2.

[7] Lit. "shall make fragrant," no object being expressed. Conceivably the subject may be the "flower," but then one would expect to see a relative particle after it.

[8] Cf. III C 22-4, VIII A 24-5.

[9] Doubtfully identified with L.M. *lamāt*, "one of a religious order inferior to the monks, or priests" (Haswell, s.v.).

[10] Conceivably the rendering should be: "with the good deeds (appropriate to the) *luṁbāc*, which" (or "who") "are like ornaments of virtue, and (they) shall delight," etc.

[11] L.M. *dañāt*. But the word might possibly be connected rather with (*gñi*) *gñāt*, and mean "ornaments."

[12] Reading and meaning both doubtful.

[13] Cf. B 21 n.

[14] Or grain of some other kind, possibly "barley."

[15] Cf. D 30 n.

[16] Perhaps, "Even poor old women who sell all (sorts of) pots (and) potlids" (or "cups," L.M. *lamī*).

aright. All those who (l. 26) dwell in the realm of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall be exempt from calamity, exempt from misfortune All those of the city of Arimaddanapūr, together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, shall have length of life.

"All monks (and) scholars, who see the benefit (and) detriment (l. 30) of good (and) evil (respectively), shall[1] be even as the two eyes of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. All men who are of (good) family shall attend King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. Everyone that is brave, who are more than one thousand in number, whether it be the realm (and) country (l. 34) of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja that any evil men (shall have) ravaged,[2] or the city (and) realm of some other king, they shall take (it) in hand[3] and shall offer it to King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. (l. 37) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall keep up the succession[4] of all the kings of old. From the mouth of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja only decrees which are quite in agreement[5] with the Law shall issue.[6] All those who caused pain[7] to (other) people shall become steadfast (l. 41) in virtue. The wisdom called eloquence shall dwell in the mouth of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja at all times. O king of devas! In the city of Arimaddanapūr,

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abounding in glory (and) splendour, a . . . . . [8] which is far removed from . . . . . [9] shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja teach.

"O king of devas, thus (shall it be)[10]! (l. 4) In order to lift up thy heart in (the execution of) all the (good) works of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, I am . . . . . [11] speaking to thee[12]; do thou remember, do not forget, O king of devas, in the presence of[13] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja (l. 8) and

[1] The text has the relative particle *ma*, "who," before the predicate, but if that is pressed there is no predicate at all. The same applies to the next sentence. Cf. C 9 n.

[2] Cf. B 24 n., C 54.

[3] The precise meaning is somewhat doubtful, though the general purport is plain.

[4] Meaning, presumably, that he is to carry on their time-honoured traditions. It might, however, be possible to interpret it as meaning that the king would support all the ancient families of his vassal princes.

[5] Conjectural rendering.

[6] As to the second *ma*, see E 30 n.

[7] Or "sorrow." But there is some doubt as to the meaning generally. The "all" might go with the "people," and the force of *pa dūk* is not absolutely determined.

[8] An illegible word beginning with *ki*.

[9] The meaning *dilāṅ bumhok* is undetermined.

[10] Or "may it be." But the interpretation of the whole of this passage is rather doubtful.

[11] The sense of *pranaṅ* is undetermined: it may be an adverb, with some meaning like "urgently."

[12] Cf. A 42 n.

[13] Cf. C 18 n.

the Assembly,[1] do thou practise[2] loving kindness. In time to come as in times past, do thou the same.[3]

"O king of devas! (l. 10) Do thou call Katakarmmanāgarāja, do thou speak thus: 'O king of Nāgas, great in strength,[4] great in supernatural power (and) glory, lord of the treasures of the abode of splendour![5] In order to establish anew the religion (l. 13) of the Lord Buddha, do thou act in accordance with the saying of the Lord Gawaṁpati. The city of Sisīt is to stand for a thousand (and) two hundred years[6]; (and) after that, when King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja (l. 16) shall bear sway in Tattades,[7] thou shalt cause the whole realm of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja to be completely within an enclosure of well being,[8] like rising saplings of trees!'"[9] (l. 19) The Lord Gawaṁpati spake to King In in such wise.

Then did King In speak thus: ". . . . . [10] my lord, I (am he) (l. 21) that shall keep watch over Tattades, which is the abode of King Śrī Tribhuwānadityadhammarāja. All enemies who shall come, I too shall drive them away. If the fame of the city be eclipsed,[11] I too shall make it bright again. In all (l. 25) the (good) works of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, I too shall bestir myself at all times. I shall indeed[12] grant a boon for the sake of the advancement[13] of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, who is steadfast in the Law."

When King In had thus received (him), the Lord (l. 29) Gawaṁpati came down again to the world of men, (and) went to the sage named Bisnū, (and) having set my lord the sage Bisnū on a high seat, spake (to him) thus: "Thou, in company with (l. 32) me and King In, and Katakarmmanāgarāja, and Bissukarmmadewaput, shalt build a city called Sisīt; (and) thereafter, in Tattades, in the city of

[1] No doubt, at any rate primarily, the Buddhist monkhood.

[2] Cf. B 13 n. For "do thou" one might, perhaps, put "to."

[3] That is, "act in the future as you did in the past"; Indra is represented as having always played the part of guardian angel in human affairs, and is exhorted to continue doing so in this particular case.

[4] Or "energy"; but "strength" seems more appropriate here.

[5] Presumably this refers to the Nāgas being the guardians of subterranean treasures.

[6] Or "let" (or "may") "the city of S. stand" (or "last"), etc.

[7] Apparently this represents Upper Burma or at least the part thereof in which Pagan stands.

[8] Or "happiness."

[9] The precise sense of this sentence is doubtful. Perhaps it means "make the whole realm . . . . to develop to perfection in an enclosure," etc., "like the sprouting shoots of trees." Whether the simile has any reference to the protection of saplings by surrounding them with a sort of small temporary fence, I am not sure, but it seems possible, and the protection to be given by the Nāga king to the young, growing kingdom may be conceived to be analogous.

[10] The meaning of *lḥāc* is undetermined.

[11] Lit. "be interrupted," or perhaps "be cut off." For "bright" we might put "manifest" or "celebrated," which would be more literal.

[12] Reading doubtful, and as to the meaning cf. B 21 n.

[13] Lit. "increase."

Arimaddanapūr, my lord shall be[1] (l. 35) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, and shall uphold[2] the religion of the Lord Buddha. Thus did the Lord Buddha prophesy (concerning) my lord.

"Therefore[3] do I ask of my lord, (that) my lord receive my petition (and) be not of another[4] mind. (l. 39) There is a great work which it is good that my lord should do. The desire that my lord desires is great: in order to become a Buddha, let my lord prepare indeed.[5] All beings shall shelter (in the) (l. 42) shade of the merit[6] of my lord, they shall fulfil all the desires of the Church.[7] Therefore, my lord, great sage, in

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thy third existence, my lord, (do thou) enjoy the splendour of royalty.[8] My lord, do not abhor the splendour of royalty. Hereafter, (l. 3) in thy third existence, my lord shall become a king of the Law.[9] At the time when my lord is a king of the Law, the glory of my lord shall be very[10] great. In the place which my lord (shall face?), all foes shall fail (to make a stand?).[11] My lord shall shine brightly (l. 7) like the noonday sun in autumn.[12] In the time of my lord's reign, ...[13] the grandeur, (and) magnificence[14] of this great earth[15] shall be like (l. 9) the grandeur (and) magnificence of heaven entirely.[16]

"All men, women, (and) children shall have length of life, shall be free from sickness . . . . . [17] altogether.[18] All the people shall be exempt from calamity, exempt from misfortune. They shall eat plenty of food, they shall enjoy happiness. In the realm of my lord, rain (l. 13) shall fall an hundred (and) twenty times,[19] (and) all the sap of this great earth also shall come forth, all barns (and) granaries shall be

[1] Or "become." [2] Cf. A 36 n.

[3] Possibly, "for the sake of this do I make a request of my lord; my lord, receive my petition" (or "request"). [4] That is, "adverse," "unfavourable."

[5] Cf. B 21 n. Apparently the general meaning of the preceding is: "You have set yourself a lofty aim (*i.e.* Buddhahood), and must make every effort to attain it." [6] Or "piety."

[7] There is some doubt as to the meaning: *mun* usually means "from," or "by" (with the agent). It is conceivable that here (and in H 17) it represents *muṇi*, "the Sage," *i.e.* Buddha, in which case the rendering would be "the desires of the Sage and the Church." [8] Cf. C 13 n.

[9] That is, a legitimate and orthodox Buddhist king. [10] Cf. D 30 n.

[11] Both the bracketed verbs in this passage are somewhat doubtful as regards their meaning, and even the reading of the first one is by no means certain.

[12] Or, perhaps, "like the sun at the season when it is in the meridian," *i.e.* "noon." It appears that *sarada* sometimes means "season" in general. Cf. C 22 n.

[13] The illegible word is probably only a particle not affecting the sense.

[14] Or "prosperity (and) welfare."

[15] That is, the earth: the phrase is common in L.M.

[16] Apparently *mleḥ* (like *muleḥ* in B 10) merely adds emphasis.

[17] Reading and meaning of *gwip* are doubtful. [18] Cf. B 21 n. [19] Cf. D 54.

full of all (manner of) goods.[1] In the realm of my lord all those who were heretical shall become orthodox entirely. All the monks shall be full of virtue and good conduct. All the Brahmans, who know the Vedas, they shall fulfil all the Brahman law. All (l. 19) the princes[2] shall carry out the law altogether.[3] The four castes they shall fulfil their law also.[4] In all places the essence of the preaching of truth shall be (made) manifest. O my lord sage, (l. 22) the essence of the preaching of truth shall come to be (made) manifest by a king of the Law, who is glorious, who is even as the leader of a caravan."[5]

Then the sage (l. 24) named Bisnū zealously received the saying of the Lord Thera Gawaṁpati, (and said): "(It is) well, my lord! Hereafter, in Tattades, in the city of Arimaddanapūr, (it is) I that shall become a king (l. 27) named Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. The feet (and) hands of those (who) . . . . . ,[6] I also will support. The religion of the Lord Buddha, that . . . .,[7] I also shall uphold.[8] All the people shall I exhort to keep (the precepts of) virtue, exhort to carry out the Law. Women who carry on evil conduct (l. 31) shall I exhort to carry on good conduct. All chiefs of country (districts), villages, (and) small towns, that are decayed,[9] I also shall make famous. The true principles of morality[10] I also shall exhort (them) to maintain.[11] I shall be (l. 34) the chief bull[12] (of the herd), the candle[13] of all the people!"

My lord the sage having spoken (l. 35) thus, the Lord Thera Gawaṁpati and my lord the great sage Bisnū were well pleased[14]; and the Lord Gawaṁpati, having expounded all the prophecy of the Lord Buddha, to the end that all mankind might attain to the heaven of Nirvāṇa, my lord went his ways.

Thereafter, King In came down from Tāwatiṅ, (and) went to (l. 40) my lord the sage Bisnū, (and) spake thus: "My lord sage, great in supernatural power (and)

[1] Cf. E 20. [2] Cf. A 32 n. [3] Cf. B 21 n.

[4] That is, the law applicable to them. Or perhaps the sentence might be construed: "they shall fulfil the law, they also."

[5] The rendering offers difficulties. Lit. the sentence apparently means "the essence," etc., "of a king," etc., "shall come (and) be manifest." The meaning of *tuṁbaṅ* and *sā* (if rightly so read) could not be definitely determined. Cf. G 34.

[6] Illegible: perhaps we may supply "are weak," or the like.

[7] Illegible: perhaps "is decayed," or the like. Cf. H 4-5. [8] Cf. A 36 n.

[9] Or "ruined," or perhaps merely "obscure." Apparently it must be construed grammatically with "chiefs," though it really refers to the condition of their districts.

[10] Or "morality and the Good Law," as in B 12. [11] Cf. B 13.

[12] As to the doubtful word *tuṁbaṅ*, cf. G 23.

[13] That is, the light of the world. But it is conceivable that *puāṅ* may represent L.M. *paṇāṅ*, in which case the meaning would be "the chief bull of the pasture of all mankind."

[14] Or "the Lord T.G. was well pleased with my lord the great sage B."

glory, who hast[1] loving kindness equally towards all, both those that are trusty[2] and those that are hostile! My lord, together with the Lord (l. 43) Gawaṁpati, and me, and Bissukarmma, and Katakarmmanāgarāja, shall build

H

the city of Sisīt. My lord, after building the city of Sisīt, shall depart (l. 2) from thence, (and) thereafter, in Tattades, in the city of Arimaddanapūr, shall become a king named Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (and) shall uphold[3] the religion of the Lord Buddha. The Law (when it is) decayed,[4] shalt (thou) make manifest.[5] In order to carry out fully all the (good) works (l. 6) of my lord, up in Heaven am I,[6] King In, who wield the *vajra*.[7] Down below is[8] the Nāga king, who is great in supernatural power (and) glory, who has coils a thousand fold. In the four quarters the four kings guarding the world[9] shall keep[10] (their) watch. All the assembly of the four castes (l. 11) together with the princes[11] who dwell in the place that cannot be shaken, by reason[12] that the Lord Thera Gawaṁpati maintains[13] (it), shall be exempt from calamity, exempt from sorrow altogether.[14] All the enemies of my lord shall be lacking in cunning devices.

"Hereafter, my lord, in (l. 15) the time (when) my lord is King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, all scholars shall consider (and) investigate[15] matters that are firm[16] (and) secure,[17] that are deep, (and) shall fulfil the desires of the Church[18] entirely."[19] (l. 18) Then the great sage named Bisnū, having heard the saying of King In, to the end that thereafter (he) might see the advancement[20] of the religion of the Lord Buddha,[21] (said): "Right well, O king of devas! The Lord Thera Gawaṁpati has expounded that matter to me[22]; (l. 22) and thou

[1] Or "dost exercize": it seems likely that *pa* implies more than a merely static condition of mind.
[2] Cf. B 29 n. It would almost seem from this passage that *rumlos* means "friendly," in which case *srlos* (C 33, D 20) would probably mean "shall love." [3] Cf. A 36 n. [4] Or "obscured."
[5] Or "famous," or simply "clear," *i.e.* he shall expound and explain it, when it has ceased to be properly understood and exactly followed.
[6] It seems not quite certain whether *wo'* goes with *swar* or with *ey*: the objection to the former construction is that this conversation is taking place on earth, and *wo'* seems inappropriate. If it can be taken with *ey*, the meaning would be "I here," *i.e.* "I, whom you see here at present."
[7] Lit. the "*bajra* weapon": cf. B 18 n. [8] As to the supposed force of *wel*, cf. B 21 n.
[9] Mythical, not human, kings, known as the four mahārājas. [10] Cf. B 13 n.
[11] Or "the king." [12] Or following the alternative text of II, "which the Lord T.G. maintains."
[13] Cf. B 13 n. [14] Cf. B 21 n. [15] Or "shall be competent to investigate."
[16] So literally: presumably it here means "important."
[17] Reading and meaning doubtful: either it is another adjective going with *jmo'*, "firm," or a noun.
[18] Cf. F 43 n. [19] Cf. B 21 n. [20] Cf. F 27 n.
[21] Possibly the speech begins at *mnor*: "To the end that I may see hereafter the advancement," etc.
[22] Conceivably *thec thec* is used adverbially: "Right well, O king of devas, did the Lord T.G. expound," etc. But this seems less probable. The words are equivalent to the Pāli *sādhu, sādhu*: cf. G 25 *supra* and Myazedi 17.

too[1] hast expounded (it). Even as ye two say, so too hereafter, in order to uphold[2] the religion of the Lord Buddha, (it were) good that thou put forth (thy) strength: be not negligent!"[3] My lord the sage, having spoken thus to King In, was well pleased in spirit.

The prophecy that the Lord Buddha prophesied to the Lord (l. 27) Ānan, the question that the Lord Gawaṁpati desired to have explained, which he asked the Lord Buddha, (and whereof) the Lord Buddha gave the answer to the Lord Gawaṁpati, urging the Lord Gawaṁpati to go up (and) inform (l. 31) King In (of it), the saying that the Lord Gawaṁpati (and) King In came down (and) told to my lord the sage Bisnū, the saying that the Lord Buddha (l. 34) spake to the Lord Ānan (saying): "When my religion shall have gone on for one thousand six hundred (and) twenty-eight years, my lord the sage named Bisnū shall become king in (l. 37) the city of Arimaddanapūr, (and) shall bear the name of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, (and) shall uphold[4] my religion"—he of whom the Lord Buddha spake, (verily) this (present) king is he. Monks, scholars, Brahmans, all chiefs, (l. 41) all the world of mankind, may you all understand,[5] may you all understand, (that) this king is he. Doubt not! Doubt not! Doubt not![6]

No. II.

A Fragmentary Replica of No. I.

Descriptive Account.

36. This record is apparently engraved on two stones, which are now in the Pagan Museum and are numbered 4 and 5 respectively in Section I of the Catalogue (1906). Their original location was about 50 feet east of the Tharaba (Sarabhā) Gate, Pagan. One set of ink-impressions, consisting of seven pieces, was supplied to me, together with photographs of the impressions. Each of the stones presumably has four inscribed faces, but of the first stone (No. 5 in the Catalogue) the impressions of only three faces were sent; from which it would seem to follow that the first face of that stone is illegible. The stones are evidently remnants of what were originally two columns: about two-thirds of the original record have been lost altogether, and the remainder on these seven faces is much damaged and in a poor state of preservation. The dimensions of the stones and

[1] Cf. A 42 n., B 21 n. [2] Cf. A 36 n.

[3] The general effect of this rather obscure passage seems to be an exhortation to Indra to take active steps to carry out the intent of the two messages, his own and Gawaṁpati's. It is possible that the clause at the end is also to be read as dependent on the principal clause: "(and) be not negligent."

[4] Cf. A 36 n. [5] Cf. III D 14, V 49-51. [6] As to *gaṁ*, cf. A 6 n.

other details given in the Catalogue are as follows:—No. 5, height 4 ft. 8 in.; breadth 2 ft. 5 in.; number of lines on the obverse face (which face this is, is not clear to me) 17, on the remaining faces 26. No. 4, height 3 ft.; breadth 2 ft. 9 in.; number of lines on the obverse face (unidentified) 24, on the remaining faces 57. These particulars do not tally quite precisely with those of the impressions, which are somewhat unsatisfactory in some respects; but the point is not very material. The space covered by lettering as measured on the impressions is as follows:—Face A (no impression supplied); B, height 1 ft. 10½ in., breadth 2 ft. ½ in.; C, height 2 ft., breadth 2 ft. 3 in.; D, height 1 ft. 10 in., breadth 2 ft.; E, height 2 ft. 2¼ in., breadth 1 ft. 10½ in. (a varying amount, some 6 in., being broken off at the ends of the lines); F, height 1 ft. 10 in., breadth 1 ft. 2 in. tapering down to 5 in. (the stone being apparently broken off at the beginnings of the lines); G, height 2 ft. 7½ in., breadth 2 ft. 6 in.; H, height 2 ft. 3½ in., breadth 1 ft. 10¼ in. Faces A–D correspond with the stone numbered 5; E–H with the one numbered 4 in the Catalogue. In a general way the letters resemble those of No. I. They measure about ¾ in. in height, and letter *t* about the same, to 1 in., in length. The space between the lines, in the absence of subscript and superscript letters, is also about the same, though rather variable.

37. The variants between this inscription and No. I (so far as they could be ascertained) having been given in the notes on the text of No. I, it will suffice to give here a concordance of the two texts, with an indication of the first and last words discernible (though not necessarily completely legible) on each of the seven faces or fragments of No. II of which impressions are available:—

	No. II.		*No. I.*
Face A	(no impression supplied).		
B	15 ll. (*tirwīl . . . spkaṅ*)	...	C 11-28
C	16 ll. (*upās . . . moy*)	...	D 32-53
D	15 ll. (*gna . . . ma*)	...	F 2-18
E	18 ll. (*kuṁ . . . sdas*)	...	F 18-40
F	14 ll. (and one quite illegible line)		
	(*tarley . . . ḍeḥ t-eḥ*)	...	G 6-20
G	21 ll. (*sīl . . . satru*)	...	G 30—H 13
H	18 ll. (*goḥ . . . smiṅ*)	...	H 19-37

38. The only importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it has served in certain cases to restore or confirm words that were lost or doubtful in No. I. These have been indicated in the notes on the text of the latter.

No. III.

THE MYAKAN (OR MYAGAN) INSCRIPTION OF MYANPAGAN, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

39. This inscription (with the two following) was referred to in paras. 45-6 of the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1912. It is on the bank of the Myakan lake at the foot of the hill known as Taywindaung and is engraved on the four faces of a stone column, the dimensions of which (as communicated to me by Professor Duroiselle) are as follows:—height, 4 ft. 1 in.; breadth of the two broader faces, 1 ft. 8 in., of the narrower faces, 1 ft. 4 in. Three sets of ink-impressions were sent to me, together with photographs of one of the sets. The space covered by the lettering, as measured on the impressions, is as follows:—Face A, 3 ft. by 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; B, 2 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 1 in.; C, 3 ft. by 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; D, 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. The letters resemble those of the preceding inscriptions in their general type and character, but are smaller: they measure about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and letter *t* about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length. The normal space between the lines is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The inscription is a good deal damaged, and on the whole is in an indifferent state of preservation. A large piece of the surface of Face A (affecting ll. 19–23) has been destroyed, and the top and bottom of this face as well as some parts of Faces B and C are so blurred as to be practically illegible. The column has also been broken off at one corner at the top, so that the ends of ll. 1–5 of Face B and the beginnings of ll. 1–7 of Face C are lost. But most of the missing text has been restored by the help of inscriptions Nos. IV and V, which are on similar lines.

40. The occasion for the making of No. III was the digging of a tank or reservoir for the purpose of storing water for irrigation, by order of King Kyansitthā. The name given by him to the tank is stated in D 11-2, but the reading is not quite certain. The greater part of the inscription is, however, taken up by a statement of the Kyansitthā legend, in its more extensive form as outlined in §§ 25, 27. The proper names of the persons mentioned in it have been given in § 26. The lengthened form of the king's name in D 6-8 should be noted. Apart from the lexicographical material contained in this record and from its variant version of the royal legend, the chief point of interest in it is its insistence on the king's care for the temporal welfare of his people (C 27—D 6). It is not, perhaps, either unreasonable or uncharitable to assume that considerations affecting the royal revenue contributed in some degree to the stimulation of such laudable aims; but

there is no reason to doubt the genuine existence of the ethical and religious motives to which the king ascribes his action. Further, there is a brief statement of his anointment (C 11-4) and of the issue by him of a revised edition of the Buddhist Scriptures (C 15). The inscription begins (A 1–6) and ends (D 15-7) with Pāli passages, but the one at the beginning is almost illegible. The dates mentioned are, first, the date of the foundation of Prome (here called Śrī Kṣet) in the year of Buddha's Nirvāṇa (C 3–6), of course a purely legendary date; and, secondly, the Buddhist year 1630 with reference to the king (C 9–11), as to which see §§ 28-9. Of the date of the inscription itself there is no further evidence save what has been indicated in § 27.

41. No. IV represents a fragmentary repetition of the text of this record made for use on another, similar, occasion. The first part of No. V also runs closely parallel to these two. The variants exhibited by No. IV and the first part of No. V are given in the notes appended to the text of No. III.

Text.

A

1. [॥ śrī ॥ namo] ta[ssa bha]ga[vat]o a[rahato sammāsambuddha]-
2. [ssa ॥ o ॥] uppatti(ṁ) . . . . . .
3. . . . . (ta) . . . . . ihār . . . . . .
4. (di) . . . . . uppa(tti dhammarājassa) . . . .
5. . . . . sato . . . . . k . . . d . sa(hi) . . . . . .
6. . . . . pati (॥ o ॥ ḍey)
7. kāl āyūk . . . (w) [ḅār cwas lṅim cnām] kyek Buddha ti-
8. rley Kasapa[1] ktir das ḍey lok wo' blaḥ tirley
9. nisrey [ḍū]ṅ[2] Bārāṇasi (da goḥ[3] ma) tirley tāw han Isipata-
10. namigadāwanamahāwihār ॥ kāl goḥ[4] tirla poy [gna smi]-
11. ṅ dha(r)mmarāja[5] wo' das ñaḥ su(ṁ)giḥ ma nom drap diñcām [c]wa-
12. [s] koṭi girloṅ[6] blaḥ[7] kul dā[n] maṅ s(ī)l[8] pa pun ka[ḥ mo]-
13. y prakār ॥[9] ḍey sās kyek[10] Buddha tirley Kassapa go[ḥ][11]
14. tāw bak bnat āy(ū)k[12] blaḥ ॥ cuti'[13] nor [g]o[ḥ][14] tluṅ da[s]

[1] *Sic*, for *Kassapa*.
[2] Or *ḍuṅ*. About here V begins to be legible.
[3] V has *goḥh*.
[4] V has *goḥh*.
[5] The *r* is doubtful both here and in V.
[6] V has *girluṅ*.
[7] V inserts ॥.
[8] The vowel may be *i* both here and in V.
[9] V has no stop here.
[10] V probably has *kyāk*.
[11] V has *goḥh*.
[12] Or *āyuk*.
[13] V has *cuti*.
[14] V has *goḥh*.

15. han [kir]k(ū)l[1] smiṅ ḍe[y ḍu]ṅ Pātaliputtana[g](i)[r][2] ॥ kāl
16. goḥ[3] p[n]ā[ñ] paracak jumnok [moy] ḍe[ḥ][4] ktir das [॥ pnāñ]
17. [goḥ[5] ku]ṁ tirla[6] poy [gna] smiṅ dha(r)[mm]arāja ma ār das [smi]ṅ [Pāta]-
18. [liputtanag](i)[r[7] goḥ[8] kuya] .(i)r w(i)[ses] blaḥ[9] pṣuk [u]t mahā[ja]-
19. [n gumlu]ṅ[10] blaḥ(h) [kul dān maṅ] s(ī)l[11] pa pu[n] ma ka[ḥ moy]
20. [prakār p-ār das rājadha](r)[mma[12] cas t](u)y[13] ॥ tāw bak [bnat ā]-
21. [yuk] blaḥ ॥ [cut]i [n]o[r goḥ[14] tluṅ da]s haṅ kirk(ū)l[15] smiṅ Rā-
22. m [ḍe]y [ḍ](ū)ṅ[16] [Ayodh](apūr[17] ॥) [kā]l go[ḥ[18] kuṁ] ci [pnāñ p]a[r]a-
23. cak ju[ṁno]k [tl]ūṅ . . .[19] [ḍ](ū)[ṅ[20] Ayodhapūr we]l[21] ॥ [pnāñ goḥ][22]
24. kuṁ[23] tirla[24] [poy gna smiṅ dha](r)[mmarāja ma das haṅ] kirk(ū)[l[25] smiṅ]
25. [Rām goḥ[26] kuya] .(i)[r w](i)[ses blaḥ[27] pṣuk ut mahājan guṁ]-
26. [loṅ][28] ॥ kul [dān m]aṅ s(ī)[l[29] pa pun kaḥ moy prakār t](ū)-
27. [y tāw bak bnat āyūk][30] bla[ḥ ॥ cuti nor] go[ḥ[31] ḍey]
28. [kāl kintir tirla poy kyek[32] Sākyamuni[33] das risi Bisnū]
29. [ma nom[34] riddh](yānubhāw ma) [go' a](bhiñān[35] mṣun[36] ma tāw hantul)[37]

B

1. . . .[38] . . . . . [sreñ] (ma imo' Kelāsaparwwa)-
2. [ta[39] ॥ kāl goḥ[40] kyek[41] Buddha ti](rley Sākya)-

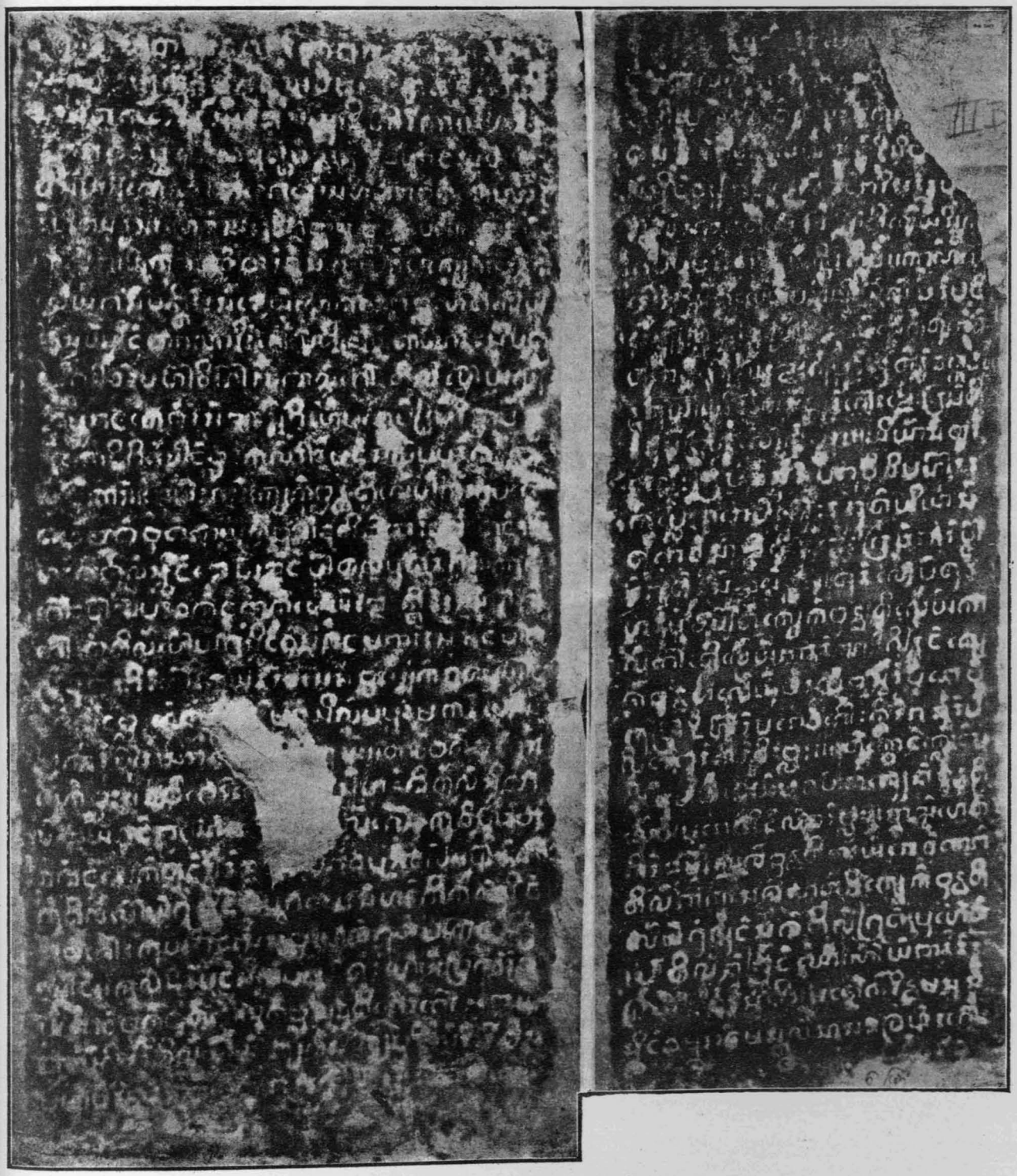
1 Perhaps *kirkul*, both here and in V.
2 V has *Pāṭaliputtanagar* (the vowel of the last syllable is not certain in either text).
3 V possibly has *goḥh kuṁ*. 4 V has *ḍeḥh*. 5 V has *goḥh*. 6 V has *tirla'*.
7 V has *Pāṭaliputtanagar* (though the vowel of the last syllable is not quite certain in either text).
8 V has *goḥh*. 9 V inserts ॥ here. 10 V possibly has *gumlūṅ*. 11 V has *sil*.
12 V perhaps has *rājadhamma*. 13 V has *tūy*. 14 V has *goḥh*.
15 V probably has *kirkul*. 16 Or *ḍuṅ*. V has *ḍūṅ*.
17 V apparently has *Ayudhyapūr* (which is followed by ॥), but the spelling of the third syllable is doubtful in both texts. Here in III a large piece of the surface of the stone has perished, affecting the middle portions of A 19–23 (which have been restored by the help of V 12-4), and from the amount of space available here it would seem that there may have been a short word (e.g. *wel*) after *Ayodhapūr*.
18 V has *goḥh*. 19 A word of one syllable, probably ending in *r* or *n*. 20 Or *ḍuṅ*.
21 V omits *wel*. 22 V has *goḥh*. 23 V omits *kuṁ*. 24 V perhaps has *tarla*.
25 V probably has *kirkul*. 26 V has *goḥh*. 27 V inserts ॥. 28 V has *guṁluṅ blaḥ*.
29 Or *sil*. V perhaps has *sil* here. 30 Or *āyuk*. V probably has *āyuk*. 31 V has *goḥh*.
32 For *tirla poy kyek*, V apparently has *dirdas kyāḥ Buddha tirley*. 33 V has *Sakyamuni* ॥.
34 Instead of *nom* V has *jnoḥ*. 35 V has *abhiñāṇ*. 36 Or *mṣūṇ*, as V seems to have.
37 Or *hantūl*, as V has. The last part of this line (in round brackets) is quite illegible in III and has been restored from V. The same applies to the ends of B 1–6.
38 The first illegible word is apparently a monosyllable; it seems to end in *s* and may begin with *t* or *k*. In the next word it is likely that the vowel of the first syllable is *i* and the initial consonant may be *h*. But it seems very uncertain.
39 Or *Kelāsaparbbata* (or °*pabbata*): the word is not very legible in V.
40 V has *goḥh*. 41 V has *kyāḥ*.

3. [muṇi][1] . . . . ṇ . . . . . (j)i(rku ār[2] añā)-
4. tasa[ñāṇ[3] tir]l[ey ñāc] risi (Bisnū ma sda)-
5. s smiṅ dha(r)[mm]arāja [ḍey ḍūṅ][4] Ari[m]a[ddan]ap(ūr ma)
6. [stḥal] sā[sana tirley ci ॥ tirl]e[y] sḍi(k)
7. [g]ap p[umas[5] tirley] kti[r k-im] ॥ kāl go[ḥ][6]
8. [nor gnis tirley pan ॥ yiryās pan] (ma j)i-
9. (rnok laḥ pan) t(āl[7] ma nom) [s]e[k][8] t[urow]
10. [turow goḥ][9] ॥ ḍeḥ[10] [kuṁ] (par)[11] [u]t (r)[l]aṁ[12] ca[kk]a[wā]-
11. l[13] tuy ॥ [y]ir[yās ḥā]r goḥ[14] ḍeḥ[15] dre[p] ti-
12. [n cup Brahm]alok [mleḥ][16] ॥ yiryā[s] ḥār
13. (ci) [ḍe]ḥ[17] [drep cis cup] Aw(ī)[c]imahānara-
14. k[18] [m]leḥ[19] ॥ ro[w go]ḥ[20] da ut yiryās
15. turow sā[k goḥ[21] ḍe]ḥ[22] dre[p ā]r p(ṅ)ā-
16. (')[23] [ut dis cas blaḥ[24] ॥] tun l[o]p tu[n][25]
17. [han mukh]a(p)āt[26] kyek[27] Buddha [t]irley[28] kā-
18. l goḥ[29] [t]irley Ānan[30] ñā[c] ginr[u]ṅ[31] [ky]e-
19. k[32] [Bu]ddha[33] [ti]rley[34] (ma sum)[35] a[sc]ar [m]a no[m]
20. ku p[r]āṭi[hā]r ma ro[w] goḥ[36] k[t]ir ascar [pa]
21. li(ṅ)[ṅ]or[37] [kirj]iḥ[38] blaḥ ॥ (.u)[t[39] kḥ]oṅ klo[ṅ[40] suṁ]-
22. [ḥip[41] tey mey mukh]a(p)āt[42] kye[k[43] Buddha ti]-
23. [rl]e[y m]a row [d]iṅṅal[44] [thar] blaḥ[45] ॥ smāñ het

[1] V has *Sakyamuni* ॥. [2] The preceding words are practically illegible in both texts.
[3] Or perhaps °*ñān* ॥. V has °*ñāṇ* ॥. In the Pāli original of this loanword the *ñ*'s would be doubled, but there is no trace of that here.
[4] Or *ḍuṅ*: the reading of both texts is doubtful. [5] V has *gap-pumas*. [6] V has *goḥh*.
[7] V inserts ॥. The preceding words are very doubtful in both texts. [8] V has *sāk*.
[9] V has *goḥh*. [10] V probably has *ḍeḥh*.
[11] V seems to have *par*, but both texts are obscure here. [12] Or perhaps *dlaṁ*.
[13] V has *cakkawāl*. [14] V has *goḥh*. [15] V has *ḍeḥh*. [16] V has *mleḥh*.
[17] V is quite illegible here, but probably has *ḍeḥh*.
[18] The second vowel in this word should be *ī*, but might be read *i* in both texts. [19] V has *mleḥh*.
[20] V has *goḥh*. [21] V has *goḥh*. [22] V probably has *ḍeḥh*.
[23] The reading of this word is doubtful in both texts. [24] V has *blaḥh*.
[25] Apparently this is the right reading: cf. VIII A 8.
[26] A reading *mukhamāt* is conceivable. [27] V has *kyāk*. [28] V inserts ॥ here.
[29] V has *goḥh*. [30] V probably has *Ānanda*. [31] V has *kir-im*. [32] V has *kyāk*.
[33] V omits *Buddha*. [34] V inserts ॥. [35] The reading is very doubtful in both texts.
[36] V has *goḥh* ॥. [37] V seems to have *linṅor*, and perhaps inserts *ku* after it.
[38] V probably has *kirjiḥh*: at any rate the final letter is *h*.
[39] It is doubtful whether the reading is *ut* or whether there is some initial consonant (and, if so, which).
[40] Professor Duroiselle suggests *klow*, answering to L.M. *kluiw*, "to bend the knee," but *kloṅ* seems certain in III and at least probable in V.
[41] V has *suṁḥup*. [42] See B 17 n. [43] V has *kyāk*. [44] V has *diṅṅal*.
[45] V probably has *blaḥh*.

THE MYAKAN INSCRIPTION OF MYANPAGAN, PAGAN.

A B



24. kir-i[m[1] ky]e[k][2] Buddha tirley row wo'[3]
25. tirla[4] ākaḥ sa[k he]t ci kyek[5] Buddha ti-
26. rl[ey] guṁ[l]uṅ sa[k] tirla[6] gruṅ[7] [‖] mu[8] he[t]
27. (man)[9] [t]irla'[10] [gru]ṅ[11] y[o ‖ h]āy Ānan[12] d[ṅaḥ][13]
28. [ey ñāc ri]s[i] Bi[sn](ū)[14] [ma jno]k riddh(i)[15] ma sda[s]
29. s[m]iṅ dha(r)mmarāj(a)[16] ma st[ḅ]al sāsan(a)[17] e[y] da g[oḥ][18]

C

1. (ma ey gruṅ[19] ‖ kyek[20] Buddha tirley gaḥ ro)w (goḥ)[21]
2. (blaḥ[22] tirley kinkāl krim kintir[23] smiṅ dharmmarāja[24] ku)
3. (tirley Ānan[25] row wo'[26] ‖ hāy Ānan[27] ḍey) [c]nām ma
4. (ey snirbbān goḥ[28] risi Bisnū[29] ku kon) [ey] Ga[w]aṁpa[t]i[30] k[u]
5. (smiṅ In[31] ku Bissukarmma[32] ku Katakarmma)[nāgarāja][33] s[k]indaṁ ḍ(u)ṅ[34]
6. (moy ma imo') [Śrī Kṣ]e[t blaḥ[35] scu'ti][36] nor goḥ[37] s[-]ā[r]
7. (das ḍe)[y Br]ahmalok ‖ [kāl go]ḥ[38] [ut d]e[watāw][39]
8. [guṁ]l[uṅ[40] sniman] or cis das smiṅ dha(r)mmarāja[41] [ḍ]e[y ti[42] jnok]
9. wo' ‖ mu[43] kāl [ma ḍ]eḥ[44] scis das yo ‖ nor[45] [m]a ey [sni]-
10. [rbbān[46] lṅ](ī)[m[47] tu]row klaṁ pi c[w]as [cnām][48] ḍey kāl g[o]ḥ[49] ḍe[h][50]

1 V has *kir-im*. 2 V has *kyāk*. 3 V inserts ‖.
4 V has *tarla*. IV begins at this point with *' ākaḥ*, and must therefore have read *tirla'* or *tarla'*.
5 V has *kyāk*. 6 IV probably has *tarla*, or *tirla*: V probably *tarla'*.
7 V probably has *k-im*, certainly not *gruṅ*. 8 IV and V have *mo'*.
9 The reading is doubtful in all the texts. Conceivably *ma da* might be read. 10 V has *tarla*.
11 V has *k-im*. 12 V has *Ānanda*. 13 V has *dṅaḥh*. 14 V has *Bisnū*.
15 In III no final *i* is visible, but V has it clearly. IV is quite illegible here.
16 Possibly there is a *virāma* and we should read *°rāj*. IV and V are illegible here.
17 Or perhaps *sāsanā*; but IV and V have *sāsana*. 18 V has *goḥh*. 19 V has *k-im*. 20 V has *kyāk*.
21 V has *goḥh*. The words in round brackets in C 1–7 are adapted from IV, as III is broken off here.
22 V has *blaḥh* ‖. 23 V inserts *gna* here. 24 IV may have *dharmmarāj*, V possibly *dhammarāja*.
25 V has *Ānanda*. 26 For *row wo'* V has *rwo'*. 27 V has *Ānanda*. 28 V has *goh*.
29 V inserts ‖. 30 V inserts ‖. 31 V has *Indra* ‖. 32 V inserts ‖.
33 IV appears to have *Kaṭakarmmanāgarāja* or *°rāj* (perhaps). V inserts ‖ after the name.
34 Or perhaps *ḍūṅ* both here and in IV. V has *ḍūṅ*. 35 IV and V insert ‖ here.
36 IV and V have *scuti*. It is just possible that in III we should also read *scuti*: the text is badly blurred here. 37 V has *goḥh*. 38 V has *goḥh*.
39 There is a small blurred space here, which at first led me to conjecture that it concealed some short word such as *lok*; but as IV and V have nothing, it is probably merely accidental or perhaps the result of an original flaw.
40 IV has *guṁloṅ*. 41 IV probably has *dharmmarāj*, V probably *dhammarāja*. 42 V has *ti'*.
43 IV has *mo'*. 44 V has *ḍeḥh*. 45 V inserts *kāl*. 46 V has *nirbbān*.
47 IV has *lṅiṁ*, V *lṅim* (or possibly *lṅīm*). 48 IV (and probably V) inserts ‖. 49 V has *goḥh*.
50 IV has *ḍeḥ*, V *ḍeḥh*. In III there is a small unexplained space after the word, as in C 7.

11. sdas smiṅ dhammarāja [1] [ḍey] ḍ(u)ṅ [2] [Arima]dda[n]apūr [3] hantūl [4] [pañ caprā]-
12. sāt [5] [ma gñ]i' [6] [n]a s[ṅ]i' [7] clac [8] d[ṅ]e[ṅ [9] ḅār cwas d]i[ñcām] ha[ntū]l ra[ta]-
13. [na]si[ṅghāsana ma] ñin lās [na tmo]' [s]āk [10] srim s[g]o' [muddh]ābhi-
14. sek [n]a indrābhisek ‖ sd(u)ṅ [11] imo' gna smiṅ Śrī Tri[bhu]wa[nādi]-
15. tyadhammarāja [12] ‖ scua[ḥ] tug(u)r [13] sis(ū)l [14] kindaṁ [15] [u]t [pi]ṭak trey [16]
16. [skink[ā]l b](u)[ru]' [17] [dh]a[rmm]a [18] d[m]as phaṁ siṅgir [19] ‖ sk[u]tir ut mahā-
17. jan guṁluṅ [20] [ma lhi]ṅ [21] abāy [22] stāw ḍe[y u]posa[th]as(ī)[l] [23] ut
18. [ku] kāl ‖ [24] spu[k] [25] tinlūr [26] tinrā[ṅ [27] s]war [ma tm](u)[y [28] n]a [th]ar ma
19. yās ma ñin lak [n]a [r]a[t [29] du]ṁpoḥh [30] pi(r)kār [31] blaḥ [32] splop
20. mahāja[n g]uṁluṅ [33] ḍe[y sw]a(rg)a [34] ‖ [35] [slu'ṅo'] [36] apā-
21. y pan [37] s[c]u'roḥh [38] kul [pk]ā[w dh]a[rmm]a [ḍey] kḍip [39] mahā-
22. [j]an [gu]ṁ[lu]ṅ [40] ‖ [kāl] gna smiṅ dharmmarāja [41] goḥ [42] [tos] dha-
23. [rmma ci] ‖ [43] y[a]ṅ [44] bi[nr]u' sādhu[kā]r [ña]ḥ [45] guṁ[luṅ [46] row] bi[nru] [47]
24. brey rin-ut [48] c[n]ām kum [49] [‖] goḥ [50] [d]a min [51] kyek [52] B[u]-

1 V has *dharmmarāja*. In IV the first part of the word is blurred, but it probably ends °*rāj*.
2 In IV the vowel may also be either short or long; but V has *ḍūṅ*. 3 V inserts ‖ here.
4 V has *antūl*. 5 IV and V have *pañcaprāsād*. (In IV the *virāma* is not clear.)
6 IV has *gñi*. 7 V has *sṅi*. 8 IV has *clec*, V either *clic* or perhaps *clac*.
9 IV appears to have *diṅāṅ* or *diṅeṅ*, V probably *dṅāṅ*. 10 IV has *sek*.
11 Conceivably *sdūṅ*. The vowel is doubtful in IV and V also, though probably *u*.
12 IV probably has °*rāj*. V may have *Tribhū*°. 13 Perhaps *tugūr*, IV has *tugur*, V *tugūr*.
14 Perhaps *sisul*, as IV apparently has. V has *sisūl*. 15 V inserts *ṭḥal*.
16 IV and V insert ‖ after *trey*. 17 IV has *baru* or perhaps *buru*, V probably *buru*.
18 IV and V insert *ma*, which is needed here.
19 V has what looks like *sigir*, but there may be a superscript *ṅ*, making *siṅgir*. 20 IV has *guṁloṅ*.
21 V has *lhi* (or possibly *lhiṅ*=, with an effaced superscript *ṅ* over the next word; but I can see no trace of it). 22 IV and V here insert ‖. 23 Perhaps °*sil*. IV is doubtful, V has °*sil*.
24 IV omits ‖. 25 V appears to have *ma sjak* (or *spāk*, or *ma puk*, or *sapuk*) *lupok*.
26 IV probably has *tinlur*. 27 IV and V have *tinraṅ*, which is the usual spelling.
28 IV appears to have *tmuy*. In V the vowel is not clear. 29 V has *ratana*. 30 IV has *duṁpoḥ*.
31 IV and V have *prakār*, the usual spelling.
32 V here inserts something which looks like ‖ *ma sdas ma*, but being near the end of the line the passage is not very legible. 33 IV has *guṁloṅ*.
34 The reading is almost certain, though in some of the impressions it looks rather like *swar da*. IV simply has *swar*, V *swarga*. 35 V inserts *ma* here. 36 IV and V have *sluṅo'*. 37 V here inserts ‖.
38 IV has *scuroḥ*, V *scuroḥh*. 39 In V the *p* looks very like *m*. 40 IV has *guṁloṅ*.
41 IV apparently has *dharmmarāj* (certainly *dharmma*°), V probably *dhammarāja*.
42 V has *goh*. 43 IV omits ‖.
44 The *yaṅ* looks like *yuṅ*, but the extra mark is probably accidental: IV and V have *yaṅ*, the usual spelling. 45 V has *mahājan* instead of *ñaḥ*. 46 IV has *guṁloṅ*.
47 There seems to be no room here for a final ', but IV and V have *binru'*. 48 For *rin-ut* V has *taṁ*.
49 V apparently has *kuṁ*, and perhaps omits the ‖. 50 V has *goḥh*.
51 V has *mun*, IV *mun* or possibly *man*. 52 V has *kyāk*.

25. [ddha] tirle[y [1] by]ādes [2] kintir g[n]a smiṅ dha(r)[mm]arā[j]a [3] ku ti[r]ley
26. [Ānan] [4] ॥ row ṃ(i)n [5] kyek [6] [Bu]ddha [tir]ley [byā]des goḥ [7]
27. [tluṅ] das ut mleḥ ॥ [8] [y]aṅ g[n]a [smiṅ dha](r)[mm]arāja [9] ma [go' byā]-
28. [des n]or kyek Buddha tirley ma j[n]o[k me]ttā [karu]-
29. ṇā ḍey [s]a(rww)a[s]a[tt]a . . l. [10] [॥ dṅaḥ s]a(rww)a[satta [11] guṁ]loṅ

D

1. [sgo]' suk sey subhik [sk]aḥ byil b(ṅa) [12]
2. jāp jāp sthān ma kaḥ sak ḍek [m]a kaḥ
3. sak ti' bṅa ma [k]aḥ sak t[wi]l w[i]r ॥ [ti]-
4. rla [13] poy gna smiṅ dha(r)mmarā[j](a) [14] tbi[n] k[ul ḍ]e-
5. [k ki]r [15] k[u]l [k]umbār [16] [pda]s kul ti' bṅa [17]
6. tw[i]l [18] wir ॥ [k]ā[l] go[ḥ d]a ma g[n]a smiṅ [Ś]r[ī] T[r]i-
7. bhuwanādityadha[m]marājarājādhirājaparamiswa-
8. rabala[c]a[kkr]āwar [19] [puṁ]rey [m]a pa [yā]n ku [c]iṅ [jmū]-
9. [r] [20] bintāṅ [21] (m)a [22] go['] byā[des] nor ky[e]k
10. Buddha [t]irley sa(rww)a[ñu [23] bodhi]sat ॥ k(ī)[r] [24]
11. [k]umbār [25] wo' blaḥ [26] k[u]l imo' [M]ahāni-

[1] V possibly has *tarley*.
[2] V inserts ॥ here.
[3] IV probably has *dharmmarāj*, V perhaps *dhammarāja*.
[4] V has *Ānanda*.
[5] V has *mun*, IV apparently also.
[6] V has *kyāk*.
[7] V has *goḥṅ*.
[8] At this point V diverges entirely from III and IV.
[9] IV probably has *dharmmarāj*.
[10] Or *sarbba*° or *sabba*°. IV appears to have *sarwwa*° and after °*satta* it would seem (perhaps) to read *nikāy*, which would form a compound with what precedes (as in III D 13). But that cannot be the reading of III. Possibly it has °*wal*(*a*), or °*bal*(*a*).
[11] Here also *sarbba*° or *sabba*° is possible, but IV probably has *sarwwa*° again. A compound word, part Sanskrit and part Pāli, is not an uncommon phenomenon in these Môn texts.
[12] The reading seems nearly certain. IV has *barṅa* ॥, but there is no room for that here.
[13] IV has *tirla'*.
[14] There is possibly a *virāma* here (making °*rāj*), but not in IV, which appears to have *dharmmarāja*.
[15] IV possibly has *kīr* here.
[16] IV has *kuṁbār*.
[17] IV has *bṅa'*.
[18] In IV the vowel of *twil* is quite clear.
[19] IV may perhaps have *Tribhawan*°. Neither in III nor in IV is any *virāma* visible over the *r* of °*iswara*°, but V 42 has °*iswar*. In III the *c* of °*cakkrā*° looks as if it had another *c* subscript under it, but this does not appear in IV or V. IV probably has simply °*cakrā*° (the *ā* is certain); V 42 °*cakkrā*°.
[20] There may be a doubt as to the length of the vowel in *jmūr*, but that appears to be the reading of IV.
[21] IV has *buṁtāṅ*.
[22] The actual reading appears to be *ṗa*, no cross-bar being visible, but that is certainly wrong, and IV has *ma*.
[23] Or *sarbba*° or *sabba*°. IV is also doubtful here. I see no trace of any doubling of the *ñ*.
[24] Both III and IV seem to have *kīr*.
[25] IV has *kuṁbār*.
[26] IV has *tuy* (or *tūy*) instead of *blaḥ*.

12. rbbān [L]ak Ch(u)[y][1] (Kh)i[2] (R)i[y[3] tn]as [na][4] tirtu[y[5] u]-
13. t [m]ānus(sa)[6] satta[ni]kāy (kiḍ)em[7] suṁ(n)eṅ
14. guṁloṅ ॥[8] u[t] b[n]aḥ sādh[u]jan guṁluṅ[9] or gr(ā)-
15. ṅ[10] ॥ o ॥ [n]āma[dh]eyyavasen'-e[v]a silāle-
16. khā 'ya[m]=uttamā (ta)pi[t]ā[11] dhammarājena ma-
17. hāpuñamatiddhinā[12] ti ॥ o ॥ ৺

Translation.

A

Prosperity! Honour to the Blessed One, the Saint, the Truly Omniscient! The origin (of the king of the Law?) . . . . . (l. 4) . . . . . the origin (of the king of the Law?) . . . . . .[13]

At (l. 7) the time when life (lasted?)[14] for twenty thousand years the Lord Buddha Kassapa came into existence in this world and my lord found a resting place at the city of Benares and then dwelt in the Isipatanamigadāwanamahāwihār.[15] At that time our lord (l. 11) this (present) king of the Law[16] was a wealthy man who had property amounting to eighty *koṭi's*.[17] He made offerings, observed (the

[1] Or possibly *Chday*, which seems unlikely. [2] The initial consonant is somewhat doubtful.

[3] The initial consonant might possibly be N or D. It is also possible that these two syllables form one word; in fact until it is ascertained whether this part of the proper name consists of Burmese words, much of it must remain dubious. It does not appear to be Môn in any case. IV has a different name here, which (after *Mahānirbbān*) apparently reads *ā . . b . gālik* . (or °*ka* or °*k*). I cannot restore or explain it.

[4] IV probably has *tnas=na*. [5] IV probably has *tirtāy*. [6] IV has *mānus* or perhaps *manus*.

[7] IV seems to read *kiḍem* also, but in both texts there is a subscript sign rather like *u*, curved to the left, quite distinct in III but by no means certain in IV, where the mark may be merely accidental. This mark is hard to explain. It might be an irregular way of writing *kiḍuem*, but if there is such a word I have not succeeded in tracing it elsewhere. One is tempted to read *kiñcem*, which would make tolerable sense, but I find no *ñc* written in this fashion. Conceivably the initial might be *t*, but *k* seems more probable, and possibly (but improbably) one might read *i* instead of *i*. These uncertainties also throw doubt on the identity of the next word.

[8] IV omits ॥. [9] IV has *guṁloṅ*. [10] IV has *graṅ*, the usual and correct spelling.

[11] Or possibly *ṭhāpitā*. IV may have one or other of these readings, or possibly *thāpitā*. It should be *ṭhapitā*.

[12] IV has *mahāppuña°*, unless the extra stroke is accidental. The *ñ* should be doubled, but there is no trace of doubling visible in our texts.

[13] This Pāli exordium was evidently on the lines of I A 2-3, but somewhat longer. So much of it is illegible that it has not been considered possible to make a satisfactory conjectural restoration.

[14] There is an illegible word here, but the general sense is clear, the reference being to the period in which the normal duration of human life, according to Buddhist ideas, extended to the length mentioned. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 678.

[15] The great monastery of the deer park of Isipatana, near Benares. [16] See I G 3 tr. n.

[17] In Indian reckoning a *koṭi* is ten millions, but L.M. *kuit* is only a hundred thousand. The point is not very material, particularly as the value of the unit is not specified. I imagine that the *kārṣāpaṇa* may be the one implied.

THE MYAKAN INSCRIPTION OF MYANPAGAN, PAGAN.

C D



precepts of) virtue,[1] did pious deeds of divers kinds under the dispensation[2] of the Lord Buddha Kassapa (l. 14) (and) having lived to the term of his life (he) departed from thence (and) came into existence in a family of kings[3] in the city of Patna.

At that time a great hostile army arose: that army our lord the king of the Law, who had come to be King of Patna, defeated (signally?)[4]; and then, after giving happiness to all the people, making offerings, observing (the precepts of) virtue, doing pious deeds of divers (l. 20) kinds, (and) carrying out the ten duties of a king, and after living to the term of his life, (he) departed from thence (and) came into existence in the family of King Rāma in the city of Oude.

At that time, too, a great hostile army came to . . . . . .[5] the city of Oude. That army (l. 24) our lord the king of the Law, who was (then) of the family of King Rāma, defeated (signally?),[6] and then, after giving happiness to all the people, making offerings, observing (the precepts of) virtue, doing pious deeds of divers kinds, (l. 27) (and) after having lived to the term of his life, (he) departed from thence; (and) in the time of the coming of our lord the Buddha Sākyamuni[7] he was[8] the sage Bisnū, who had[9] supernatural power (and) glory, who possessed[10] the five transcendental faculties, who dwelt upon

B

a silver (mountain?)[11] named Kelāsaparwwata.

At that time the Lord Buddha Sākyamuṇi[12] (directed his mind to?)[13] the perception of things unknown, (and) my lord saw the sage Bisnū, who was to

[1] That is, he kept the ethical commandments of religion.

[2] Lit. "in the religion" (or "ordinance"). V has no stop before this clause but it might perhaps be read with what follows, *i.e.* "(and) having lived to the term of his life under the dispensation of the Lord Buddha Kassapa," etc., though this seems less likely.

[3] Or "in the family of the king," *i.e.* the local royal family, which is what is meant in any case. There is no plural particle to *smiṅ*, but Môn words are in their nature indeterminate as regards number.

[4] The reading is doubtful and the rendering conjectural.

[5] The doubtful word in the text may be a preposition meaning "to," or alternatively a verb probably meaning "to attack," or something of that kind. Either way the general sense of the passage is plain.

[6] See A 18 n.

[7] V, perhaps, "the coming into existence of the Lord Buddha Sakyamuni."

[8] Or "became," *i.e.* "came into existence as."

[9] V has "who was great in."

[10] Or "acquired."

[11] There is an illegible word or two here, but the sense must have been pretty much as given. The mountain referred to is Kailāsa, a more or less legendary peak in the Himalayas, also known as Rajatādri, "silver mountain." The fact of Bisnū's residence there is not mentioned in the other group of inscriptions concerned with him, but for Buddha's prophecy to Ānanda see I A 15-37 and VI 9-end.

[12] V has *Sakyamuni*.

[13] The words thus rendered are almost illegible and very doubtful, but the general sense must be something of the kind.

become (l. 5) a[1] king of the Law in the city of Arimaddanapūr, (and) who would uphold my lord's religion: my lord was pleased (and) happy, (and) my lord smiled.

At that time (l. 8) from my lord's four eyeteeth four rays (whose size extended to four *tāl's ?*),[2] (and) which each[3] had six colours, they[4] (flew ?)[5] throughout (the expanse of ?)[6] the universe. Two of the rays went coursing (l. 12) right[7] up to Brahmalok, (the other) two rays went coursing right down to Awīcimahānarak.[8] Thus did all those six-coloured rays go coursing (and) (travelling ?)[9] (l. 16) to all the ten[10] cardinal points, and then entered the Lord Buddha's mouth[11] again.

At that time the Lord Ānanda[12] saw the laughter[13] of (l. 19) the Lord Buddha which (was accompanied by ?)[14] such a wondrous miracle, (and he) marvelled (and) zealously did obeisance,[15] (with bended ?)[16] knees (and) joined hands, (and) looking upon the face of the Lord Buddha, which was like a golden mirror, (he) enquired the reason (l. 24) of the Lord Buddha's smile in this wise:—

"Lord of heaven![17] Without cause Buddhas do not laugh[18]: what reason (was there) that[19] my lord laughed[20]?" "O Ānanda, (it was) because (l. 28) I

[1] Or possibly "the," and so elsewhere where the phrase occurs, *e.g.* B 29, C 11. There is no material difference, it is only a question of how much stress is to be laid on the fact that it is the actually reigning monarch that is being referred to. In the absence of any demonstrative I prefer the rendering with the indefinite article. Contrast A 11, where the reference is definitely emphasized by a demonstrative.

[2] The reading is doubtful and the translation somewhat conjectural. It may be doubted whether it does not involve a rather strained use of the relative particle *ma*. The word rather doubtfully read *tāl* has been conjecturally identified with L.M. *tā*, "a measure of length equal to seven cubits," the cubit being 18 inches, so that the *tā* would be 3½ yards. The weak point of the identification is that Burmese also has the word: unless, therefore, Burmese has borrowed it from Môn, we are hardly entitled to assume the identity of *tāl* with *tā*, even supposing the former to be the reading of our text. However, I can suggest nothing better. It is to be supposed that the rays of light are regarded as broadening out to this size when they issued from Buddha's mouth: in length they were practically without limit.

[3] The distributive seems to be indicated by the doubling of the numeral.

[4] The pleonastic pronoun is in the original. [5] Doubtful reading.

[6] There is some slight doubt as to the reading and the identity of the word, but I incline to the view that it is to be considered the same as L.M. *alum*. The words in brackets are not intended to do more than emphasize the sense of completeness. [7] I imagine this to be the emphatic force of the particle *mleḥ*.

[8] The great hell Avīci, the lowest of the eight hot hells. [9] Reading somewhat doubtful, but probable.

[10] No doubt the usual eight together with the zenith and nadir.

[11] Though there may be some doubt as to the reading, there is none as to the meaning. Cf. I A 24, VI 13.

[12] III and IV (so far as extant) use the abbreviated form *Āṇan*, but V consistently uses *Ānanda*. These abbreviations of proper names and loanwords are characteristically Indo-Chinese, but at this early period they seem to have been somewhat irregularly used; they alternated with the fuller, Indian, forms.

[13] In V, "smile." [14] The reading is doubtful and the rendering conjectural.

[15] The original word appears to be a substantive used adjectivally, as it were "obeisance of zeal," that is "zealous obeisance," but it is more convenient to render it by an adverb. Cf. I G 24.

[16] The reading is somewhat doubtful, but the general sense is plain.

[17] At this point begins the extant portion of IV, but its variants seldom affect the translation.

[18] V seems to have "smile," as has I A 28.

[19] Or "what (was) the reason that." A slight doubt as to the reading here does not affect the sense.

[20] V has "smiled."

saw the sage Bisnū, who is great in supernatural power, who is to become a king of the Law, who will uphold my religion: that (was)

C

why I laughed.[1]" The Lord Buddha having spoken thus, my lord related the origin of the king of the Law to (l. 3) the Lord Ānanda in this wise:—

"O Ānanda, in the year when I shall achieve Nirvāṇa[2] the sage Bisnū, together with my son Gawaṁpati, and King Indra,[3] and Bissukarmma, and Kata-karmmanāgarāja,[4] shall build a city (l. 6) called Śrī Kṣet,[5] and after that (he)[6] shall depart from thence (and) shall go into existence[7] in Brahmalok.

"Then all the devas shall invite (him) to go down (and) become a king of the Law on this great earth.[8] (l. 9) At what time shall he come down into existence? A thousand six hundred (and) thirty years from my achievement of Nirvāṇa, at that time shall he become king of the Law in the city of Arimaddanapūr. Upon a *pañcaprāsāda*[9] (l. 12) adorned with twenty-eight royal chambers, on a jewelled throne inlaid with stone of azure hue, (he) shall receive the anointing of the head with Indra's anointment.[10] (He) shall bear the name (of) King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. (He) shall purify (and) make straight, write down (and) establish[11] all the Holy Scriptures. (l. 16) (He) shall proclaim[12] (and) voice[13] the Law, which[14] is even as a resounding[15] drum. (He) shall arouse all the people that are slumbering carelessly.[16] (He) shall[17] stand steadfast in the observance of the commandments at all times.

[1] V has "smiled." [2] This date does not occur in the corresponding passage I A 30-3.
[3] III and IV use the usual abbreviated form *In*, V has *Indra*. [4] IV has *Kaṭa°*.
[5] An abbreviated form of *Śrī Kṣetra*, the old name of Prome: for another variant see I A 33. VI 20 has the full form. [6] *I.e.* Bisnū. [7] Lit. "to be." [8] Merely the idiomatic Môn way of saying "on earth."
[9] A temporary structure specially built for the ceremony of anointment and consisting of a central pavilion surrounded by four others. The word (under the form *panchapĕrsada*) is still used in Malay for the pavilion constructed to serve as a place for the ceremonial ablutions performed after a royal wedding.
[10] I imagine this does not denote any additional ceremony but rather the supernatural grace conferred by the solemn anointment: in the chronicles Indra is represented as taking part in the anointment of some of the kings.
[11] That is to say, he is to issue a revised edition of the Buddhist Canon. Cf. VIII A 3. V adds "(and) shall uphold" to the other verbs. [12] Or "impart."
[13] The meaning is not absolutely certain, though the simile supports it. The idea is that the king makes the Law vocal, causes it to be heard.
[14] This particle is in IV and V, though not in III. It seems necessary to the sense.
[15] The precise meaning is not determined.
[16] There are two words, identical in form in L.M., one meaning "to sleep" and the other "to delight in." I prefer the former here, but conceivably one might interpret the passage as meaning "who delight in carelessness." Further, it is not absolutely certain that "carelessness" is the correct equivalent of *abāy*.
[17] Conceivably we might read "to" instead of "he shall" and treat what follows as dependent upon the preceding sentence: no pronoun is expressed. On the other hand IV and V insert a stop, which tends rather against such an interpretation.

"(He) shall[1] open the bar of the gate of Heaven, which is made of gold that shines, which is set with gems of seven kinds; and[2] shall bring (l. 20) all mankind into Heaven. (He) shall empty the four Apāy,[3] (he) shall drop drown[4] the flower of the Law upon the heads of all mankind. When the king of the Law shall preach the Law, the sounds of applause of all men[5] (shall be) like the sound (l. 24) of a rainstorm (at) the end[6] of the year." Thus by the Lord Buddha was foretold the origin of the king of the Law to the Lord Ānanda.

As by the Lord Buddha was foretold, (so) (l. 27) has all come to pass.[7] The king of the Law, who was foretold by the Lord Buddha, who[8] is great in love (and) compassion towards . . . . . .[9] all beings,—to the end that all beings

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may obtain happiness, bliss, (and) plenty, (and) be free from famine of tillage,[10]—(in) every place that lacks water, lacks (l. 3) arable land, lacks strenuous cultivation,[11] our lord the king of the Law dams[12] the water, digs a tank, (and thus) creates arable land (and) (l. 6) strenuous cultivation.[13]

At the time when King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarājarājādhirājaparamiswarabalacakkrāwar,[14] the exalted, who rides upon a male white elephant, who was foretold by the Lord (l. 10) Buddha, the omniscient (one), the Bodhisatva,[15] had dug this tank, he gave (it) the name of Mahānirbbān Lak Chuy Khi Riy,[16]

1 V perhaps has "shall draw open." Cf. I C 1, VI 30.
2 V perhaps has "and shall be (he) that shall," etc. 3 See I D 37 n., VI 31.
4 Or perhaps "shall set." Cf. I E 9 n. 5 V has "all the people." 6 V has "beginning."
7 At this point ends the agreement of V with III and IV. 8 The antecedent is the king.
9 The missing part probably meant "the host of" (in IV "the collection of"). Cf. D 13.
10 The rendering is not quite certain. 11 The rendering is conjectural.
12 The rendering is more or less conjectural. If the word *thin* has been rightly understood, the text literally says "dams (and) gives" (just as it says "digs (and) gives" in the next line). But possibly the phrase might be taken to mean "permanently secures," *i.e.*, "secures a permanent supply" of water.
13 Rendering conjectural, as above.
14 For the variants of this name, see note to D 8 of the text. The additions, over and above the usual name of the king in C 14-5 and in his inscriptions generally, mean "supreme king of kings, overlord, mighty universal monarch."
15 These descriptions must, I think, be taken as applicable to the king (in anticipation of his eventual achievement of Buddhahood), not to Buddha. The ascription of the qualities of a Buddha to a reigning sovereign is common in Buddhist countries. The ceremonial address "Living Buddha" is used in the Môn chronicles towards Môn kings, just as it was recently in China with reference to the Dowager Empress. Cf. V 43.
16 For other possible readings of this name and for the name given to the tank celebrated in IV, see the note to D 12 of the text.

(to be) for the benefit of all (l. 13) mankind, the congregation of beings, (and) all . . . . . [1] May all you good men understand.[2]

This excellent inscription was erected by the greatly meritorious, wise and powerful King of the Law.[3]

No. IV.

An Inscription found at Alanpagan, Pagan.

Descriptive Account.

42. Like the preceding, this inscription records the digging of a tank by order of King Kyansitthā, but evidently it was a different tank, for it bore a different name (see III D 12 n.). In all other respects No. IV, so far as it is preserved, is substantially a copy of No. III, and the variants that occur have been given in the notes to the text of the latter. One set of ink-impressions, consisting of two pieces, was supplied to me, together with a photograph of them. In any event the first half of the original record is missing and the remainder is a good deal damaged in several places and is on the whole in an indifferent state of preservation, pretty much like No. III. The space covered by lettering, as measured on the impressions, is as follows:—Piece A, height 3 ft. 4 in., breadth 1 ft. 7 in.; B, height 2 ft. 4 in., breadth 1 ft. 1½ in. The letters resemble in shape and size those of No. III, and the line-spacing is similar. Piece A contains 32 lines and begins:— ' (being doubtless the last letter of *tirla'* or *tarla'*) *ākaḥ* (= III B 25); and ends:—*tirley byādes* (= III C 26). Piece B contains 22 lines and begins: —*goḥ tluṅ* (= III C 26-7); and ends at the end of the record, corresponding with the end of III D. This inscription has served to restore or confirm certain words that were lost or doubtful in the preceding one.

No. V.

An Inscription in the Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

Descriptive Account.

43. This inscription is engraved on one face of a large stone (apparently a slab), the lettering being enclosed within a bordering line which at the top forms a flat curve, like a Tudor arch without a point to it. The original location of this

[1] I am unable to suggest a rendering for the two words at the end of D 13 unless the first one can be read *kiñcem*, in which case the phrase would perhaps mean "winged birds." But even if this reading is permissible, which seems more than doubtful, there is little appositeness in this mention of birds after and apart from the whole collection of sentient creatures.

[2] Cf. I H 4-12, V 49-51.

[3] For the rendering of this last paragraph (which is in Pāli) I am indebted to Professor C. Duroiselle.

record is unknown to me. Apparently it originally contained about 55 lines, possibly more; but of the first five (corresponding with III A 1–9) hardly anything is legible, and nothing after l. 55, which may however have been the last line. The ends of most of the lines are also seriously damaged. But a good part of the lettering is in a pretty fair state of preservation, rather better than that of the two preceding inscriptions. Two ink-impressions were supplied to me, together with a photograph of one of them. The space covered by lettering, as measured on the impressions, is as follows:—height, 6 ft. 2 in.; extreme breadth, 2 ft. 11 in. The letters resemble in shape those of No. III and are very nearly of the same size; if anything, they are slightly smaller and perhaps a little more delicately cut, but that may be due to the stone being of a different kind. The normal line-spacing is the same as in No. III. Down to *ut mleḥ* ॥ in l. 42 (corresponding with III C 27), No. V is almost a copy of No. III, but at that point it entirely diverges from it. Accordingly it has not been considered necessary to give here the text or translation of ll. 1–41, as the variants occurring therein have been entered in the notes appended to No. III. Subject to slight variations, the proper names also are identical with those contained in the latter inscription. No. V records the restoration by King Kyansitthā of a pagoda styled (apparently) Kyāk Talaṅ. It seems probable that this pagoda was somewhere in the Môn country of Lower Burma, but in the absence of information as to the place where the inscription was found I am unable to say anything positive about it. A date in ll. 51-2 is probably either the date of the commencement or completion of the work of restoration, or else it may be the date on which the order was issued for the engraving of the inscription. It appears to correspond with Friday, 16th April 1098; the year number is in figures and of the Burmese common era. Another date in l. 54, which may be the actual date of the setting up of the inscription, is unfortunately too much mutilated to admit of determination. The bearing of the former date has been pointed out in §§ 27, 29. Apart from these particulars and a few new words, the chief importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it has served in certain cases to restore or confirm words that were lost or doubtful in No. III.

Text.

(The text of ll. 1–41 is identical with that of III A 1—C 26 save for the variants given in the notes appended to the latter.)

42. goḥ tluṅ das ut mleḥ ॥ yaṅ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarājarājādhirājaparamiswar balacakkrāwar puṁrey ॥ [ma pa yān ku]

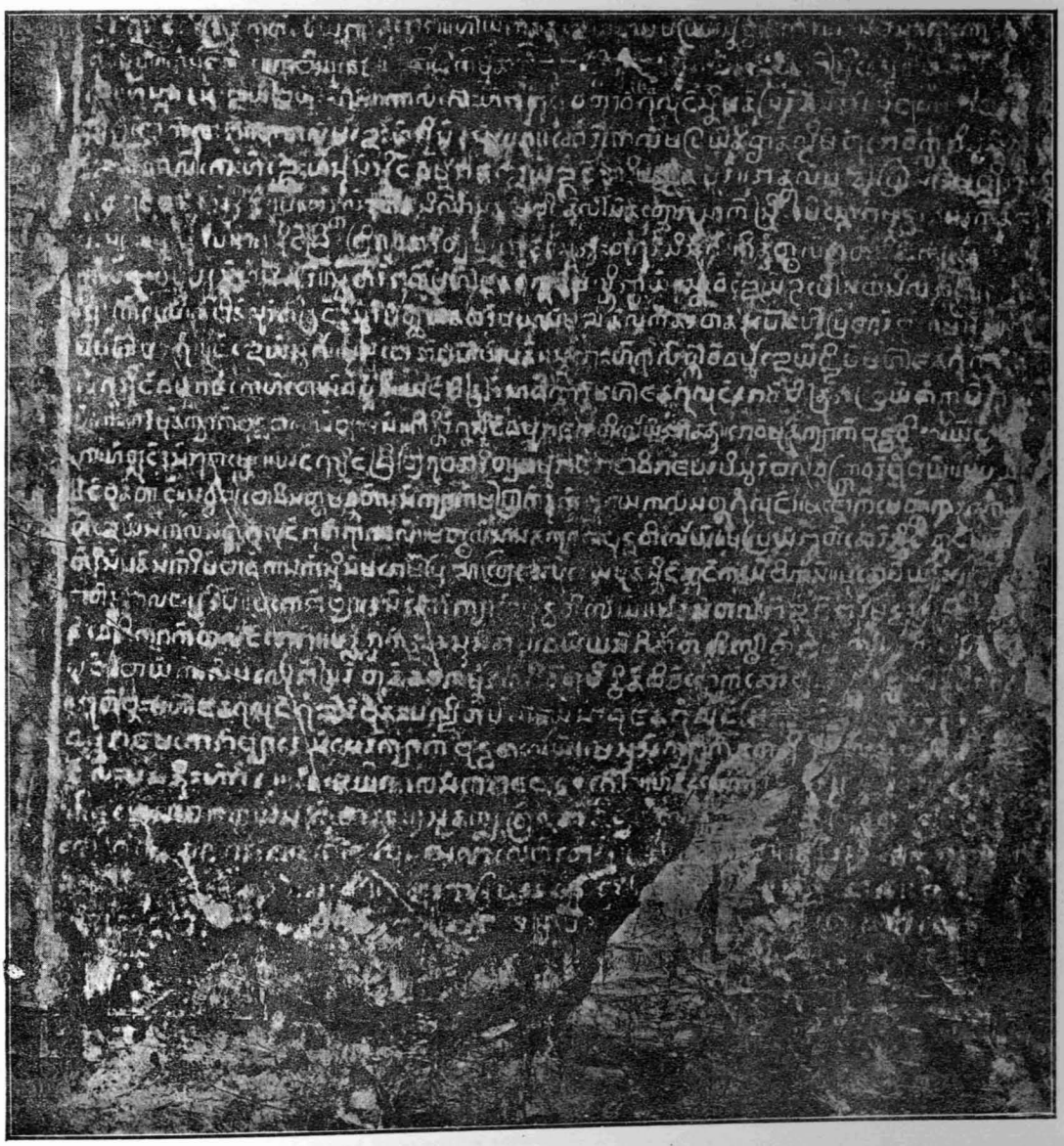
AN INSCRIPTION IN THE PHAYRE MUSEUM, RANGOON.

(TOP HALF)



AN INSCRIPTION IN THE PHAYRE MUSEUM, RANGOON.

(BOTTOM HALF)



43. ciṅ buntāṅ ॥ sarwwañu bodhisatta ma cmat sdas kyāk ma prāk nuk ut sakala saṫta gumluṅ ॥ ma jnok mettā karuṇā [u]-

44. ṫ ḍey sakala sātta gumluṅ ut ku kāl ॥ ma ṭhal sāsana kyāk Buddha tirley ॥ ma prey ut nor smiṅ c-āṅ ma . . . [u]-

45. t dis pan sak rimbāṅ ka sak smis ma nom prañā trejas pumrey mun smiṅ c-āṅ ka das bircās ॥ ma nom y[as] . . . . . .

46. ut sakala Jambudip ॥ ma go' byādes nor kyāk Buddha tirley ॥ ma das tarla' ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr . . . . . (ya)-

47. ṅ cetī Kyāk Tal(a)ṅ wo' ॥ ma rlaṁ rlāk dṅaḥ na sdas nāmadhey yas gir(n)āt (t)ilḅok ut lok k(u mahājan gumṅ)-

48. (lu)ṅ boy kāl (m)a lo' or tūn nawakarmma dak g(ī)w[1] tumi rbin thic jnok nor tlār . . . . bla[ḥ or busac] . . .

49. ॥ ut bnaḥ mahājan gumluṅ gumīr bumṇaḥ paṇḍit . . . . . .[2] sādhujan gumluṅ or gṛa[ṅ] (da) ॥ [wo' k](ụṁ das sm)i(ṅ)[3]

50. dharmmarāja ma go' byādes nor kyāk Buddha tarley ॥ ma sdas kyāk cmat . . . . . .[4]

51. ṅ laḥ pa sandiḥh gaṁ [da] ॥ ॥ ḍey kāl sakarāja[5] 460 goḥ ॥ han . . . . . .

52. ki[ntu b]esākha ॥ tney sukra[wār] ॥ hasṭa nakṣatra 4 nāḍī [tmin] . . . . . .

53. . . . . lek (wo' ॥) . . . . . .

54. . . . . [uttara]bhādra[pada nakṣatra] . . . . . .

55. . . . . [sthāpanā] . . . . . .

Translation.

(For the translation of ll. 1–41 and the first five words of l. 42, see III A 1—C 27, subject to the variants in the notes, ending at " has all come to pass.")

[1] Or *giw*.

[2] There is a word here that looks like *pichā . . y* (or *mi°*), but it comes just on a spot where two sheets (in both impressions) are joined and I cannot be sure of it.

[3] Of these words *kuṁ* is very doubtful, but the rest seem probable enough, though little of them is legible.

[4] Probably we should supply here some words like *ma prāk nuk sakala satta gumlu-*.

[5] There may be a *virāma*, possibly.

King Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarājarājādhirājaparamiswar,[1] the exalted mighty universal monarch, who rides upon (l. 43) a white elephant, the omniscient (one), the Bodhisatva, who shall verily become a Buddha that saves (and) redeems all beings, who is great in love (and) compassion for all beings at all times, who upholds the religion of the Lord Buddha, who is exalted above all other kings that (dwell in?) all (l. 45) the four quarters[2] without . . . . . ,[3] without[4] exception, who has wisdom (and) splendour exceeding other kings . . . . . ,[5] who has renown . . . . . (throughout?) the whole of Jambudip,[6] who was foretold by the Lord Buddha, who is lord of the city of Arimaddanapūr . . . . . : (l. 47) this pagoda of Kyāk Talaṅ,[7] which was in ruins, in order that it might become a name of renown (and) a (place of refuge?)[8] of all the world and all mankind[9] for a long time, (he)[10] caused workmen to build (and) encase (it) afresh firmly and fairly, bigger than before[11] . . . . , (and) had (it) dedicated . . . . . .[12]

(l. 49) May all you people in general, monks, Brahmins, scholars, ... , ,[13] all good men, understand that this is indeed the king of the Law who was foretold by the Lord Buddha, who is to become a true Buddha . . . . . : . . . . . :[14] (l. 51) doubt (it) not![15]

In the time of (the year) 460 of the common era, ...[16] (of the) month Besākha, the day (being a) Friday, Hasṭa[17] (being) the lunar mansion, at four *nāḍī* precisely,[18] . . . . . .

[1] See III D 8 tr. n. With the whole passage (to l. 46) cf. III C 27-9, D 6-10.

[2] The four cardinal points of the compass, and the regions situated in those several directions.

[3] The sense of *rimbāṅ* is undetermined.

[4] The sense of *ka sak* is not quite certain.

[5] The meaning of *ka das bircās* is undetermined.

[6] See I B 10 tr. n.

[7] It was, apparently, a *caitya* (*stūpa*) called by that name. The word *kyāk* is applied in L.M. to Buddha, images of Buddha, Buddhist religious edifices, particularly of this description, eminent personages, and objects of veneration in general. It is even used respectfully in the sense of "Sir" in conversation.

[8] The meaning and reading of *girnāt tilḥok* are not quite certain.

[9] The last three words are not quite certain but seem almost a necessary restoration of the more or less obliterated text.

[10] This resumes the subject, *i.e.* the king, who has been described with so many epithets in ll. 42-6.

[11] After repairing and strengthening what remained of the old structure, the king caused it to be covered externally with an additional layer of fresh material. This was a frequent practice in Burma: many of the existing pagodas have grown by successive acts of encasing to their present size from much smaller nuclei.

[12] The reading is somewhat doubtful here.

[13] There is a partly illegible word here, the sense of which is undetermined.

[14] The illegible phrase probably read much as in l. 43: "that redeems and saves all mankind."

[15] Cf. I H 43.

[16] The obliterated passage contained, *inter alia*, the statement of the lunar date, which was probably the 13th of the waxing moon in the lunar month Vaiśākha.

[17] Properly *Hasta*.

[18] One *nāḍi* is 24 minutes. Apparently the statement in the text means 96 minutes after sunrise on the day in question. As to the date, see § 43.

. . . . . (l. 53) . . . . . this writing[1] . . . .
. . . . . .
(l. 54) . . . . . Uttarabhādrapada (being) the lunar mansion, ...
(l. 55) . . . . . set up[2] . . . . .
. . . . . .

No. VI.

An Inscription found at the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome.

Descriptive Account.

44. This inscription is only a fragment of what must have been originally a very much longer record. It seems not impossible that it represents the beginning of the record of which No. VIII is a subsequent portion; and it is almost certain that it was framed on the same lines as No. VII, for it agrees with the latter almost *verbatim*, so far as it extends and so far as No. VII can be read at all. Unfortunately very little of No. VII is legible. What remains of No. VI is engraved on one face of a large stone slab, which has apparently been broken about the middle into two pieces. In a good many places the surface of the stone has also been seriously damaged, so that many letters are lost or quite illegible. But those that remain are clearly cut and well preserved on the whole. Two ink-impressions were supplied to me, together with a photograph of one of them. One of the two impressions has the two fragments separate: the space occupied upon them by the lettering is in the case of the upper fragment 3 ft. 7 in. in height by about 2 ft. 8 in. in breadth, the actual length of the lines being variable to the extent of an inch or so. The lower fragment, so far as occupied by lettering, is 2 ft. 6 in. in height and about 2 ft. 6 in. in breadth, the lines being here a trifle shorter than they are above. In the other impression the two fragments have been roughly pieced together, with some allowance for what is missing between them, and the total height thus arrived at is about 6 ft. 4 in., which is probably a fairly good approximation to the dimensions of the original. The letters resemble in general style and shape

[1] Presumably the reference is to the inscription itself.
[2] Probably this refers to the date on which the inscription was actually set up.

those of the preceding inscriptions but are very much larger: they measure about 1 in. in height, letter *t* is about 1 in. long, and the normal interlinear space is about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.

45. By the help of the other records it has been possible to restore a good many of the missing portions of this fragmentary inscription. Its general purport is to give the Kyansitthā legend in the less extended version (see §§ 25, 26). No special reason is given for the erection of the record save the king's own order that this panegyric should be engraved for general information (ll. 4-5). The inscription has been briefly referred to in my second paper on the Myazedī Record (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 797-812), and likewise in the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma* (1911), pp. 19-20, where a translation of a small part of it appears. It was also mentioned in the discussion summarized in § 28. But owing to the imperfect state of the only impression at that time available, the date in ll. 2–4 was wrongly read, a serious mistake being made in the year number, which is in figures.[1] As to this there can, however, be no doubt whatever that it is the year 455 of the common Burmese era, which therefore falls within the period of Kyansitthā's reign (§ 29). A further error was made in taking the word *Mrigasiras* (l. 2) for the name of a lunar month: it is practically certain that it here stands for a year-name of the Burmese 12-year cycle. The date falls within the waxing half of a month which is probably to be read *Srāwan* (this seems to be at any rate a possible reading of the almost illegible corresponding passage in No. VII), and there is no doubt as to the weekday and *nakṣatra*. It seems possible, though not absolutely certain, that the date when the king gave the order for the engraving of this record was June 3rd, A.D. 1093, but the precise day is not really very material from our present point of view, for there can be no serious doubt that the inscription is genuine and contemporary.

46. Apart from its date, No. VI adds little to the information given by the previous documents, except its insistence (ll. 23-5) on the king's pedigree, both paternal and maternal: Professor Duroiselle has suggested that this is not without significance in view of the doubts cast upon Kyansitthā's paternity in popular tradition (§ 23). No. VIII (B 16) also refers to the king's descent, though there the mention occurs in a Pāli passage. Paternally he claimed to be of the Solar race, thus asserting his legitimate descent from the Burmese royal line, which is the point whereon the legendary stories throw some doubt.[2] For the rest, No. VI presents parallels with the inscriptions already given. The proper names

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 853-6.

[2] As to this point, see § 52 (and note).

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

(TOP HALF)



are the same as elsewhere (§ 26), subject to some slight differences in spelling and to the fact that Pagan is mentioned by its native name (*Pokām*) as well as by its Pāli title (*Arimaddanapūr*). The inscription contains two short Pāli passages (ll. 1, 6–9) and in l. 22 the date A. Bud. 1630 (see §§ 28, 29).

47. The variants found in No. VII, so far as legible, have been given in the notes appended to No. VI.

Text.

1. (॥ śrī ॥) [namo] tassa [bh]agavato arahato sammāsambu[ddhassa]
2. (॥ ḍey) kāl saka[rāj](a cnām) [1] 455 ॥ mrigasiras [2] . . . . .[3] [mi]-
3. rmok [4] ki[ntu] (srāwan [5] ॥) tṅey sukrawār [6] ॥ uttaraphа[lg]u[ṇī na]-
4. [kṣatra ॥ kanya [7]] lagna ॥ smiṅ dharmmarāja myil abhiprāy or (sūl) [8]
5. [lār [9] girl]uṅ guṇa [10] jirku ma da(s na [11]) s-or mñaḥ [12] gumluṅ [graṅ] [13]
6. (॥ o ॥) [śrī ॥ o ॥ na]mo Buddhā[ya] ॥ namo dhammāya ॥ namo
7. [saṅghāya] [14] ॥ o [॥ aṅ]gīraso Sakyamu(ṇi) [15] sabbasattānukampa-
8. [ko ॥] [16] sabbasattuttamo [17] sīho [18] ॥ [19] rājuppattim [20] desa[yī] [21]
9. [ti] ॥ o ॥ nom ḍey moy [l]e[ḥ kāl] [22] kyāk Buddha ta[rl]e-
10. [y] tāw ḍe[y] Jeta[wana]mah[āwihār ।] kyāk [B]u[ddha] ta[rl]e-
11. y ktir k-im । [k]āl goḥ nor gnis tarley [23] yi[ryās]
12. turow [sāk ḍe]ḥ tit ār . . . . . blaḥ ḍeḥ (tun lop) [24]
13. ḍey mukhawār tarley kum । kāl goḥ t[arley Ānanda]
14. [ñāc] ascar goḥ yuk ku sumḥup tey smāñ gru[ṅ] . . .
15. . . . kyāk Buddha tarley goḥ [25] । kāl goḥ kyāk Buddha [tarle]-
16. [y gaḥ] [26] ku tarley Ānanda row [27] wo' । Ānanda [mnor ci ri]-

[1] Probable in VII. [2] VII may have °*gi*°.
[3] After a short illegible word VII apparently has ॥ which is probably followed by the lunar date in a figure. But the passage is badly blurred.
[4] Certain in VII. [5] Probable in VII. [6] Or °*ri*°.
[7] Certain in VII. [8] Probable in VII. [9] Certain in VII.
[10] Between *gu* and *ṇ* there is an original flaw. There is no *virāma* over the *ṇ* in VI and it is doubtful in VII.
[11] Possibly one might read *da san* or *das da* (or, improbably, *das ।*).
[12] After *mñaḥ* there is an original flaw. [13] Certain in VII.
[14] VII omits the whole of l. 6 and the first word of l. 7.
[15] Or °*ni* ॥. VII apparently has °*ni ।*. [16] VII has ।.
[17] Between *bba* and *sa* there is an original flaw. [18] VII may have *siho*. [19] VII has ।.
[20] There is no *virāma* visible. [21] VII seems to have °*yī*. [22] Certain in VII.
[23] Between *y* and *yi* there is an original flaw. VII seems to have *tirley*.
[24] Doubtful, but probable, both in VI and VII. Cf. I A 24, III A 16.
[25] VII has *goḥ*. [26] Certain in VII. [27] There is an original flaw here.

17. si [m]oy ma imo' Bi[s]nū ma go' abhiñā[ṇ [1] mṣ](u)[n [2] go]ḥ [3] [ṭ]
18. [kom] ku kon ey Gawaṁ[p]ati ṭ ku smiṅ In ṭ ku [Bi]ssu[karmma]-
19. d[e]wa[put ṭ ku Kaṭaka]r[mmanāga]rāja [4] ṭ skindaṁ ḍūṅ moy [ma]
20. [imo' Śrī] K[ṣ]etra blaḥ ci ṭ risi Bisnū goḥ scu[ti nor] (dirda)-
21. (s) [5] [go]ḥ ḍeḥ stin das ḍey Brahmalok ṭ kāl sāsana ey
22. [tlūṅ cup] moy ḷhim turow klaṁ pi cwas cnām ci ṭ ḍeḥ scuti cis [no]-
23. [r] Brahmalok ḍeḥ stlūṅ das nor ti[l]tol waṅsa ḅār ṭ amba [go]ḥ [da]-
24. [s] nor [ād]iccawaṅsa ṭ ambo' goḥ [das no]r waṅsa (kuṁ) . . . [6] ma tā[w]
25. pḍey (b) . . . . [7] d(ū)ñ [8] ṭ ḍe[ḥ [9] sd]as smiṅ dha(r)mmarāja ḍey ḍūṅ Po[k]ām=ma [i]-
26. [mo]' Arimad[danapūr] . . . . . [10] (m) [11] tarley arahan guṁluṅ ṭ ut [ku]
27. [pn]āñ [ca]tu(raṅga) . . . . (jiñjuṅ) pañcaprāsāt ṭ ḍe[y] an(tū)l [12] (sī)-
28. hās [13] . . . . . [14] (na) [ratna] puṁrey guṁluṅ ṭ sgo' [muddh]ābhi-[sek] . . .
29. . . . . (ās) tmo' ṭ [ḍeḥ syu]k [s]ās[ana ey ṭ ḍeḥ] . . .
30. . . . . [sjak lupok tiṇlūr tinraṅ s]warga ma tmūy [na rat]
31. . . . . (ku) [sakala sa](twa guṁluṅ) ṭ [ḍeḥ sluṅo]' ut [apḷy]
32. (pan ṭ) [sdas smiṅ] (dharmmarāja) . . . . . [15] (guṁ-luṅ)
33, 34. (Illegible.)

Translation.

Prosperity! Honour to the Blessed One, the Saint, the Truly Omniscient!

In the time of the year 455 of the common era, (being a) Mrigasiras (year), ... (on the . . . . th) of (l. 3) the waxing (half) of the month of

[1] VII may have °*n*. [2] Or *mṣūn*. [3] VII probably has *goh*.

[4] The parts in square brackets in the first half of this line have been restored from VII with the help of the other inscriptions. It is here (and in the second half of l. 20) that the break in VI occurs (§ 44).

[5] It is very doubtful whether *dirdas* should be supplied: on the one hand, VI has a lot of space to spare at the end of l. 20; on the other, the word is not in VII and the spare space may be due merely to the presence of the group of subscript letters in *skindaṁ ḍūṅ* just above.

[6] It is not clear whether what precedes is one word or two: it looks rather like *kuṁbāy* (or *tuṁbāy*) but the last half is very doubtful. Possibly it represents the proper name of the family of the king's mother, in which case I am unable to identify it. If it is a descriptive, I cannot attach a meaning to it.

[7] The missing word may be monosyllabic or dissyllabic. The final seems to be *ṅ*.

[8] Or possibly *duñ*. [9] There is perhaps an original flaw here.

[10] There may be an original flaw here, so that it is impossible to say exactly how much is missing.

[11] This final letter may possibly be *p*. Over the preceding unidentifiable consonant there is a mark which may be a superscript *r*. [12] Or *antul*, perhaps.

[13] The restoration of *si-* at the end of l. 27 is conjectural, but probable: cf. I C 12, III C 13.

[14] The missing words must have been something like *ma ñin lak* or *ma cincon*.

[15] Probably one should supply something like *ma nuk prāk sarwwasatwa*. Cf. V 43.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

(BOTTOM HALF)



(Srāwan?), the day (being a) Friday, Uttaraphalgunī (being) the lunar mansion, (and) Virgo (being) on the eastern horizon, the king of the Law[1] issued[2] an order to write down the full number of his virtues so that all men might understand (them).[3]

Prosperity! Honour to Buddha! Honour to the Law! Honour (l. 7) to the Church![4] The brilliant Sakyamuṇi, who has compassion upon all beings, the lion who is the most exalted of all beings, thus showed forth the origin of the king.[5]

It was once upon a time when the Lord Buddha was dwelling in the Jetawanamahāwihār,[6] (that) the Lord Buddha (l. 11) smiled. At that time, from my lord's eyeteeth rays of six colours issued forth (and) went . . . . . and then they (entered?) my lord's mouth again. At that time the Lord Ānanda, (l. 14) seeing this miracle, raised and joined his hands,[7] (and) asked (about) the laughter . . . . . of the Lord Buddha.

Then the Lord Buddha spake to the Lord Ānanda thus: "Ānanda, hereafter a sage named Bisnū, possessing the five transcendental faculties, (l. 18) together with my son Gawampati, and King In, and Bissukarmmadewaput, and Kaṭakarmmanāgarāja, shall build a city called Śrī Kṣetra; and after that, the sage Bisnū shall depart from that state of existence[8]; he (l. 21) shall go up into existence in Brahmalok.

"When my religion shall have attained one thousand six hundred and thirty years, he shall depart from Brahmalok; he shall come into existence (as the scion) of two families: his father shall be (l. 24) of the Solar line, his mother of a . . . . . family that dwells within . . . . . (of) bamboo.[9] He shall become king of the Law in the city of Pokām, that is (otherwise) named Arimaddanapūr

[1] Cf. I G 3 tr. n., III A 11.

[2] The rendering is inferred from the context.

[3] This rendering conveys the sense and purport of the original, but rather evades its difficulties. It is not quite clear to me whether *ma* refers to *guṇa* or *abhiprāy*. If one should read *san*, presumably the meaning would be somewhat emphasized ("his excellent virtues"), but otherwise much the same. It is possible to interpret *guṇa* as "good deeds," rather than "good qualities" merely; but that change would not seriously affect the sense.

[4] VII omits these ejaculations.

[5] Cf. I A 2-3.

[6] See I A 16 tr. n., and for the passage generally cf. I A 13-36, III B 2—C 26.

[7] In respectful address, venerating Buddha. Cf. I A 26, III B 21-22.

[8] VII merely has "from thence," and perhaps that is also the reading of VI.

[9] It is unfortunate that the passage relating to the king's maternal descent is blurred. From VIII B 16 it appears that she was of the Vilva line, so named from a certain fruit of that name (L.M. *bī*, "Bengal quince"). The reference to "bamboo" here is obscure, and even the rendering may be doubtful. Can there have been some confusion in the draftsman's mind between *beluva* (the *bī* fruit) and *veṇu*, *veḷu*, "bamboo"? It seems hardly likely; but I can offer no definite explanation of the passage.

. . . . . all the Saints [1] together with all (l. 27) the army, of the four arms,[2] . . . . . .[3] (the pillars ?) of (his) *pañcaprāsāda*.[4] Upon a throne (adorned with ?) all (sorts of) noble gems, he shall receive the anointing of the head . . . . . (a seat of ?) stone.[5] He shall uphold [6] my religion. He . . . . . shall draw open the bar of the gate of Heaven, which is made of gems (l. 31) . . . . . (for ?) all (manner of) beings. He shall empty all the (four ?) Apāy.[7] He shall be a king (of the Law, who shall redeem and save all beings ?)." [8]

No. VII.

ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

Descriptive Account.

48. This inscription is engraved on one side of a large stone slab. One ink-impression of it was sent to me, but no photograph. The space formerly occupied by lettering on the stone, as measured on the impression, is 5 ft. 1 in. in height by 3 ft. 11 in. in breadth; the letters are in shape like those of the preceding records, their normal height is about $\frac{5}{8}$ in., letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad, and the interlinear space is normally 1 in. The inscription is in a most deplorable condition and would hardly be legible at all if it were not for the help afforded by No. VI and the other records. The first dozen lines or so are more or less decipherable with that help, but even these are badly weathered and damaged, while below them the whole central part of the inscription appears to have flaked off and has perished irretrievably. In this part only the beginnings of some of the lines and the ends of a few are dimly discernible and towards the bottom nothing whatever can be read, except perhaps here and there an isolated and doubtfully decipherable letter or two. What is legible of this record agrees substantially with the text of No. VI so far as the latter extends; the few trifling variants have been given in the notes appended to the latter text. Of the

[1] That is, the Buddhist monks.

[2] The reading is doubtful but probable; if correct, it refers to the traditional four divisions of an Indian army (horse, foot, elephants, and chariots, as exemplified in the old form of chess, the original war game).

[3] The gap here and in the preceding line makes it impossible to give a continuous rendering, but it seems likely that the meaning of the passage is that the clergy and the army are to be the supports of the king's throne, figuratively speaking.

[4] See III C 11 tr. n.

[5] Owing to the *lacuna*, it is not clear whether this refers to the same stone as III C 13, but it seems likely. It would appear that in the ceremony of anointment the king sat upon a special stone.

[6] See I A 36 tr. n.

[7] Cf. I D 37, III C 20-1.

[8] Conjectural: cf. V 43. Then follow two quite illegible lines.

remainder no continuous restoration can be attempted. Lines 1–13 cover the same ground as ll. 1–30 of No. VI to the word *lupok* (inclusive). The legible portions of the rest are as follows (doubtful parts being in parentheses) :—

14. *tinlūr tinraṅ swarga ma tmūy na* (*rat*), " the bar of the gate of Heaven, which is made of gems "; *u*(16)*t mahājan guṁluñ*, " all the people " (or " all mankind ") ; 17. . . . ı *ut*, " all "; 18. . . . . (*nom*), " is " (or " was ") ; 20. (*r moy*), " one " ; 21. (' *ḍey ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr*), " in the city of Pagan "; 23. (. *ṅ goḥ sā* . . . .), " that . . . . " ; (end) . . . *ñ* . . ; 24. . . (*ḍey rājasthān*), " in the palace "; 25. (end) . . . . *skaḥ sak upadrow* ı *sgir* (26) *tinhir na Buddha* (*dharmma saṅgha*), " shall be free from calamity ; shall shine with (the grace of) Buddha, the Law, and the Church "; 27. . . . . (*ratna trey*), " the Precious Gems "; 28. (towards the end) *nirbbān* . . . . . (*cnis*) . . . . ı *row goḥ* (29) (*kyāk Buddha*), " Nirvāṇa . . . . . haven . . . . . Thus, did the Lord Buddha " (presumably we should add " prophesy," in which case this would be the end of the Buddha's prophecy concerning the king in this version, corresponding generally with I A 36 and III C 24) ; 29. (near the end) (*ma das smiṅ dharmmarāja*) . . . . . , " who is a king of the Law " ; 31. (end) . . . (*didap*) . . . , " every " ; 33. (end) . . . . . (*guṁluṅ*) *smiṅ* (*tlūṅ*), " all . . . . . princes come." Lines 34-8 are altogether illegible.

49. Apart from a few words near the beginning which have helped to fill up gaps in the text of No. VI, No. VII owing to its bad state of preservation has been entirely useless for my purpose.

No. VIII.

A THIRD INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

Descriptive Account.

50. Next to the great Shwezigôn inscription (No. I), this is perhaps the most interesting of the early records and it is much to be regretted that it has only come down to us in its present fragmentary and dilapidated condition. An ink-impression of it was sent to me several years ago at the same time as one of No. VI and before I had become acquainted with No. VII : consequently No. VIII has been previously mentioned as the second of the Shwesandaw inscriptions and is thus referred to in several *Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma* (viz. 1911, p. 20 ; 1912, p. 15 ; 1916, pp. 21-2), and in *J.R.A.S.*,

1910, pp. 796–812. The inscription is engraved on both sides of a large stone slab, but the beginning is missing and must have been on some other stone (conceivably it is No. VI); and the end, if it is on our stone (which is doubtful) is unfortunately quite illegible. It is not even absolutely certain which of the two faces precedes the other: the ends of both are more or less obliterated and therefore their connexion is by no means clear. However, I am disposed to think that what I have called Face A precedes the other face. The former is the better preserved, though much is lost, especially the beginnings of several of the earlier lines. Face B is throughout in a deplorably bad state and becomes absolutely undecipherable towards the end. Two sets of ink-impressions of this record were sent to me, together with photographs of one set. The lettering on both faces is bordered as in No. V by a line, which in this case also forms a flat curve at the top of the inscription. The space covered by lettering on either face is in height 4 ft. 1 in., in extreme breadth 4 ft. The letters do not differ in shape materially from those of the preceding inscriptions, their normal height is $\frac{3}{4}$ in., letter *t* is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. in length, and the interlinear space is 1 in.

51. From what remains of this inscription it may be presumed that it belonged to the group of records which represent the less extensive version of the Kyansitthā legend. Buddha's prophecy is mentioned in B 14, in B 22 Gawaṁpati is made to exhort Bisnū, while in B 24 Indra, accompanied by the celestial architect and the Nāga king, invites the sage to take up the burden of his glorious destiny. In this detail the record differs from the preceding ones: nothing is said elsewhere of Indra being accompanied on this occasion by these two minor personages. But the chief interest of the inscription lies elsewhere, namely in the enumeration of King Kyansitthā's achievements as king at Pagan. Herein are to be specially noted the erection of a building, presumably of a sacred character (A 1-2), the revision of the Buddhist Canon (A 3), the mission to India with funds for the restoration and endowment of the temple at Bodh Gayā (A 4-8: and see § 24), liberality to the monks (A 8-9), relations with other princes and in particular with a certain "Colī" prince (§ 24), whom the king claims to have converted to Buddhism (A 10-4) and who in return appears to have come to do obeisance in great state, bringing (as it would seem) a number of magnificent presents and one of his daughters for the king's acceptance (A 15-6). This episode is followed in the record by details of the offerings made by the people of Pagan and its neighbourhood on festive occasions of a religious character, and stress is laid here (as in some of the other inscriptions) on the fact that the king himself delivered

didactic addresses to his subjects, who appreciated them highly (A 24-5: cf. I E 10-4, III C 22-4). The greater part of the remainder of the record appears to deal with religious festivals, but much of it is unfortunately almost illegible. In B 2-5 there is an interesting passage illustrating, as it would appear, the Buddhist doctrine of kindness to animals. Much of it is undecipherable, but it seems that certain birds were the objects of the king's special favour and enjoyed his protection, while from B 8-9 it may be inferred that animals in general were secured generous treatment and some provision of food. A strong tinge of ethical and religious sentiment pervades the inscription, blending curiously with the monarch's laudation of himself and his performances.

52. In B 15–21 there is a set of Pāli verses, in the reading and interpretation of which Professor Duroiselle has been kind enough to give me his valuable assistance. They amount to a brief panegyric on the king and specially mention his paternal and maternal descent (cf. VI 23-5 and § 46). In explanation of the epithet of the king's mother, referring to her ancestry, Duroiselle sent me the following abstract of the Burmese legend on the subject:—"King Anoratha was not feeling satisfied with only the mother of Sawlu as his Chief Queen, so he sent a minister to Vesālī, the modern Besarh in India. Now the king of Vesālī had seven daughters; the eldest became a nun. One day, she planted a *bilva* tree; in due course it bore fruits, one of which was as big as a Pegu jar. A girl was born from it, whom the nun made over to the king; the latter called the child Ruciyapabhāvatī. He gave her in marriage to the *uparāja* (whether the latter was his brother or his son is not made clear).[1] From this union was born a child who was named Pañcakalyāṇī. It was Pañcakalyāṇī whom Anoratha's minister asked for" (on his royal master's behalf). The rest of the story, in a slightly variant version, has been briefly abstracted in § 23. It only remains to be noted that there are various little differences in detail between the two, which however are not material to our purpose. Students of folklore will be familiar with the theme of the birth of a child from a vegetable substance (a few instances of which have been collected in the Notes to Winstedt and Blagden's *Malay Reader* (1917), pp. 182-3). It is a widespread legend and is probably of totemistic origin: families took their names from particular plants, held them in reverence, and imagined themselves to be descended from them. It is, no doubt, possible that the legend of this particular miraculous birth was invented, as Duroiselle suggests, by King Kyansitthā himself in order that in spite of the doubts cast on his

[1] Apparently he was alleged to be the son: see the *Report* cited in the following note.

paternity he might still be considered as a man of no common birth. But to me that sounds a less probable explanation. Duroiselle adds that it is clear from his stone portrait in the Ānanda temple that he was not a pure Burman; and there seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that he had an Indian mother, whoever his father may have been.[1]

53. It does not appear from what is left of this record whether it was made to commemorate any special occasion or was merely a royal panegyric engraved for general information. Nor is there any precise evidence as to its date. The proper names call for no particular remark. From the linguistic point of view the record is not without value, as it contributes a few interesting forms; but its dilapidated condition has very seriously impaired its utility in that respect. It concludes the important group of inscriptions which embody the royal legend of Kyansitthā.

Text.

A

1. . . . (smiṅ) [Śrī] Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ pa tūy da goḥ ma ñin kindaṁ Nirbbāna(m)ūlabajr(apa)r(yaṃahāwihār) [2]
2. . . . . ḍey sthān Jayabhūmi ma tāw boy esān ḍūṅ Pokā[m]=ma imo' [Arimad]da[nap]ūr ı goḥ ci smiṅ [c-āṅ]
3. [sak das smoḥ] (kuṁ) [3] [ı blaḥ] goḥ yaṅ piṭak trey pi wo' ma liṅ dindan [ār goḥ ı ñi]n [t]ū[n] pko(m [4] juṁwan)[5] [cu]aḥ tū[n] ı (goḥ ci)
4. [smin c-āṅ sak das] smoḥ kuṁ ı blaḥ goḥ yaṅ kyāk trey Śrī Bajrās (pi) tr(u)k bla(ṅ) [6] p[l]iñ [m]an smiṅ [c-āṅ] k . . . s [7] . . . ikā [8] goḥ (ı smiṅ)

[1] The chronicles of Arakan, however, appear to prove that the Vesālī in question was in that country, not in India proper, and that if Kyansitthā had Indian blood in his veins he derived it indirectly, through an Arakanese mother; and, further, that the scandal as to his doubtful legitimacy has no historical foundation (*Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, 1918, paras. 39, 40).

[2] The last part of this proper name is very doubtful, *wihār* being entirely conjectural.

[3] This phrase is conjecturally restored on the strength of the other passages where it is clearly legible. The only real doubt is as to the particle *kuṁ*, which may not be needed if the phrase occurs here for the first time.

[4] The final letter might be *p*.

[5] Very doubtful, though it seems a tenable reading.

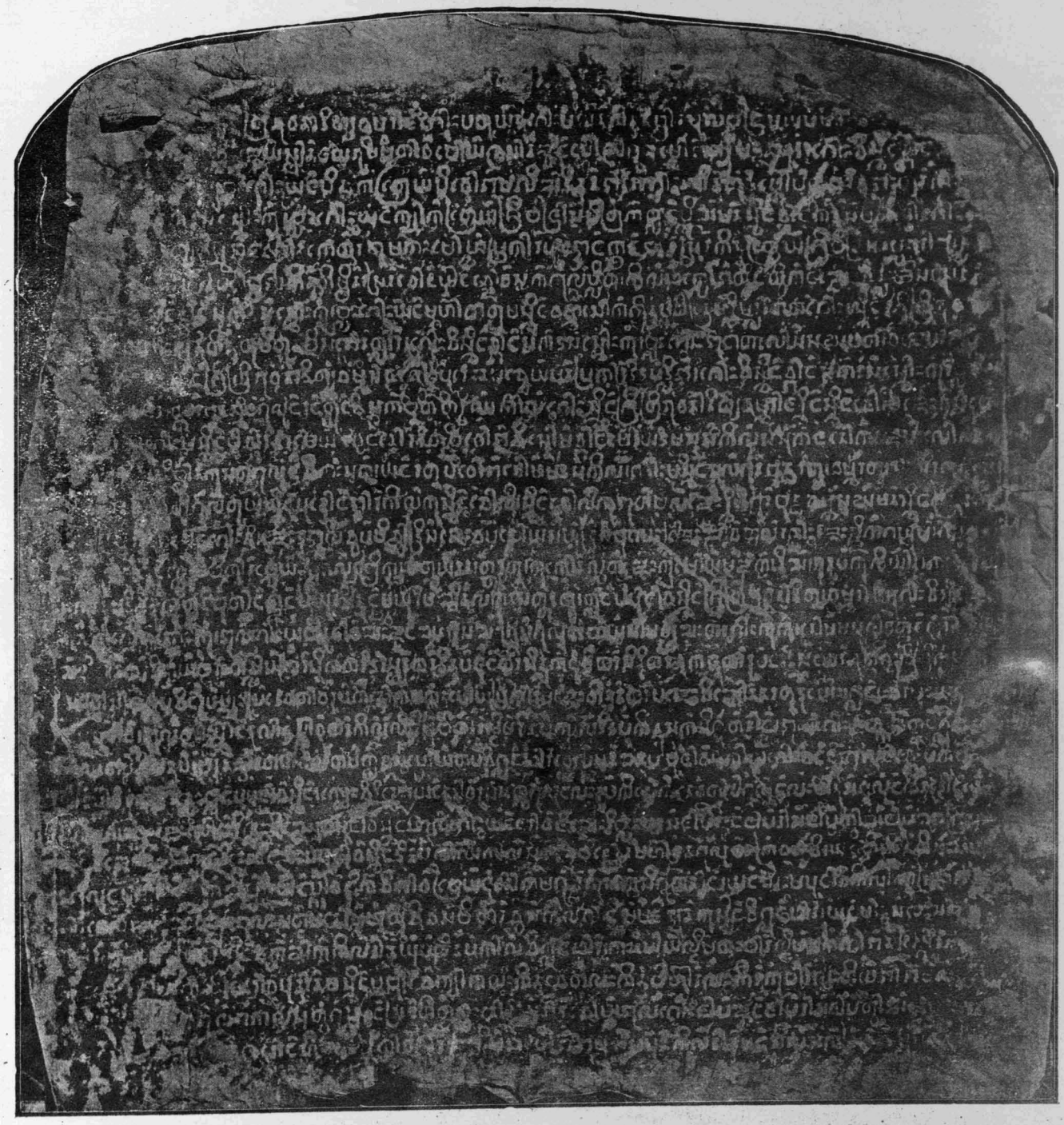
[6] The reading is doubtful, the word looks rather like *blaḥ*, which can hardly be right here.

[7] Looks like *kadas*. Cf. V 45.

[8] Looks like *paṭikā*, though the first consonant might be *m* and the second possibly *ch*.

A THIRD INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

A



5. [Śrī Tribhuwanādi]tyadhammarāja goḥ ket ra[tn]a ma kaḥ moy prakār p(u)ndoṅ [1] kḥaṅ (ār) or kindaṁ [t]rey Śrī Bajrās b[l]aḥ [ı] rā[ñ] . . .
6. . . . . (kīr kumbā)r [2] ı (k)inda(p) [3] t[i bṅ]a' ı [k]i[n]daṁ [t]imbin ı or coṅ pnāṅ cḍow sak k(u)l [4] plit ı kil pha[ṁ] klo' [twi]ṅ tw[i]k j[i]ñjeḥ [rinleḥ] khis (tūn nor) [5]
7. (tlār [6] ı goḥ ci) [smi]ṅ c[-āṅ] sa[k] das [s]moḥ [k]uṁ ı blaḥ goḥ yaṅ mahā-(w)ā(tth)u [7] ma smiṅ Dharmmāsok kindaṁ ma [t]inre[m] rlim rlā[k ta] goḥ ı smiṅ Śrī Tri[bh]u[wanādi]-
8. [tyadhammarāja] goḥ t(ū)n [8] kindaṁ tumi t(ū)n [9] khis nor tlār ı goḥ ci smiṅ c-āṅ sak das smoḥ kuṁ ı blaḥ [goḥ] ut tarley saṅgha ma tāw ḍey (ḍūṅ Ari)-
9. (maddanapūr goḥ) [10] [smi]ṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja [goḥ] pureḥ [11] na paccey pan prakār dida[p] dli' ı goḥ ci smiṅ c-āṅ sak das smoḥ kuṁ ı [b]laḥ (go)-
10. (h) [12] . . . . . [13] [man] smiṅ guṁlūṅ raṅ tlūṅ ci s(b)ak [14] bn(a)t [15] tirwi[l ı] kā[l] goḥ [sm]iṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja rmiṅ smiṅ Co[l]ī ḍeḥ cup (P)o-
11. (kām tūy da) [16] [ı] goḥ ma smiṅ bicāranā mey w[e]ṅ nor [ra]tna [pi] wo' [ci] snom c-āṅ moy [da] ma sda[s] kil si[r]s(ū)k [17] juṁnok [ḍe]y lo[k] (para)-
12. (lok) [18] . . . . . [19] [n]irbbān ku sat[wa] guṁlūṅ ci kaḥ sa[k] ı yaṅ ratna pi wo' com ma das kil ı [go]ḥ ma smiṅ [sū]l gun B[u]ddharat[n]a ı dha[r]mmaratna ı sa[ṅgha]rat[na] (ḍey)

[1] Possibly (but in that case incorrectly) *pūndoṅ*.

[2] Merely conjectural and quite probably wrong, though the final consonant seems to be certain. There is a great difficulty about restoring the effaced beginnings and ends of these lines because in this part of the inscription the bordering line is not visible, so that as it is a curve here one cannot be sure how much space is to be allowed for.

[3] Conjectural, possibly *bindap*; *kindam* seems improbable.

[4] Or (less correctly) *kūl*.

[5] These two words are somewhat conjectural.

[6] Merely conjectural.

[7] Or *mahādhātu* (perhaps written *mahādhātthu*), which seems about equally probable.

[8] Conceivably *tūn*. The initial consonant is also damaged.

[9] Almost certainly *tūn*, not *tun*.

[10] The preceding words (in parentheses) are merely conjectural.

[11] Or *puṁreḥ*. There is a mark which may stand for the *anusvāra* or may be the result of subsequent damage.

[12] Merely conjectural.

[13] I cannot restore the last of these missing words, the medial consonant appears to be a subscript *k* (or *t*), the final either *r* or '. The passage probably refers to delegations from vassal or foreign princes.

[14] Probable, though it might possibly be read *sjak*.

[15] Looks like *bnit*, probably on account of subsequent damage.

[16] Purely conjectural.

[17] Conceivably, but improbably, *sirsuk*.

[18] Conjectural.

[19] The missing words (of which the last appears to end in *n* or *w*) probably meant something like "give."

13. (sla tha)r[1] [na] (ḍāk)[2] [hiṅgu]l[3] tūy [ı] smiṅ pundoṅ ār kil ku smiṅ Colī ı smiṅ Colī ku ut bal [ḍ]e[ḥ] rmi[ṅ] gun Buddha [dh]ar[m]ma sa[ṅ]gha [m]an smiṅ [Śrī Tribhuwa]-

14. [nādityadhammarāja pundoṅ] go[ḥ c]i [ı] ḍ[e]ḥ du[u]l cwa[p m]ic[chā]-dris ḍeḥ cap boy saṁ[mā]dri[s m]uleḥ ı [ḍeḥ ñ]āc . . l[4] goḥ ḍeḥ sḍi[k] gap-pu[mas] (ı) . . . . . .

15. . . . . [5] [bitān bl]ey [chu] kal[p]ab[r]ikṣa [m]a t[mū]y na sattaratna[6] ı ku ko[n] lw[ūt] ḍeḥ kuṁ moy ma ḍuk [p]iñ ku rū[p] ku [k]iryā [m]a ka[ḥ moy]

16. [prakār ma dindar ku tḍuṅ b]u[ṁ]tāṅ [t]ḍuṅ [may]ūr (r)inruṅ[7] mayūr [m]a ñi[n] la[k] na sattaratna ı tlū[ṅ pa p]ūjāw smiṅ Śrī [T]ri[bhu]-wanādit[y]adhammarā[ja] ı goḥ [c]i [smiṅ c-āṅ]

17. [sak das] g[o' smoḥ k]uṁ ı ul g[oḥ] ya[ṅ p]ū[jāw] ñaḥ ḍūṅ [ñ]a[ḥ] räs ñaḥ gr[ip[8] g]uṁl(u)[ṅ[9] boy sāmarttha][10] ñaḥ ta [g]oḥ kuṁ kuṁ ı nom [m]a [pū]jāw tḍ(u)ṅ[11] [tha]r (tḍuṅ srā)-[12]

18. [ñ bitān thar dindāy th]ar (na) [tinl]ā[y th]ar pnik [th]a[r a]s[th]ar [th]ar [d]indap juṅ thar sinlu[k] ju[ṅ] thar si(nd)i[13] thar [ch]uk [jn]u [th]ar rūp [jādisiṅ thar chu kalpabrikṣa] . . . .

19. . . . [prāsā](d ı) [rūp ci]ṅ rūp [mñ]aḥ [r]ū[p] dewatāw rūp ki[n]dok [m]a kaḥ mo[y] p[r]a[k]ār ma [ḍe]ḥ kindaṁ na thar ma ḍeḥ ciñcon na ratna dumpoḥı [g]luṅ [phā]r ma (ñaḥ) . . . . . .

20. . . (pa) [pūjāw] ı [ul g]oḥ p[n]āṅ dulā[ṅ pk]āw thar kirlaṁ li[ṁim][14] b[i]r[ḅ]ār [l]ṁim didap kāl didap kintu sa[k] sirgut [n]āṅ ı u[l] goḥ [tḍuṅ pkāw] tḍuṅ [gli](k) . . . .

21. . (cas)[15] [tap] (cir)[16] c(u)p mursūn [c]wa[s] ta[p kirl]aṁ tap k[laṁ c]a[s] moy tap ci gluṅ phār wel [m]an ña[ḥ] pa [p]ūjāw [ı k]ā[l g]oḥ c[i]ṅ [jmūr] guṁl(u)ṅ[17] c[k]e[m] (ku)[18] . . . . . .

[1] The three preceding words (except the letter *r*) are conjectural and very doubtful.
[2] Conjectural; but it seems probable, the final looks like *k* (but might be *t*, or something else).
[3] Possibly *haṅgul*. The form is rather doubtful.
[4] The final seems certain, but the rest might be read *ha*, *tha*, *ta*, or *ca*; and there are other possibilities.
[5] The last few letters of this illegible part may be *ṅ bley*, but even these are doubtful.
[6] A small circle over the *tt* is assumed to be not original; but if it is we must read *sattaṁ ratna*. There appears to be no such circle over the word in the next line.
[7] Possibly *diṅruṅ*. [8] Conceivably, but improbably, *gruip*. [9] Possibly *gumlūṅ*.
[10] The *r* is extremely doubtful. [11] Possibly *tḍūṅ*. [12] Purely conjectural.
[13] The middle consonants may conceivably (though improbably) be *nṅ* or *rṅ*.
[14] Conceivably *liṙṅim*. [15] Very doubtful.
[16] Very doubtful. The initial looks as if it might be *ch*.
[17] Possibly *guṁlūṅ*. [18] The *k* might be *t*. The next letter after this syllable looks like *b* or *p*.

22. . . . .[1] [pkāw] (du) . . . . . [ḥ[2] t]luṅ pa pūjāw smiṅ ı kṣeḥ ci rin[l]e[ḥ ı ya]ṅ row rūp sa[t]wa guṁl(u)ṅ[3] laḥ rūp ki[nd]oḳ dewatāw guṁl(u)ṅ[3] laḥ [m]ānus [guṁ]luṅ [ki]nda[ṁ doṅ][4] . . . .

23. . . . . .[5] [ḍeḥ lop][6] ri[nle]ḥ jiñjeḥ pa pūjāw smiṅ ı [ul goḥ] yaṅ row jiñjeḥ ri[n]leḥ [m]a [d]as jā[p] ḍūṅ jāp rās jā[p] twāñ jāp ñaḥ [grip] (guṁ)-

24. (luṅ) [ı ḍeḥ] . . . .[7] [tluṅ rinleḥ jiñj]eḥ pa pūjāw smiṅ dida[p kā]l ı kāl smi[ṅ di]nd(u)[8] bi[nt]on mahājan guṁl(u)ṅ[9] (na)[10] kr[u]ṁ dhar[mm]a ci ı yaṅ [t]i[rhin k]i[rsaḥ mahāja]-

25. [n guṁluṅ] . . . . . .[11] pnāṅ pkāw [biṅka] ci row brey juṁnok ma gūr [k]uṁ [sak] sirgū[t] nāṅ ı [y]aṅ ñaḥ ma pūjāw ki(ry)ā[12] (thar) [sr](āñ gluṅ)[13]

26. (phār wel)[14] [ı jiñjeḥ rinleḥ bulaḥ s]at[15] [m]a [nom yuṁyuṁ] ci[r]cas bi[rḥā]r cwa[s kirlaṁ] li[ṁim[16] m]a jin=p(ū)n[17] ku s[m]iṅ ci glu[ṅ] phār ı [yaṅ m]ānus laḥ sa[t][18] (c-āṅ)

27. (laḥ ma ḍeḥ)[19] . . . . . [smiṅ cut] ḍāk kil dā[n yuṁyuṁ] didap kāl ci gluṅ phār ı kaḥ moy lṅ(i)m[20] kaḥ ḥār lṅ(i)m[20] [sak] go' na (slros)[21] . . . . .

28. . . . . .[22] [go](ḥ ı yaṅ) row pun=dān [ma] smiṅ [pa bus]ac kyāk laḥ kindaṁ cetī laḥ kindaṁ bihār laḥ kīr kuṁbār laḥ til ā[rām laḥ] (ḍeḥ)[23]. . .

29. . . . . [ut sa]kala satwa gu(mlu)ṅ[24] or tīt [blaḥ] no[r saṅs]ār co[m] ı ul goḥ jāp ḍ[ū]ṅ [j]āp rās jāp [t]wā[ñ jāp] (ñaḥ grip)[25]

[1] Looks like *.raṅ*. [2] The last of these missing words may be *blaḥ*, or possibly *rinleḥ*.
[3] Conceivably *guṁlūṅ*. [4] Looks rather like *dmoṅ*, but the marks underneath may be accidental.
[5] The first of these missing syllables looks rather like *rap*, but this is very doubtful and the rest is obscure.
[6] Looks like *raṁlāp* or *rilāp*, but probably *lop* is right. [7] Possibly one might restore *lop* here.
[8] Perhaps *dindū*. [9] Perhaps *guṁlūṅ*.
[10] Doubtful, but I can suggest no suitable alternative.
[11] The obscure passage probably began with *ma pūjāw*. [12] Almost certain. [13] Quite conjectural.
[14] The two preceding words are not quite certain.
[15] Possibly *satwa* (which one would expect); but there seems to be a *virāma* and perhaps the marks under the *t* are merely accidental.
[16] Conceivably *lirṅīm*. [17] Perhaps *puṅ*. [18] Or *satwa*.
[19] The preceding words are very doubtful. [20] Perhaps (but improbably) *lṅīm*.
[21] The *l* and the final *s* are particularly doubtful.
[22] Somewhere near the end of the last line one would expect *girluṅ*, or the like, but I cannot fill up the blank. [23] Extremely doubtful.
[24] Doubtful: the spelling is unusual, and besides there is a mark over the *gu* which may stand for the *anusvāra*, but it may on the other hand be merely accidental.
[25] Conjectural.

30. (gumluṅ)[1] . . . . . .[2] (d)[oṅ tī] . . . .[3] krāw [or iñcim ambo' amba' pa] pun kil dā[n maṅ sīl sak] (or ambāy)[4] . . . . . .

B

1. ॥ (or krāw[5] mhājan) gu[ṁ]luṅ [sgo' si]r[suk ḍey lok paralok] (cir cup)[6] . . . . .

2. (nirbbān)[7] [or ñaḥ krāw didap] kāl (wo')[8] [jā] . . . . . (ı)[9] d[ṅ]aḥ d[irha]t [m]e[trici]t . . . . . .

3. . [i] . . . . . .[10] [g]u[ṁluṅ boy] rac boy [tinrow boy] rā[jasthān] ci [sak ḍeḥ] d[ow] (ñaḥ)[11] . . . . . .

4. . . . . (ci)[12] s(i) . .[13] [pañjar] ci [ḍ]e[ḥ tl](ū)ṅ[14] ḍ[ū]n tāw han ginrop (tad) . .[15] [smi]ṅ sum[p]o[t t]āw [na] te[y] we(l kirlo')[16] . . . . (ti)-

5. rla[17] [go]ḥ smiṅ kil . . . . . (im)o'[18] kiñcem dharmma ı ul goḥ [kāl ñaḥ gumluṅ] lo[p t]u[ḅ]ok [pk](āw dirkas)[19] . . . . .

6. . . . (rmiṅ)[20] [binru ph]aṁ (s-ār)[21] . . (goḥ[22] mirmoy[23]) kos ḅi[rḅā]r kos (mirmoy) . . . (b)ır(ḅār) . . . [j](i)rṅe[y ḍ]e[ḥ] (drep[24] ār) . . . . . .

7. [blaḥ] (goḥ ñaḥ ma tāw)[25] [kinta smiṅ ı k]ā[l sm]i[ṅ c]ut ḍāk k[las] thar tūy [ḍeḥ] . . .[26] ār [k]o[m] k[u] pkāw (thar[27] ñaḥ goh tūy)[28] . . . . .

[1] Quite conjectural, except for the final letter, which seems pretty certain.
[2] The last of the missing syllables looks like *ka* or *ta*.
[3] The last of the missing syllables may be *ñaḥ*.
[4] Not certain, but probable.
[5] The first two words are extremely doubtful, except the second *r*.
[6] Very doubtful. [7] Extremely doubtful.
[8] The demonstrative seems uncalled for and I doubt the reading. Possibly it should be *go'*.
[9] Possibly we should read *jāp*, but I cannot restore the rest of the passage.
[10] Possibly the first of the missing words is *kiñcem*.
[11] Very doubtful. [12] The vowel is very doubtful.
[13] The vowel is doubtful. The next letter seems to be *h*, but is also extremely doubtful.
[14] Or *tluṅ*.
[15] Very doubtful. The word looks like *taḍeṅ*, or *kaḍeṅ*. [16] Very doubtful.
[17] The beginning of this word (at the end of the preceding line) is conjectural and seems very doubtful.
[18] Possibly *po'*. But *imo'* seems more likely.
[19] Very doubtful. [20] Doubtful.
[21] Possibly *p-ār*. [22] Very doubtful.
[23] Not quite certain, but probable. The same applies to the subsequent numerals. The short illegible words following the second pair must be words of distance, presumably.
[24] Conceivably *prāp*, but *drep* seems right.
[25] The four preceding words are more or less conjectural.
[26] The missing word seems to end in *ōt* or *āk*. But even the preceding word is rather doubtful.
[27] Very doubtful. [28] The last three words are extremely doubtful.

8. (ca c)li .[1] . . . . . [tl](ū)[ṅ] . . . (r jāp)[2] [di]da[p tṅey smiṅ myi]l [a]bhiprāy [ku] b(a)l[3] gumṅl(u)ṅ[4] (t)i(rmāw)[5] [sat=tiracchān] (ci)[6] . . . . . .

9. (saḍik pumas)[7] . . . . . [kt]i[r das] . . . . . [k] (ci ı ut) [goḥ smiṅ k]il (anuñap[8] kil) pūṅ ci didap tṅey (ma) imo[' dharmma] . . . . . .[9]

10. . . . . (smiṅ)[10] . . . . . [pkāw dirkas] . . . . [uppa]l gumlu[ṅ ci ḍeḥ pkāw sak pi]r[yāy[11] nor antul pkāw] . . . . .

11. [ḍeḥ] . . . . . .[12] (tnar)[13] [diñcām] (tnar)[13] . . . . .[14] (tnar)[13] [ḍeḥ tūn pkāw] (ı) [u]t (chu[15] duṅ) . ā .[16] [gumluṅ] (ci)[17] [ḍeḥ pkāw] . . . . . .

12. . . . . (nom) [ku] (mirmal) [sac=chu ta goḥ nom] ku [o]jā ras [ma] mip=pā(r[18] ı) . . . . . (ket ket) . . . . . .

13. . . . . .[19] [ojā ras t]i j[nok ḍeḥ kti]r das kāl kintir (dirdas) [smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādi]-

14. [tyadhammarāja man kyāk Buddha tarley byādes lār] (ı) . . .[20] [smiṅ] c-āṅ [sak] das [smo]ḥ . . . . .[21] [ḍey ḍuṅ Pokām=ma imo' Arima]-

[1] The preceding looks like *ca clik*, which seems improbable.
[2] Quite doubtful. [3] Looks like *bil*, which may be intended. [4] Perhaps *gumlūṅ*.
[5] Very doubtful. The initial may be *k*, the supposed *m* may be an accidental mark, and even the *r* might be *d*.
[6] Doubtful; and if correct, perhaps only the beginning of a word
[7] These two words are very doubtful.
[8] Rather conjectural. The first two syllables might be read *dūn*, only there is no *virāma*.
[9] Presumably *dharmma* is only the first element of some compound word.
[10] Extremely doubtful. [11] Conceivably *piryām* ı. Or the *m* might be a *p*.
[12] Possibly the last of the missing words is *dumpoḥ* (which would be an unusual but quite possible spelling).
[13] This word, though apparently occurring thrice in this line, remains somewhat doubtful.
[14] In view of *diñcām*, and the possible reading *dumpoḥ*, in this line, one is tempted to assume here the equivalent of "nine" (L.M. *dacit*). Unfortunately the E.M. form of this numeral does not appear in any of the preceding inscriptions, and the word here is not legible. It might conceivably be read *cicuc*, which seems an unlikely form.
[15] Very doubtful. Possibly, though less probably, *na*.
[16] Probably this stands for *c-āṅ*. [17] Very doubtful.
[18] The last letter is not quite certain and therefore doubt also attaches to the stop that is supposed to follow.
[19] In the missing part a few letters are more or less doubtfully decipherable, but as they do not form recognizable words one cannot be quite sure of them.
[20] It is doubtful whether there is anything here, even a stop; the space might be accounted for by the tail of the *o* in *ojā*, above. But possibly some short word like *ma* should be read.
[21] Conceivably one might read *ma das*, perhaps preceded by a stop.

15. [ddanapūr goḥ] (ni)d(ān) ñ(in)[1] . . . . . [row wo' ॥ o] ॥[2] b[y]ā[kato dhammarāje]na ı [satthu]nā [varabhūpati] ı [yo Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarā]-

16. [jā ti nāma]ko ॥ o ॥ (v)e[lubabbaṇṇajā[3] mātā ı pitā ādiccavaṅsajo ı] dvī[hi vaṅse]hi[nūbhūto ı dhammarājā][4] . . . . . (॥ o ॥)[5]

17. . . . . [puñño dānamhi balavā][6] . . . . . [7] (ı)[8] [anantabhogasaṁpu]ṇṇo ı [koṭṭhāgāra anappako] ॥ o ॥ [teja]si . . . . . (ı)[9] . . . . . .

18. . . . . [yaso ı saṁññamarājadhammesu ı appam]atto vica[kkh]aṇo [॥ o ॥ cat]ursaṅgahadhammehi ı [janaṁ rañjati][10] . . . . . (ı) . . . . . .[11]

19. . . . . (ı) [ratanattayamāmako ॥ o ॥] . . . . . [deva] . . . . . [ı pūjasakkāra] . . . . [no ı saṁpuṇṇo rāja-iddhihi ı] . . . . . .

20. . . . [ı] . . [ṇṇama] . . . . . [ı] . . . . . [narādhipo ॥ o ॥ Arimaddanasaṅ]kh[āte ı Pokāme nagaruttame ı] . . . . . [ı]

21. . . . . [॥ o ॥] . . . . . [ı] . . . . [guṇam=attano ı] . . [j]ā . . . . [kulo] . . . . [ı] . i . . . . . [॥ o ॥][12] . . . . . .

22. . . . . (k)[ind](aṁ ḍūṁ)[13] . . . . . (blaḥ ı tirley) [Gawaṁpati gaḥ ku risi Bisnū row wo' ı ma man kyāk Buddha byādes tirley] . . . . . .[14]

23. (smiṁ dharmmarā)[ja goḥ ci cmat] (da tirley sacca)[15] [yo ı] (mnor)[16] [kuṁ ci dṁaḥ tirley] (spa)[17] [tirtūy sakala satwa guṁluṁ] (ār nirbbān)[18] . . . . . .

[1] These two words seem somewhat doubtful.

[2] At this point begins a set of Pāli *sloká* verses for the reading and interpretation of which (so far as it is at all possible) I am very much indebted to Professor Duroiselle.

[3] Duroiselle reads *beḷuvabbaṇṇajā*. [4] The next two syllables might be *makā*.

[5] Quite illegible, but inserted on the analogy of the other verses where it occurs.

[6] The preceding words are so read by Duroiselle; personally I am unable to recognize them.

[7] Somewhere in this obliterated passage Duroiselle reads the syllable *no*.

[8] The stop is doubtful, but seems to be required.

[9] Here too a stop seems to be required, though none is actually visible. The first part of the preceding obliterated passage looks like *ñāṇassa*.

[10] Duroiselle explains this as being for *rañjeti*.

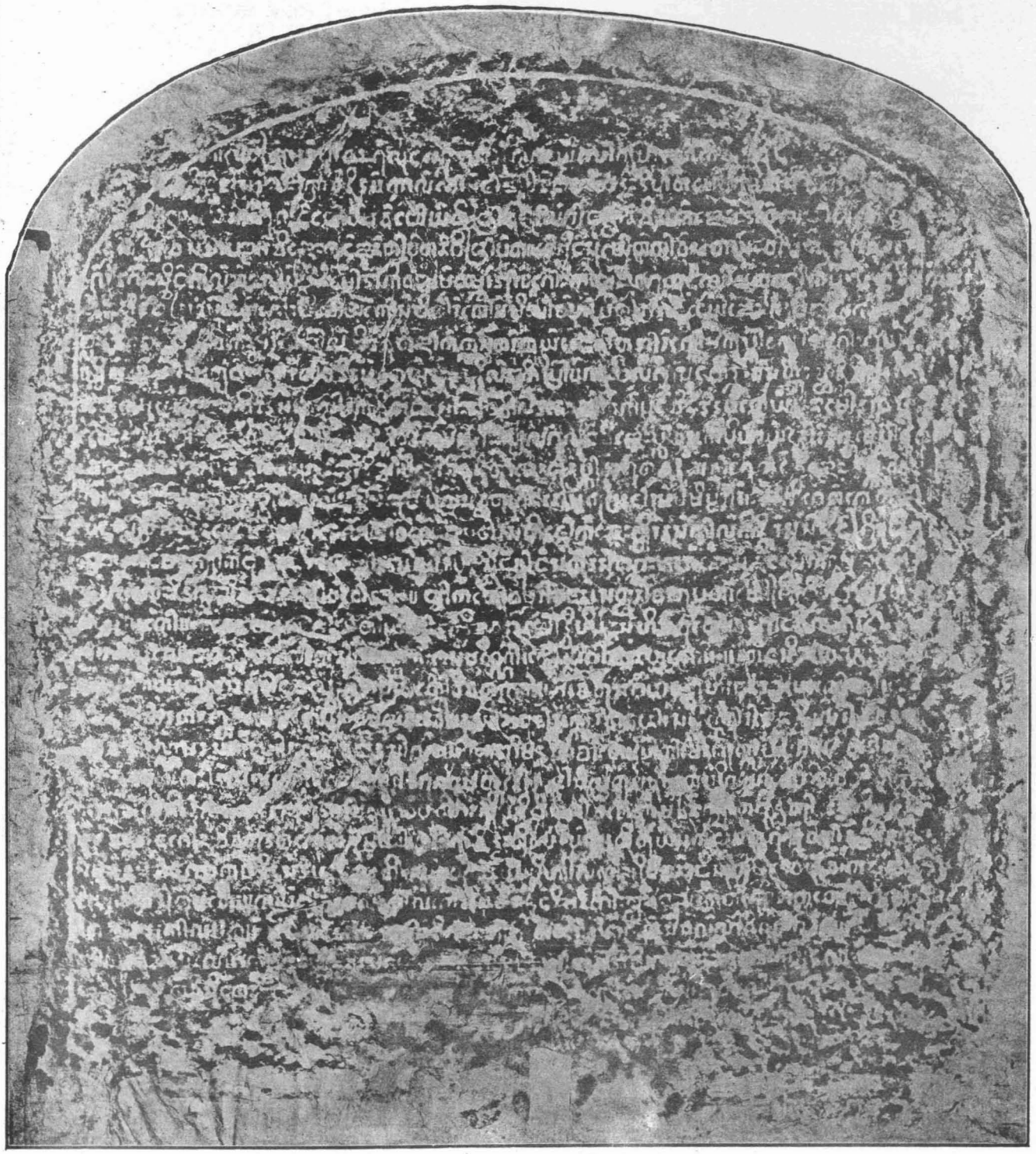
[11] Somewhere in the obliterated passage Duroiselle reads *so sadā*. I cannot find it in my impressions and do not know whether it comes directly after *rañjati* or in the next verse.

[12] End of the Pāli verses. [13] Very doubtful. [14] Perhaps we should read *sdas*.

[15] Very doubtful. [16] Conjectural. [17] Almost certain. [18] Very doubtful.

A THIRD INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.

B



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24. . (ktir dharmmarāja) . . .[1] (pi) [dirdas da ı] . . . . . [ti] . . . . . [kāl goḥ smiṅ In ı Bissukarmmadewaput ı Kaṭakarmmanāgarāja][2]

25. (tūn yuk) [sumḥup tey] (lṅor) . . . . . .[3] (ı) [kāl goḥ risi Bisnū] (rmi)[ṅ niman goḥ blaḥ] (ı) . . . . . .[4]

26. . . . . (ı) [kāl] (ma kyāk) . . . . . .

27. . . . . [lo']. . . . (Nothing more is certainly decipherable in this line.)

28. . . . . (ci) [smiṅ] . . . . (The rest is quite uncertain.)

29, 30. (Nothing legible; it is not clear how many lines there were originally.)

Translation.

A

. . . . . King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja made[5] (and) then (he) built the Nirbbānamūlabajraparya (?) (monastery ?)[6] . . . . . on the site (named) Jayabhūmi, which is to the north-east of the city of Pagan, that is styled Arimaddanapūr. In that respect (too ?) no other king (l. 3) is like (him). Thereafter, the three holy Piṭakas,[7] which had become obscured, (he) proceeded to collect (and) purify.[8] In that respect, too, no other king is like (him). Thereafter, (for) the holy temple of Śrī Bajrās,[9] (of) three (?) . . . . . (?),[10] (which had

[1] Extremely doubtful. Instead of *dharmma°* it is possible that we ought to read *das*; the word left blank may perhaps be *lok*, the last letter is probably a *k* in any case.

[2] These names, which are only partly legible here, can be safely restored by the help of the preceding inscriptions.

[3] Possibly we should restore *tarley* or *kyāk* followed by some short word. The appearance of the text rather favours the latter supposition; but it is not clear to me that this request to Bisnū was made in the presence of Buddha, to whom the word *kyāk* would be most applicable, though it might possibly be taken in a more general sense.

[4] In this long obliterated passage only a few letters are doubtfully legible, making no recognizable words and therefore quite uncertain. The same remark applies to ll. 26-8.

[5] Or "K.Ś.T. did" (whatever was mentioned in the preceding, missing, portion of the text) "(and) thereupon built," etc.

[6] Or "temple"? See the text and note thereon.

[7] The Buddhist Canon.

[8] That is, he caused to be made a revised edition, in view of omissions and corruptions that had occurred in the text, or of portions having become so scarce as not to be generally available. Probably the former is meant: cf. III C 15.

[9] The Vajrāsana, built on the traditional site where Buddha attained enlightenment, at Bodh Gayā.

[10] The reading is doubtful here: see the text.

been) destroyed by other kings . . . . . (?),[1] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja got (together) jewels of divers kinds (and) sent (them in) a ship with intent to build up the holy (temple) of Śrī Bajrās, to buy (land?) (l. 6) . . . . . , (to dig a tank?),[2] to irrigate (?)[3] arable land, to make dams,[4] in order to burn tapers that should never be allowed to go out, to present drums, ... ,[5] xylophones,[6] singing (and) dancing, finer (than before?).[7] In that respect, too, no other king is like (him). Thereafter, the great buildings which King Dharmmāsok[8] built, which (were) old (and) in ruins, King Śrī Tribhuwānādityadhammarāja proceeded to build anew, (making them) finer than before. In that respect, too, no other king is like (him).

Thereafter, all the lords of the Church who dwelt in (the city (l. 9) of Arimaddanapūr?)[9] King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja presented with[10] the four necessaries[11] on every occasion.[12] In that respect, too, no other king is like (him). Thereafter, (many persons . . . . ?)[13] from all the princes[14] came into his presence to attend (him).[15] At that time King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja heard that a[16] Colī prince had arrived (at Pagan?).[17] Thereupon the king bethought him that apart from the Three Gems there is no other single thing that could give great happiness in (this) world (or in the worlds beyond (l. 12), or confer?)[18] Nirvāṇa upon all beings: the Three Gems alone can give it.

[1] The reading is doubtful. [2] Conjectural.

[3] Doubtful; perhaps, though improbably, "to make."

[4] Or "embankments," surrounding the several fields, as in the cultivation of rice on irrigated land. The evident intent was to create a permanent endowment of landed property from the rents or profits of which certain of the temple expenses should be defrayed.

[5] The sense of *klo'* is undetermined. It may be the specific name of some particular type of drum, or of some other kind of musical instrument

[6] Or "dulcimers": see Haswell, s.v. *twiṅ twuik*. But possibly the term may have been used formerly for any musical instrument of percussion of a more or less analogous nature.

[7] Conjectural, but probable.

[8] Probably the reference is to the great Asoka and the Bodh Gayā temple. But it is arguable that *blaḥ goḥ* indicates a transition to another subject matter and that the reference is to the legendary King Dhammāsoka of Thatôn (cf. *Sudhammavatīrājāvaṁsa*, pp. 13, 48, 110, *seqq.*). [9] Conjectural.

[10] Meaning conjectural, inferred from the context.

[11] Shelter, robes, food, and medicine, the four requisites for a Buddhist monk.

[12] Meaning conjectural.

[13] Conjectural: there is a *lacuna* here. Perhaps the reference is to diplomatic missions only, but it may include the coming of private adventurers attracted by the splendour of the king's court.

[14] Either foreign or vassal princes, or both. [15] Or "to follow in his train": cf. I C 9, 11.

[16] Or "the." There is nothing to determine the identity of this prince, and nothing but the resemblance of his designation to connect him with the great contemporary Dravidian dynasty, of which he may have been a member and which at a slightly earlier period appears to have extended its warlike expeditions to the Further East, as recorded in the great Tanjore inscription.

[17] Conjectural, but probable, restoration.

[18] Conjectural restoration.

Then the king wrote of the grace of the Buddharatna, Dharmmaratna, (and) Saṅgharatna[1] (upon a leaf of gold with vermilion ink ?),[2] the king sent it to the Colī prince. The Colī prince, with all his array, hearing of the grace of Buddha, the Law, (and) the Church, from King Śrī Tribhuwanadityadhammarāja's sending (word of it to him), he cast off his adhesion to false doctrine, (and) he adhered straightway to the true doctrine; he saw . . . . . ,[3] he was pleased (and) happy. . . . . (l. 15) . . . . . .[4] (of pearls ?), an awning[5] of pearls, a *kalpavṛkṣa* tree[6] adorned with the seven (kinds of) jewels,[7] together with a virgin daughter of his who was perfect in form and with ornaments of divers kinds, who was shaded by a white umbrella, a peacock[8] umbrella, a peacock[8] . . . . . .[9] set with the seven (kinds of) jewels, (he) came to offer to King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. That, too, other kings (l. 17) have not got the like of.

Then (?)[10] (there) made offerings all the people of the city, of the country, (and) of the jungle, according to their several means also. (Some) there were that offered golden umbrellas, (silver umbrellas ?), golden awnings (?), golden *dindāy*[11] with golden tracery (?), golden fans, golden mats (?), golden sandals, golden greaves, golden . . . . . ,[12] golden paddles (?), golden statues of lions, *kalpavṛkṣa* trees, ... (l. 19) (for the ?) palace, statues of elephants, statues of men, statues of gods, statues of demons, of divers kinds, which they made of gold, which they adorned with the seven (kinds of) jewels, in great quantities which (they brought ?) (and) offered; . . . .[13] altar candles, golden flowers, by the hundred, by the thousand, by the two thousand, (at) every time, every month, without ceasing . . . . .;[14] . . . .[15] umbrellas of flowers, umbrellas of cloth (?), . . .

[1] That is, the excellence of the three members of the Buddhist Triad, and the benefits to be derived from them.

[2] Conjectural and extremely doubtful, though royal letters were sometimes written thus. The modern word for "vermilion" is *jāṅ ṅu*, and conceivably there may be some connexion between the last syllable of this and the uncertain word in the text.

[3] Reading and meaning undetermined.

[4] This missing part probably contained a statement that the prince came to the king bringing the gifts enumerated in what follows.

[5] Somewhat doubtful interpretation.

[6] The earthly image or counterpart of a miraculous heavenly tree, bearing all manner of desirable gifts, like our Christmas trees.

[7] There are two distinct categories of seven precious things. Presumably the one here referred to is the list comprising gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, ruby, amber (or coral, diamond, or emerald), and agate (?). (The interpretations of the Indian names seem to differ in different authorities.)

[8] Probable, but not quite certain, interpretation.

[9] The meaning of *rinruṅ* (or *dinruṅ*) is undetermined.

[10] The sense of *ul* is undetermined, it may be an adverb.

[11] Meaning undetermined.

[12] The meaning of *sindi* is undetermined, nor is the reading quite certain, and the interpretation of the words to which queries have been appended is also somewhat in doubt.

[13] The meaning of *ul* is undetermined.

[14] The sense of *nāṅ* is undetermined.

[15] The sense of *ul* is undetermined.

(l. 21) (ten-fold, even unto?) fifty-fold, an hundred-fold, an hundred-and-eleven-fold, in great quantities . . . . .[1] offered by them. At that time all the full-grown elephants picked up . . . . . flowers . . . . . (and) came (and) offered (them?) to the king. The horses danced. In the semblance of all (manner of) creatures, of all (sorts of) demons and gods, all the people (made a ceremonial dance?)[2] . . . (l. 23) . . . . . they (entered?) dancing (and) singing, to do obeisance to[3] the king . . . . . [4] in the fashion of singing (and) dancing of every city, every country district, every village, (and) of all the jungle folk, they (would enter?) (and) come dancing (and) singing, to do obeisance[5] to the king every time. When the king instructed all the people (by?) declaring the Law, the applause of all (l. 25) the people (who offered?) . . . . . candles, flowers, parched rice, (was) like a great (shower of) rain that falls without ceasing . . . . .[6] Those who offered (golden and silver?) ornaments (in great quantities . . . . .?),[7] sang (and) danced, released living creatures, by tens, scores, hundreds, thousands, which they presented as pious gifts (?) to the king in great quantities. Whether men, or (other) creatures (l. 27) (that they offered . . . . . ?), the king poured out water (and) gave the living offerings every time, in great quantities, exceeding a thousand, exceeding two thousand, not to be (numbered?) . . . . . like the pious gifts that the king made, either in consecrating Buddha-statues,[8] or in building pagodas, or building monasteries, or digging tanks, or planting groves, ... (l. 29) . . . . . (he did these things?) only in order that all beings might escape out of Saṅsāra[9] . . . . .[10] that every city, every country district, every village, all the jungle folk . . . . . hereafter might feed mother (and) father, do meritorious deeds, give pious gifts, keep the (ethical) commandments, (and) be not (neglectful?) . . . . . .

B

(that hereafter?) all (mankind?) might obtain happiness in this world (and) in the worlds beyond (until they arrived . . . . . in Nirvāṇa?), that those

[1] The sense of *wel* is undetermined.

[2] The doubtful word looks like *doṅ*, which in L.M. denotes the kind of mediums who are the chief assistants in the *kalok* dance (Halliday, *The Talaings*, p. 100). But the reading and interpretation are very doubtful, though plainly some sort of ceremonial dance is referred to.

[3] Or "to make offerings to," as before.

[4] The sense of *ul* is undetermined.

[5] Or "to make offerings."

[6] The sense of *nāṅ* is undetermined.

[7] The reading is doubtful here, and the sense of *wel* undetermined.

[8] The word *kyāk* is very vague, but this interpretation seems appropriate here.

[9] The continual round of existence, by birth and rebirth.

[10] The sense of *ul* is undetermined.

hereafter at all times should (obtain every ?) . . . . . Because (of) the power of loving kindness . . . . . (l. 3) . . . . . all (birds ?) on the high roads, in the lanes, at the royal residence,[1] (did)[2] not flee, ... (cages ?), they came (and) alighted on the roof (of . . . . . ?), the king stroked (them) with (his) hand . . . . . (l. 5) . . . . . the king gave . . . . . (the name of ?) Birds of Dharma . . . .[3] when all the people entered presenting (waterlily ?) flowers . . . . . (hearing ?) the sound of drums (they went ?) . . . . . (from) a distance of one *kos*, two *kos*,[4] (one ?) . . . . , (two ?) . . . . , (they went running ?) . . . . . (l. 7) Then (they who were ?) in the presence of the king, when the king had poured out water (from) golden vessels, they went (and) . . . . . with (their golden ?) flowers . . . . . came . . . . . every day the king issued an order to the whole host (that) . . . . . animals . . . . . (l. 9) (happy ?) . . . . come to be . . . . . the king gave orders to give boiled rice every day, called Dharma . . . . . .[5] waterlily flowers . . . . . all (sorts of) lotus, they flowered (?) out of time (?). From above, flowers . . . . . (l. 11) . . . . . (seven ?) . . . . . , eight . . . . . they flowered (?). All (trees and bamboos ?) . . . . . flowered (?) . . . . (had ?) fragrance, fruits of trees had a pleasing (?) sap (and) savour. . . . . (l. 13) . . . . . the sap (and) savour of the great earth[6] arose at the time of the coming (to be ?) of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, foretold by the Lord Buddha. No other king is like (him) . . . . . in the city of Pagan, styled (l. 15) Arimaddanapūr . . . . . in this wise :—[7]

It was foretold by the King of the Law, the Teacher, that the noble king named Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja,

His mother (being) born of the Vilva line, his father of the Solar race, issued from (these) two races,

(A great ?) . . . . . , a king of the Law, ... (l. 17) . . . . . pious in alms-giving, powerful, ... possessed of immense wealth (and) of storehouses not a few.

[1] Either the palace or the capital generally.

[2] The whole of this passage, and most of Face B, can only be partially read. Apparently the reference is to kindness towards animals, especially birds.

[3] The sense of *ul* is undetermined. [4] A measure of length

[5] Probably this passage of which the beginning is unfortunately illegible refers to the exceptional natural phenomena that heralded the accession (or perhaps the birth) of the king. That much seems clear from l. 13, but as so much of it is illegible it is not certain where the new paragraph should really be made to begin. [6] That is, the earth. The use of the epithet is a Môn idiom.

[7] The following paragraph is in Pāli verse.

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VOL. 1
Pt. 2.

In majesty ..... glorious, in self-restraint (and) kingly duties diligent (and) discerning,

By (the practice of) the four laws (of popularity), he shall (always ?) rejoice the people ..... (l. 19) ..... devotedly attached to the Three Gems,

..... the gods ..... sacrifices ..... full of royal might ..... the king,

In the excellent city of Pagan, styled Arimaddana, ...

..... (l. 21) .....

..... his own virtue .....

.....[1]

..... (built the city ?) ..... (The Lord ?) Gawampati spake to the sage Bisnū in this wise:—"What by the Lord Buddha was foretold, that my lord (should become ?) (l. 23) (a king of the Law ?), is true, my lord, (indeed ?). (Hereafter ?) in order that my lord (may act ?) (for) the benefit of all (manner of) beings (on their way to Nirvāṇa ?) ..... (my lord must become a king of the Law .... in three ?) (stages of) existence."[2] ..... Then King In,[3] Bissukarmmadewaput, (and) Kaṭakarmmanāgarāja (l. 25) lifted up their joined hands (and made obeisance to ?)....[4] Then the sage Bisnū, hearing that invitation,[5] ..... When the Lord (Buddha ?) ..... (l. 27) ..... king .....

[1] End of the Pāli verses.

[2] So much of the text is illegible that the precise interpretation is very doubtful. Perhaps we should interpret that in his third earthly existence the sage is to be a reigning monarch. It is of course impossible to say precisely where Gawampati's speech ends.

[3] Indra. For the other names, see §§ 26, 27, 51.

[4] It is not clear to whom they made obeisance; one would assume it was to the sage, but see the note on the text.

[5] That is, the request made to him that he should undertake the duties of royalty, and ultimately of Buddhahood.

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Volume II Part I

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Epigraphia Birmanica

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

EDITED BY

CHAS. DUROISELLE

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

THE TALAING PLAQUES ON THE ANANDA TEXT

By CHAS. DUROISELLE

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PREFACE

THE Ānanda temple at Pagan, the erection of which was completed in 1090,[1] is not only probably the most graceful structure of its kind in Burma, but for the profusion and, from the artistic and philological standpoint, the importance of its ornamentation, the most important monument in this Province. In the interior, besides very numerous statues of the Buddha in several attitudes, there is represented, in a long series of stone sculptures, the life of the Master from his decision in the Tusita heaven to be reborn in the bosom of Queen Māyā to his parinirvāna.[2] On the exterior, the walls and terraces are practically covered with glazed plaques. On one half of the basement these plaques represent the assault of Māra with his legions of dreadful warriors on the Blessed One seated under the Bodhi tree, and their ignominious defeat the other half representing the apotheosis of the Buddha after his victory in a long procession of the hosts of the gods. All these contain a short legend in old Talaing. But these scenes are not peculiar to the Ānanda; four hundred years later, they similarly, in magnificent glazed plaques, adorned the walls of the Shwegugyi and Ajapāla pagodas at Pegu[3]; perhaps the inspiration was derived from the Ānanda. The anterior existences of the Buddha, that is, the 547 *jātakas*, adorn the first and second roofs and the three terraces above. These representations of the jātakas, one story to one plaque, are also not peculiar to the Ānanda, for they are found on several other pagodas and temples at Pagan as well as on some other monuments in Burma.[4] The great feature, however, in this temple is, that the last ten longer stories of the collection, from Mūgapakkha Jātaka to Vessantara Jātaka (Nos. 538–547), are illustrated each in a series of plaques, the total number aggregating to 389; these plaques occupy part of the second roof and the three receding terraces above it. This feature is, I think, unique, for, so far as I have been able to ascertain, on no other monument in the Buddhist

[1] See Duroiselle's "Stone Sculptures in the Ānanda Temple at Pagan" in *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report for 1913-14, pp. 64-65.

[2] These sculptures are reproduced and described in the paper mentioned in above footnote.

[3] See my Annual Report for 1914, pp. 12-14 and Plate V.

[4] Duroiselle's "Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma," in *A.S.I.* for 1912-13, pp. 89 *ff.*

world are these ten stories illustrated in so large a number of separate scenes ; at the bottom of each plaque is a short legend in Talaing briefly indicative of the episode above it. It is those legends which are deciphered and explained in the present work.

Whenever the glaze or the plaque itself is not spoiled, the decipherment of these inscriptions does not generally present any unusual difficulty ; unfortunately, a pretty large number of plaques have been badly disfigured, thus rendering sometimes the identification of the figures, sometimes the reading of the legend and often both, difficult. The plaques around the two uppermost terraces have particularly suffered. This disfigurement is due to the frequent use of whitewash and the method of its application ; it is taken in buckets to the top of the temple, and the buckets are tilted over ; the liquid, flowing down on every side, penetrates the shallow recesses in which the plaques are fitted and flows over the latter, filling in details which were formerly perfectly distinct ; the glaze often cracks and flakes off under the action of the lime, thus obliterating letters or part of them. Where this has not happened, the layers of whitewash make the deciphering of a number of legends a task of no little difficulty sometimes. Several means have been resorted to—on the advice of experts in Burma and India—in order to clean and restore these plaques ; but none was really successful, for most often, notwithstanding the care taken, the glaze came off with the lime. To ask the trustees to desist from whitewashing the building would be useless, for, in the eyes of the people, the beau ideal of their monuments consists in their spotless whiteness. Steps have been taken, however, to induce them to use a less primitive and harmful method, so as to save these beautiful specimens of a now practically forgotten art. The harm already done is but too apparent in the plates which form the second part of this work ; a comparison between some of the old photographs (now unfortunately unfit for reproduction, and the negatives of which have now also spoiled) and some of the new ones, evidences clearly how much these plaques have deteriorated in the course of a few years.

The total number of the jātaka stories illustrated amounts to 547 ; the same number as in the Pāli recension preserved in Ceylon and known to all countries professing Southern Buddhism ; this shows it was this recension which was followed for the plaques on the Ānanda.[1] The order of the

[1] The actual number in the Singhalese, Talaing, Burmese and other editions is 547 ; but the traditional number is 550. The terra-cotta plaques at the Petleik pagoda, Pagan, illustrate 550 stories. The letterpress on these plaques is being written.

shorter stories up to No. 537 included strictly follows that Pāli Jātaka as edited by Fausboll (Vols. I–V), although the names here and there may slightly differ. But the traditional order of the Mahānipāta or the collection of the last ten long stories (Vol. VI of Fausboll) is not quite the same, as shown below :—

Order on the Ānanda.	*Traditional order.*
1. Mūgapakkha.	1. *Ibid.*
2. Mahājanaka.	2. *Ibid.*
3. Sāma.	3. *Ibid.*
4. Nimi.	4. *Ibid.*
5. Mahā-Ummagga.	5. Khaṇḍahāla.
6. Khaṇḍahāla.	6. Bhūridatta.
7. Bhūridatta.	7. Mahānāradakassapa.
8. Mahānāradakassapa.	8. Vidhura.
9. Vidhura.	9. Mahā-Ummagga.
10. Vessantara.	10. *Ibid.*

It is not clear why the traditional order of these ten jātakas has not been followed; this is certainly not due to a difference of school, as might perhaps at first be thought, because all the Talaing and Burmese editions have always followed the traditional order of the Singhalese collection. I think it is to be attributed merely to a lack of strict supervision on the part of the Talaing monks in charge of this portion of the work; the more so as the plaques of the stories are serially numbered in proper sequence; and the order on the Ānanda does not, either, follow the traditional order of the Ten Pāramitā, or the Ten Perfections illustrated by these jātakas. There are other evidences of a certain lack of attention which are in each case noticed in the body of the work. For instance, a good number of plaques, though rightly numbered, have been put in the wrong place, thus spoiling the regular order of the episodes in a story; I have placed most of these in their proper sequence; others, again, are wrongly numbered though in their right place, and not a few bear the same number. In the legends themselves a few mistakes, due also to inattention, are found, as, for instance, the dropping of a final consonant.

The jātaka stories embodying, as they do, their moral and ethical teachings in the form of charming tales and fables, were one of the most

potent means for pressing the claims of Buddhism among the peoples of Indo-China; they have left a deep impression wherever the religion has become established. This is true of all the jātakas, but especially of the last ten long ones; and the most prized and read among these ten are: Sāma, Mahājanaka, Mahosadha (Mahā-Ummagga) and Vessantara; they have been translated in prose and verse, and turned into theatrical plays in the case of Vessantara. This predilection explains the great prominence given to these ten stories in the plaques of the Ānanda, for, while the lesser jātakas have only one plaque to each, these ten are illustrated by 389. In Burma, they form the subject of a voluminous literature, both in Talaing and in Burmese.

In Talaing, the jātaka literature may be classed under four principal heads :—

1. Translations in verse, ဝိတ် (lik).
2. *Nissaya*, or word for word translation; there are two kinds of these, called ၼံ် (nām) and တြဲ (trāai), according as the explanation of the text is longer or shorter.
3. Abridgements in prose of the texts (skeṁ); there are two recensions of these; in the one, there are embodied copious extracts from the text, translated and explained *nissaya* fashion; the other is in pure Talaing.
4. Complete translations in prose without any abridgement (slapat).

Thousands of copies of the Ten Great Jātakas (Mahānipāta) under the above four divisions, are preserved in the monasteries of Lower Burma, and are a testimony to the great popularity of these tales. When, over a decade ago, a list of Talaing works in monasteries was compiled on behalf of the Educational Syndicate of Burma, 927 copies of the Ten Great Jātakas were found in about thirty monasteries round about Moulmein; classified according to the four divisions given above it is found that: 65 copies are in verse ဝိတ်); 46 are *nissayas;* 247, abridgements (skeṁ), and 569 copies are unabridged translations. Lists taken in other monasteries will probably yield some similar result. These jātakas alone offer a splendid material for the compilation of a Talaing dictionary; and when to them is added the translation of numerous Pāli works, such as the *Vinaya*, the *Dhammapada* Commentary, etc., etc., it will be seen what a rich mine there is for workers in this comparatively new field of philology to draw from.[1]

[1] The author has collected several thousands of new words from these Jātakas and a few other works.

In deciphering the legends on these plaques I had at my disposal an almost complete set of estampages taken many years ago; these have been generally very useful, though a good percentage of them were very difficult to read, either owing to the bad state of the plaques themselves or to—in not a few cases—the indifferent way in which they had been taken; besides, I had a set of photographs, such as they may be seen in the album of plates. I had also the advantage, from time to time, of being on the spot and examining the plaques themselves in doubtful cases. Notwithstanding all this, a few legends have presented difficulty in deciphering, as might well be expected, but I hope they have been deciphered correctly. The translation presented but few difficulties, for, besides the scenes on the plaques which, in many cases, speak for themselves, I had naturally the Pāli text to fall back upon, as well as translations in modern Talaing and also those in Burmese of these jātakas, which all helped me in fixing the meaning of old words long fallen into disuse or whose phonetic changes had made practically unrecognizable. However, several words still remain a crux, as will be seen in Appendix B.

It was my intention to include in Appendix C-1, only such words and forms as are not to be found in Haswell's Vocabulary; but on further consideration, on the advice of several friends, I have also included in it words which are in Haswell's, so as to make this Appendix, so far as it goes, complete in itself. In transcribing into modern Talaing characters a few old words, sometimes a superscript letter has been placed before the one below it, owing to difficulties in casting the types.

I beg to acknowledge here, with thankfulness, my indebtedness to Mr. C. O. Blagden, whose ripe scholarship and ever-ready help have always been placed at my disposal; and also to Mr. R. Halliday, whose thorough knowledge of literary Talaing has been very helpful. My best thanks are also due to Mr. R. W. Bishop, Superintendent, and Mr. R. Baillie, Deputy Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, for the interest they took in this work and for the beautiful get-up of the volume.

CHAS. DUROISELLE,
Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma.

MROHAUNG, *30th December* 1920.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.V.	...	Akkharavidhāna Abhidhānappadīpikā ; printed at Patlak, Siam.
B.	...	Burmese.
B.E.F.E.O.	...	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
Dhc.	...	Dhammacetī Mahāpiṭakadhara ; printed at Patlak, Siam.
Dhd. Aṭṭh.	...	Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā ; Pāli Texts and Singhalese editions.
Dh. Dip., Dhm. Dip.	...	Prakuih Dhammadīpanī : Rangoon.
Gpi.	...	Slapat Gacem pi roṅ au ; manuscript.
Jā.	...	The Jātaka, edited by Fausboll, Vol. VI.
N.V.K.	...	Navakovāda-vinayakathā ; printed at Paklat.
M.T.	...	Modern Talaing.
L.B.C.	...	Lik Bodhisat Cah ; printed at Patlak.
O. St.	...	O. Stevens' English-Talaing Dictionary ; Rangoon, 1896.
O.T	...	Old Talaing.
P.	...	Pāli.
P.T.	...	Pāli-Talaing Dictionary ; manuscript.
S.B.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Bhūridat = Bhūridattajātaka ; manuscript.
S.C.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Candakummā = Khaṇḍahālajātaka ; manuscript.
S.J.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Mahājanak = Mahājānakajātaka ; manuscript.
Skt.	...	Sanskrit.
S.M.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Mahosadha = Mahā-Ummaggajātaka ; manuscript.
S.N.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Smiṅ Nāaimi = Nimijātaka ; manuscript.
S.Nr.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Bruim Nārada = Mahānāradakassapajātaka ; manuscript
S.S.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Suvaṇṇasāṁ = Sāmajātaka ; manuscript.
S.T.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Temī = Mūgapakkhajātaka ; manuscript.
Sudh.	...	Sudhammavatī Gavampati Rājādhirāj ; Paklat.
S.V.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Vesantaw = Vessantarajātaka ; manuscript.
S.Vidh.	...	Skeṁ Jāt Vidhūra = Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka ; manuscript.
U.O.K.	...	Uposakovādakathā ; printed at Paklat.

REMARKS

The number on the left of each legend is the serial number of the plaque for easy cross-reference; that on the right is the number on the plaque itself. The numbers in smaller types after the translation of each legend refer by page and line to Volume VI of Fausboll's edition of the Jātaka.

CORRECTIONS

Page.	*Line.*	*For*	*Read*
12	10	(his disciples)	(his) disciples
17	36	Part I, p. 4	Part I, p. 56
18	31	we	win
19	26	သွဲ	သွဲ
21	29	Part I, p. 22	Part II, p. 94
90	27	*Punnaka*	*Puṇṇaka*
96	30	ဝဝဝ	ဝဝဝ
102	29	dandas	daṇḍas
112	9	Bār	Ḅār
114	10	Skt. *s*	Skt. *ṣ*
133	4	ဝာတ်	ဝာက်
133	10	ဆိတ်ပထိတ်	ဆိတ်ပထိတ်
159	7	pureh	pureḥ
165	25	ထွေတ်	သွေက်
169	2	makes ā	makes a
174	12	ဂတ်, ဝါ$	ဂတ်ဝါ$
182	29	ဝေါဝေါဝ	ဝေါဘေါဝ
189	31	form	from
192	29	၈၁၌	၈၁၌
207	35	ထွတ်	ထွတ်
210	3	၌	၌

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

TALAING PLAQUES ON THE ĀNANDA

I.—MUGAPAKKHA-JĀTAKA

THIS jātaka has always been known in Burma under the shorter and popular name of *Temi-zat* (= Temiya-jātaka), after the name of the hero in the story. The first plaque in the series of 37 illustrating it is the 538th on the Ānanda temple, corresponding with the number given to this story in Fausboll's edition of the "Jātaka" (Vol. VI), thus showing that in the pictorial representations of these old stories the artists of the Ānanda followed strictly the Singhalese recension as collected and arranged by the Buddhaghosa school.

Prince Temiya, actuated by the fear of hell and on the advice of a goddess, pretends to be dumb and a cripple; during sixteen years, many devices are resorted to to try and ascertain whether he is really so, but all fail. At last, his father orders him to be buried; he then moves and talks for the first time and discourses on religious topics to the astounded charioteer. He leaves the world, becomes an ascetic, and is followed by his father.

၁. ဣန် နိမ် တေဓိ—၅၃၀

In niman Temī—538

Indra invites Temiya (to be reborn as a man)—2. 9

The king of Benares had no children. At the instigation of his people who did not wish to see his line extinguished, he prays for a son. Caṇḍādevī, the chief queen, a lady of eminent piety, prays ardently for the boon of a male child. Indra's seat in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven becomes hot, and on ascertaining the cause, at once casts about for a suitable son for her. The Bodhisatta,

or future Buddha, after a reign of twenty years in Benares, had been reborn in hell and from thence in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven; Indra goes to him and invites him to be reborn as a man in the bosom of Candādevī. He accepts.

Niman, from the Pāli *nimanteti*, is still currently used in modern literature; *cf.* ဆမန်, laman, Dhc. 144. 3; for a similar change of *n* to *l* *cf.* လိုတ်, lmit = နိုတ်, nimit (P. *nimitta*), to create; ဃရွေ့, larui' = နရွေ့, narui' (and နရော့, naro'), Sudh. 22. 8, S.B. 8. 29, to cry, cry out; ဃဒိတ်ဗွတ်, lamit bdah, Sudh. 13. 5 = နိုတ်ဗွတ်, nimit bdah, to create, make; ဂလော်, lmow, U.O.K. 15. 10 = နဂော်, namow, A.V. 129, to incline to, towards or downwards.

2. ပဋိသန္ဓေ—၅၃၉

Paṭisan Temī—539

Conception of Temiya—2. 13

Paṭisan, from P. *paṭisandhi*.

3. This plaque is missing, but from the sequence it no doubt represented the birth of Temiya, and the legend was either "parisut Temī" (*cf.* No. 84) or "Temī tit nor gar" (*cf.* No. 39).

4. ပအံ့ ယိမောအံ့ တေမီ—၅၄၁

Pa' himo' Temī—541

(His father) gives (him) the name of Temiya—3. 19

Pa' = the Mōd. ပ, pa, to do, make; in Old Mōn of the Pagan inscriptions and in these Ānanda plaques, a final အံ့ (') is often superadded to some words, which are found sometimes with and sometimes without it; the following are a few examples: himo', himu (modern); sñi, sñi'; sacchu, sacchu'; luṅo', lṅu (modern); mū, mo'; tirla, tirla'; gñi, gñi'; guñi, guñi'; kinta, kinta'; ambo, ambo'; sṅo', sṅu (modern). The same expression is found on two other plaques: pa himo' Mahos (No. 119) and pa imo' Wesantar (No. 268). An *h* is similarly often superadded, which will be noticed in its proper place. Himo', a name, is equivalent to the modern ဆိမု, himu; other old forms are imo' and yimo', with which compare the modern ဗျို, ymu, ဗျိုတော, ymu ymā.

၅. ကာလ် ရှင် ကွမ်လက်—၅၄၂

Kāl rāṅ kumlac—542

When they bring the thieves—3. 22

As Temiya was one month old, and the king his father was holding him on his lap, four robbers were brought in, whom the king condemned to atrocious punishment. Temiya calls back to mind his sufferings in hell, and perceiving, from his past experience and the verdict of his father, that kingship is inseparable from cruel deeds leading to hell, he becomes alarmed and bitterly regrets his having been born on the steps of a throne.

K ā l, when, while, from P. *kāla*. R ā ṅ, to convey, bring, carry, is a variant of r a ṅ, which forms the second part of ပ္ကန်ရန်, p k a ṅ r a ṅ, which generally translates, in *nissayas*, the Pāli *dhāreti*. It is also sometimes found written, in modern literature, ရေန်, r e ṅ, as at S.B. **17**. 9, and in ရေန်သွားလာ, r e ṅ t l u ṅ, "to convey and come," *i.e.* to bring, Dh. Dip. 23. 19, though the proper form, ရန်သွားလာ, r a ṅ t l u ṅ (= O.T.), is much more frequent; *vide* A.V. 31, where it translates the P. *nīta* and *ābhata*; A.V. 121 = *dhārana*; Dh. Dip. 299. 2 = Dh. Atth. 492, *āharati*. K u m l a c, thief; M.T. ကမ္လတ်, k a m l a t, from ကလတ်, k l a t, to steal.

၆. ဒေဝတာဝ် ဝက် တေမီ—၅၄၃

Dewatāw wet Temī—543

The goddess instructs Temiya—4. 14

On the morrow, while he was lying under a white umbrella and thinking gloomily over the previous day's occurrence, the goddess residing in the umbrella appears to him and shows him the way to escape hell: she instructs him to pretend to be deaf, dumb, and a cripple; he would thus avoid becoming king and thereby escape the possibility, through harsh sentences passed on lawless persons, of returning to hell. He agrees to do so. The parents, for sixteen years, subject him to many tests in order to ascertain whether he was really born so. This explains the following plaques.

D e w a t ā w = P. *devatā*. W e t, to instruct; the plaque is a little spoiled in the middle of the inscription, so that it is not clear whether the verb

should be read r e t, d e t or w e t; the final *t* is however quite clear and the middle consonant looks like *r*; but the formation of the letter is defective, and on the whole looks more like a misformed O (w), which has been spoiled by whitewash. W e t is found under the form w e c on plaque No. 23. R e t or d e t has not yet been found anywhere else either in inscriptions or modern literature.

7. ခီရိဝမံ—၅၄၄

Khīrawimaṅsa—544

The trial with milk—5. 1–20

Temiya is, from time to time, kept the whole day without being given milk, to see if he would cry and ask for it, but, firm in his resolution, he neither moves nor utters a sound.

Both words are Pāli, *khīra*, milk, and *vīmaṁsā*, trial; final *ā* is very faint and seems to have been spoilt by whitewash.

8. ပူဝခဇ္ဇနဝိမံသ—၅၄၅

Pūwakhajjanawimaṅsana—545

The trial with cakes—5. 20–28

9. ဗိတ် ကု သစ္ဆု—၅၄၆

Biṭat ku sacchu—546

They try (Temiya) with fruits—5. 28

Biṭat = M.T. ဗတ်, baṭat, measure; to measure, take the measure of; hence, to try, test; *cf.* စံဗတ်, c a m ṭ a t, to try, test, in which the first word is the Burmese စံ, cam[3]; also ဗတ်ကွတ်, ṭ a t k n a t, Dh. Dip. 29. 11, to measure, compute, estimate; ဗတ်ပြိုင်, ṭ a t p r u i ṅ, Dh. Dip. 30. 14, to measure oneself with, vie, contend, in which the word ပြိုင်, p r u i ṅ, is also a loanword from Burmese; ဗတ်ဘတ်, ṭ a t b n a t, A.V. 144, 147, to measure, gauge, size up, in all of which the original meaning of ဗတ်, ṭ a t, is well brought out. S a c c h u = s a c c h u, fruit; Blagden tells me that s a c

(fruit) is found in his Inscription No. IX; see also plaque No. 330; the M.T. is s a t, ဆတ်။

10. ကိလာဘဏ္ဍကဝိမသန်—၅၄၇

Kilābhaṇḍakawimaṅsana—547

The trial with toys—6. 3

K i l ā, for k i ḷ ā.

11. ဘောဇနဝိမသန်—၅၄၀

-Bhojanawimaṅsana—548

The trial with food—6. 6

12. This plaque is missing; in the regular order of the tests, it must have represented the trial by fire.

13. ဗိဓတ် ကု ဇိဉ်—၅၅၀

Biḍat ku ciṅ—550

They try (Temiya) with elephants—6. 18

C i ṅ, elephant, variant of c i ṅ. No number appears on this plaque which is No. 550 in the regular order of the series.

14. ဗိဓတ် ကု ဇြုံ—၅၅၁

Biḍat ku jruṁ—551

They try (Temiya) with snakes—6. 26

15. သမဇ္ဇဝိမသိန—၅၅၂

Samajjawimaṅsana—552

The test of the mime—7. 2

16. ဗိဓတ် ကု သ္နာက်—၅၅၃

Biḍat ku snāk—553

They try (Temiya) with a sword—7. 7

17. ဗိဓတ် ကု သင်—၅၅၄

Biḍat ku saṅ—554

They try (Temiya) with conches—7. 19

Saṅ, from P. *saṅkha*.

18. ဗိဓတ် [ကု ဖံ]—၅၅၅

Biḍat (ku phaṁ)—555

They try (Temiya) with drums—7. 23

The right-hand side of the plaque has been broken and lost and its place filled in with cement, half the legend having thus disappeared; in the sequence of the tests, it represents that with drums, and I have therefore restored the word for drum, p h a ṁ = M.T.; it recurs frequently in the inscriptions of King Kyanzittha, at Pagan, which describe the ceremonies at the building of his palace.

19. ဗိဓတ် ကု ပ္နာင်—၅၅၆

Biḍat ku pnāṅ—556

They try (Temiya) with lamps—7. 24

P n ā ṅ has a variant p n e ṅ.

၂၀. ဗိစတ် ကု တင်္ဂလေ်—၅၅၇

Biḥat ku taṅglāy—557

They try (Temiya) with molasses—8. 1

The modern literary form of t a ṅ g l ā y is တင်္ကလေ, t a ṅ k l ā a i, and the colloquial တင်္လေ, t a ṅ l â a i, with elision of *k*; the Burmese is တင်္လဲ, t a ṅ l a i.

၂၁. ဗိစတ် ကု ဟဒုက်—၅၅၀

Biḥat ku haḍak—558

They try (Temiya) with filth—8. 6

H a ḍ a k, filth, foeces = colloquial ဟိုဝ်က်, h i ḍ ā k, the literary form being ဆိုဝ်က်, s ṅ i ḍ ā k = "house-water," that is, water-closet, a privy; but it means also, excrement, filth; *vide* A.V. 39 = P. *ukkāra*, Dh. Dip. 114. 12 = P. *uccāra*, and the corresponding passage of the story in Pāli (VI. 8. 6) = a s u c i j i g u c c h a k a. In the word h a ḍ a k, the medial consonant appears to have been spoilt originally when fusing the glaze and later by whitewash, so that I am not quite sure whether it is really a *ḍ*, though this letter is required here on etymological ground, the oldest documents we possess writing always the word "water," which enters into this compound ṣ ṅ i ḍ ā k (collq. h i ḍ ā k) with a *ḍ* (ဝ်က်, ဝ့က်, ḍ ā k, ḍ e k); as it stands now, however, the letter looks as if it were *ru* or *du*, which would give us h a r u k or h a d u k, in which r u k might perhaps be compared with ဝုက်, ḍ u k = "wet," which would scarcely convey the meaning intended. Basing myself, however, on the constant usage of old and modern documents, I have adopted the reading *ḍ*; but the absence of long *ā* after *ḍ* remains to be explained; the word should read h a ḍ ā k; it is probable the long *ā* has been dropped through inadvertence; similar cases are not quite rare in these plaques, and will be noticed in their own places. Moreover, in the series of the "tests," this one comes exactly at the place it occupies in the Pāli, between Nos. 557 and 559, thus leaving no doubt as to the sense of h a ḍ a k.

22. ကပ္ပလိမသ်ံ—၅၅၉

Kapallawimaṅsana—559

The test with fire-pans—8. 18

23. အဗော်အဖ တျုင် ဝဿ်—၅၆၀

Abo' aba tluṅ wec—560

(Temiya's) mother and father come and remonstrate (with him)—8. 24

Abo', mother, is confirmed by a number of plaques, see Index A; so also aba, father. The Burmese and Talaings, when coupling nouns or pronouns denoting one the masculine and the other the feminine, always place the feminine first; this practice is, I think, pretty general in Indo-China and seems to be due to the influence of Pāli. Tluṅ = M.T. တျုင်, kluṅ, but it is still in use in compound verbs, see note on raṅ, plaque No. 5. Wec = M.T. ဝဿ်, wet; see No. 6.

24. နာဋကိမသ်ံ—၅၆၁

Nāṭakawimaṅsana—561

The trial with nautches—9. 6

25. ကုမိန် တေမိ—၅၆၂

Kumin Temī—562

They make Temiya king—10. 16

All these tests, spreading over a period of sixteen years, having failed to elicit from Temiya the least sign of intelligence and to procure the least gleam of hope that he was not a useless cripple, his father, at the instigation of the soothsayers, decides to have him buried in the common cemetery. Candādevī, frightened for her child, asks her husband to make him king; he refuses; at last, after many pressing entreaties, he consents that he should rule for seven days. During that week, his mother, who feels he is not a cripple, begs of him to show himself in his true light; but Temiya, horrified by the fear of hell, remains steadfast in his resolution, and she fails.

Kumin, accession to the throne, rule, to make (some one) king, to enthrone (*vide* plaques Nos. 206, 217); *cf.* kirmin (plaque No. 229),

royalty, kingship, and the M.T. ကြိန်, k m i n, in ကြိန်ဝုဉ်ကျိုင်ကွာန်, k m i n ḍ u ṅ k ḍ u i ṅ b t ā ṅ, U.O.K. 39. 5; ကြိန်ကျိုင်ကွာန်, k m i n k ḍ u i ṅ b t ā ṅ, S.M. 10. 17; ကြိန်းန်, k m i n n a n, U.O.K. 39. 13.

26. သာရထိ တူုင် ကေတ်—၅၆၃

Sārathī tluṅ ket—563

The charioteer comes to take away (Temiya)—11. 8

The supreme test, that of kingship, having failed, the royal charioteer comes to execute the king's order for Temiya's burial.

27. ရိန် တိတ် တေဓိ—၅၆၄

Rin tit Temī—564

(The charioteer) conveys away Temiya—11. 17

R i n, to lead, convey; the verb t i t, to go out, after another verb, has sometimes the sense of "out, away."

28. ကာလ် သ္ဂိုသ် ဟန် တိ—၅၆၅

Kāl scis han ti—565

(Temiya) descending on to the ground—12. 4

The charioteer leaves the city with the cart conveying the prince; having decided on a spot, he begins to dig a grave. Not having moved for sixteen years, Temiya doubts whether he has still the control of his limbs and gets down from the chariot to ascertain.

S c i s = M.T. ထိုဿ်, s c i h, သ္ဂိုဿ်, s c e h, and စိဿ်, c i h, ဇေဿ်, c e h, to go down. H a n, in, to, at, on; a variant is h i n (*vide* Index A).

29. ဗိစတ် ဒိရ်ဟတ်—၅၆၆

Bibat dirhat—566

He tries his strength—12. 6

Then, thinking the charioteer, in the execution of his orders, might use violence against him, Temiya, to try his strength, seizes the hinder part of the chariot, and lifts it up as a toy.

Dirhat = M.T. ဒြဟတ်, drahat, and ဒရိဟတ်, darhat, S.J. 67; the latter form is nearer the old one.

30. ကာလ် တေဓိ ညီအိ်—၅၆၇

Kāl Temī gñi'—567

Temiya is being adorned—12. 17

At that moment, Sakka's seat becomes uncomfortable and, ascertaining the cause of it, perceives that the prince desires to be adorned; he sends Vissakamma, the heavenly artist, to adorn him.

Gñi' = M.T. ဍ္ဍ, gñi, to adorn; for final *a* ('), see note on pa', plaque 4.

31. သ္မာည် သာရထိ—၅၆၀

Smāñ sārathī—568

He questions the charioteer—12. 19

He asks him why he is in such a hurry to dig a grave and for whom it is intended; the charioteer at first answers without looking up, but at last he recognizes who speaks to him, and is delighted.

32. သာရထိ ဍ္ဍ ဝေဝ်—၅၆၉

Sārathī kña cow—569

The charioteer invites (Temiya) to return (home)—15. 18

Kña, besides the meaning given in Haswell's, means also "to invite"; *cf.* Dh. Dip. 94. 12—သိတုန် သိက် ဝံ့ည်ဍုံန် ကာ ကျာက် ထတူ ထိုု—"the king, desirous of inviting the Buddha up to the house"; there is a form ဥ, ña, which points out to a form ဩ, sña, through ဩ, kña, at N.V.K. 4. 13—ဒွိထိုဝ်ဆာ ဍ္ဍောဝ် မွဲ့ ထိုဝ်ကာတွံန် ဇကု ပဇတ် ဒး ညွန်ဒွိသင်ယကွိုင် ထိုဝ်ကျုင်ဍ္ဍောန် ထွးထဆာင်ကွာ—"When a monk is going to build a large monastery with (the help of) a layman for himself to stay in, he must first invite the clergy to come and show them the site."

33. ရာဇာ ပွန် ဟိန် အ္ဘော်အဗ် အ္ဘ—၅၇၀

Rājā pcan hin abo' aba—570

The king (= Temiya) sends a message to his mother and father—19. 4

Pcan = M.T. ဖျန်, phyan, not now used by itself but frequent enough in the doublet ကန်ဖျန်, bkan phyan. For the equation pcan = ဖျန်, phyan, *cf.* pcun = ဖျုန်, phyun; p (pa) cih = ဖျိတ်, phyih (= ဖျေတ်); p (pa) ceṅ = ဖျင်, phyeṅ; p (pa) cin = ဖျိန်, phyin; pacap = ဖျဝ်, phyap; pacot = ဖျောတ်, phyot, etc.; similarly, *p* (pa) + initial ∞, *s*, become ဖျ, phy—pasaw = ဖျော်, phyow; pasun = ဖျုန်, phyun; pasuin = ဖျိန်, phyuin; pasuik = ဖျိက်, phyuik. But pcan under the form ဗဇန်, bacan, is found in literary Talaing, see S.J. folio *ke*—၆၉ဗဇန် တဲ့—"hearing the message"; L.B.C. 45. 2—သဒ္ဓံ ဗဇန်ဝကာန် —" (the Buddha) having thus left his message (or instructions)."

34. ကာလ် ရာဇာ အ္ဘီရ်—၅၇၁

Kāl rājā ma 'īr—571

When the king leaves the world—21. 8

Temiya's mind was inclined towards the quiet happy life of an ascetic; again, Sakka's seat becomes hot, and having ascertained the cause, he sends down Vissakamma, who builds a hermitage and arranges everything necessary for a hermit. Then the prince exchanges his royal clothes for the bark garments and black antelope-skin of the ascetic and enjoys the spiritual bliss of the recluse's life.

'Īr, without *a* (ာ) used as a fulcrum, is found in two other plaques, written īr (Nos. 71, 114) and again 'ir with the fulcrum (No. 327). This verb, so far as I am aware, has fallen into oblivion and has no corresponding form now; it means "to leave the world, to become a recluse or monk," and answers to the Pāli *pabbajati;* the word for monk, gam-'ī (ဝ္ဂီ), which we find in the inscriptions of the 15th century is derived from this verb; the older (11th century) form, gum-īr, has preserved the verb intact. The modern form is gamhī (ဝ္ဂှီ), often found written khamhī (ခှီ).

35. ဂုလာညိ် ကု သ္မိင်—၅၇၂

Gulāñ ku smiṅ—572

He converses with the king (his father)—22. 24 *ff*

The king has come to the hermitage with an immense retinue to see his son in the plenitude of his bodily strength, and they have a long conversation together.

G u l ā ñ, to converse: conversation = M.T. ဃာ်, g a l ā n.

36. ဒိ်ဒု ရိသိ တွာသ—၅၇၃

Dindu risi twās—573

Instructing the hermits (his disciples)—29. 13

Temiya's father and mother, their respective retinues and a large concourse of citizens follow the prince's example. A vast hermitage is built for them. The Bodhisatta, who knows their inmost thoughts, instructs and admonishes them each according to his needs.

D i n d u, to instruct. I do not know of any modern equivalent for this word, unless it be d a l o' (ဒလော်); the interchange of *d* and *l* is very frequent, above all when initial; the equivalence of *u* and *o* (and *a*) is also frequent. T w ā s = M.T. တွး, t w a ḥ.

37. တောသ် ဝရ်မ္မ ကု သ္မိင်—၅၇၄

Tos dharmma ku smiṅ—574

(Temiya) preaches the Law to the (three) kings—29. 21 *ff*

The king of a neighbouring country comes to invade Kāsi and rules in Benares. But Temiya goes to meet him, sits in the air and teaches him the Law; the invading king becomes an ascetic; exactly the same thing happens to two other kings.

D h a r m m a, the Law, direct from the Sanskrit.

II.—MAHĀJANAKA-JĀTAKA

The king of Mithilā has two sons; when he dies, the elder becomes king and the younger viceroy. The younger brother is then wrongfully

accused and suspected and thrown into jail; he escapes, raises an army and kills his brother in battle. The king's chief queen, who is *enceinte*, flees from Mithilā; she brings forth a son, who is brought up in ignorance of his father. At last, learning who his father was, he resolves to regain the kingdom and goes to sea as a merchant to make a certain amount of money to help him in his design. The ship founders. A goddess carries him to his father's kingdom, where, after answering many riddles, he becomes king, and marries his uncle's daughter. At last, he becomes an ascetic, and his wife follows him on his way to the wilderness.

38. ဇနက် ပဋိသန္—၅၇၅

Janak paṭisan—575

Janaka is conceived.

39. ဇနက် တိတ် နော်ရ် ဂရ်—၅၇၆

Janak tit nor gar—576

Janaka comes out from the womb—33. 11

Nor = M.T. နဝ်, nū, from; gar, from the Skt. *garbha* = M.T. ဝဒ်, gaw, also written ဝေါဒ်, gow, Dh. Dip. 57. 24, 62. 8.

40. ဇနက် ဗိည် ကု သံဝတ်—၅၇၇

Janak wiñ ku saṁwat—577

Janaka plays with the children—33. 13

Wiñ, to play[1] = M.T. ဝေဒ်, weṅ; saṁwat, child, a variant is suṁwat = M.T. သမတ်, samat.

41. ဇနက် သ္မာည် ဗွော်အ်—၅၇၀

Janak smāñ abo'—578

Janaka questions his mother—33. 18

Mahājanaka's playmates, when angry with him, used to call him "widow's son"; he wants to know whose son he is, and asks his mother.

42. ဇနက် မုန် ဟိန် အော်—၅၇၉

Janak mun hin abo'—579

Janaka informs his mother (he will go trading)—34. 3

Mun means: to tell, inform, apprise, notify, *cf.* Nos. 90, 183, 203, 213, 225; and munas, Nos. 279, 283. Hin, a variant of han, "in, at, on, to."

43. ကာလ ဗြဟ်—၅၀၆

Kāla bram—586

When (the boat) founders—34. 19

The serial number on this plaque is a good example of the carelessness or oversights to be detected in a certain number of legends in these plaques. According to the events of the story which precede and follow it, this plaque is here in its right place; the copyist, however, has inadvertently written 586 for 580.

44 = No. 581, *missing*.[1]

45. ဒေဝတာဝ် ယောက်—၅၀၂

Dewatāw yok—582

The goddess carries (Janaka) in her arms—37. 14

Maṇimekhalā, a goddess, has for duty to watch over the ocean and rescue from death all virtuous shipwrecked persons. She sees Mahājanaka manfully swimming in the sea; she comes and listens with delight to his reflections on the virtue of energy. She then carries him in her arms to Mithilā, and lays him on a ceremonial stone in a mango grove. Meanwhile his uncle the king had died, leaving no male issue, but only a daughter. While casting about for a successor, the royal chaplain, followed by the grandees of the kingdom and a vast army, comes to the stone slab on which Mahājanaka is lying asleep. After several trials to test his mettle,

[1] The plaque was found subsequently, spoiled. The original legend had disappeared, and one in modern Burmese, "King Janaka is swimming," has been substituted.

he examines the marks on the soles of his feet and ascertains he is a great man.

Yok, to lift up, carry in the arms, is the modern ယိုက်, yuik, but the old spelling is still occasionally found, for instance at Dhc. 151. 26.

46. မေယ် လက္ခဏ် ဇနက်—၅၀၃

Mey laksan Janak—583

The chaplain examines Janaka's marks—39. 30

Mey, to look = M.T. မွဲ, mwai, which is, now-a-days, not used by itself, but after a few other verbs of cognate meaning, *e.g.*, ကြိမွဲ, ṅī mwai; ငယ်မွာ်မွဲ, ṅew mlāk mwai; ရံမွဲ, rắṅ mwai; သိမွဲ, sṅī mwai; ဝတ်မွဲ, camat mwai, etc. The Prakuih Dhammadīpanī uses regularly the form မဲ, mai, which is nearer to the old form. As a verb used by itself I have found မွဲ, mwai, only once, at A.V. 19, ပွမွဲ, pwa ma mwai = P. *apekkhā*. Laksan, a mark, direct from Skt. *lakṣan* or *lakṣana;* it is found written also: lakyan (လက္ခန်) (pron. *laksan*), and lakṣan; the P. form, lakkhaṇā (လက္ခဏာ), is also frequent.

47. အဘိသေခ ဇနက်—၅၀၄

Abhisekha Janak—584

The anointment (as king) of Janaka—40. 6

The chaplain, having recognized all the marks of greatness on Janaka, the latter is forthwith consecrated king.

Abhisekha, for abhiseka; the most common modern form is ပသေက်, pasek, A.V. 21; Sudh. 10. 22: ဣန္ဒပဿေကိတ္ထိမင်္ဂဿ—"Indra consecrated the young man"; ပသေက်ပသဒ်, pasek pasaw, is another frequent expression, S.J. (A) 75: ခဲ့ ဒဃ်ထို့ ယွန်ထဝ် ပသေက်ပသဒ် တဲ့—"having made him king, consecrate him (as such)." I have not yet met ပသေက်ပသဒ်, pasek pắsaw, in the sense of "blessedness" as recorded in Haswell's.

48. ဇနက် လောဝ် ဍုင်—၅၀၅

Janak lop ḍuṅ—585

Janaka enters the (capital) city—40. 8

49. ကိလ် သ္ထာန် ကု ဂဟက်—၅၈၆

Kil sthān ku gahak—586

(Janaka) assigns their places to the officials of state—40. 9

Kil = M.T. ကိ, kuiw. Sthāṅ, from Skt. *sthāna*. Gahak, P. *gāhaka* = "a police officer," but here it is question of the officials, civil and military, from the generalissimo downwards, and it means, therefore, "officials of state." A defect in the glaze of the plaque makes final *k* of hak in gahak appear like *t* in the photograph. There is no doubt that Gahak is meant here.

50. ဥကျာက် ခြုတ် ခုတ်—၅၀၇

Gnakyāk or khut—587

The queen sends (a man) to call (Janaka), *or*
The queen causes (Janaka) to be called—40. 11

The princess, daughter of the late king, has been wooed by the highest officials in the kingdom; but owing to their fawning behaviour and hurry, she has rejected them all; she now wants to see how Mahājanaka will act, and sends for him.

Or has three meanings: (i) to send, (ii) to cause to, make to, and (iii) it is used in a precative sense. It is curious that in all these senses it corresponds exactly to the Burmese word ce (ပေ) which denotes the causative, the optative-precative, and which, when used independently of any other verb and by itself, also means "to send." (i) The first meaning is found in the legend on the present plaque, if we consider the corresponding passage in the Pāli (Fausboll, VI. 40): rājadhītā . . . purisaṁ āṇāpesi, "gaccha, rājānaṁ upasaṅkamitvā vadehi: Sīvalidevī taṁ pakkosatī ti"—"the princess ordered a man, 'Go, tell the king: Princess Sīvalī summons you.'" It is true that the short legends in these plaques are not translations of the corresponding passages in the Pāli stories but are merely indicative and briefly explanatory of the scenes represented above them, so that the legend under discussion might as well be translated: "the queen causes (Janaka) to be summoned." (ii) The second meaning is found in plaque No. 211, in the Candakumāra-jātaka, smiṅ or bicār, "the king causes him (makes him) to investigate the cases." Here, it is used as a kind of auxiliary verb, in the same sense and in the same manner as ထိုး kuiw, is used in the modern language. This

meaning I had deduced from some of the uses of this word in its present form, ပျော်, p-'o w (with prefix *p*); two Talaing monks, to whom I submitted this inscription in Candakumāra, translated it in Burmese, independently, in exactly the same words: "man[3] sañ tarā[3] kui chum[3] phrat ce i" (ဝင်းသည် ထရုးကို ဆုံးဖြတ်ဝေ၏)—"the king causes (him) to decide cases"; and the Talaing version of this jātaka (Skem Candakumā, fol. *ku*) has: ထိုက်စွန်ထုမှာ ဂိုထွုတ်သွာတ် ဆမှ ဩး ရ, in which ကို, k u i w, as just pointed out, has the meaning of the old o r. (iii) The third, or precative force, is found twice in the Talaing face of the Myazedi inscription pillar.[1] Line 29 reads: s i n r a ṅ e(' = ey) w o' o r d a s h e t k u g w o' s a r w w a ñ u t a ñ ā ṇ, "let (may = o r) this deed of mine be the cause (for me) to obtain omniscience"; in the corresponding passage of the Burmese face, line 35, for the Talaing o r d a s, "let (it) be, may (it) be," we have p h l a c c i y t e h (Modern Burmese = p h r a c c e t a ñ) where c e, as explained at the beginning of this note, has a precative sense. The modern equivalent of s i n r a ṅ in the above sentence, which had not yet been found when Mr. Blagden first published the Talaing face of the Myazedi inscription, has now been ascertained beyond doubt. It is သရင်, s a r a ṅ, with loss of the infix *in*, a frequent enough occurrence; it is found at S.B. 15: သရင်ပါပ်, s a r a ṅ p ā p; "a deed of evil" = သရမ်ပါပ်, s a r ā m p ā p; S.B. 25: ပွသရင်ပါပ်, p w a s a r a ṅ p ā p, ပ္, *pwa* being a synonym of သရင်, s a r a ṅ; at Dh. Dip. 241. 3, we find it followed by three synonymous words which practically explain it: သရင် ကိစ္စ ပ္ ကောင်းမာ. It is also found written c a r a ṅ (ဝရင်), the consonants *s* and *c* being frequently interchanged, A.V. 96 under *jamma*, 116 under *dīghāsutta*; Dh. Dip. 37. 6, ဝရင်ဝင်ထုသိုင်, c a r a ṅ d h a w k u s u i w, "an act of merit." In line 33 of the same inscription: y a ṅ ñ i r ñ ā c k y e k t r e y M e t t e y l a ḥ o r ḍ e ḥ g o'—"may (= o r) he not get sight of the blessed Buddha Metteyya." Here l a ḥ is an emphatic negative, still more intensified in the modern reduplication လားလား, l a ḥ l a ḥ = not at all (*cf.* Burmese လားထား, l ā[3] l ā[3]); o r is again rendered in the Burmese face, line 39, by 8ထ်, c i y (modern = ဝေ, c e), which is the precative, and the phrase, l a ḥ o r ḍ e ḥ g o', "let him (may he) not get," by the Burmese, a p h ū r a c i y, in which *a* before p h u is the old Burmese negative, long fallen into disuse, but still current among some Lolo tribes.

[1] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 4.

Or is found in M.T. with the prefix *p*, *ph* (ပ, ဝ), and with the meanings of (i) "to send, despatch, order," (ii) to cause to, incite to, urge; the precative sense seems to have fallen into disuse. A.V. 93, ပဝ ဝ ပ္ဆော ဝဗထိတ် = P. *codana*; A.V. 130, ပဝ ဝ ပ္ဆော ဝ် = P. *niyojana*; U.O.K. 33. 14, ပ္ဆော ဝဝ် ဝဝ်ထတ္တာ—"to cause lust, incite to lust"; Dhm. Dip. 173. 24, ဆဝတ် တံ ပ္ဆော ဝ်ထာကဒ္ဒ် ထုဝ်ဒးတာဒ္ဒရ်—"the devas caused the fish inadvertently to enter the net"; S.J. (A) fol. *kā*, ပ္ဆော ဝ်ဒ္ဓိတ်, "he sent a man"; Dh. Dip. 96. 6, ပ္ဆော ဝ်ဝကာက်ဆာထွာန်—"he despatched (some one) to enquire"; Sudh. 21. 19, ပ္ဆော ဝ် လွကျော်သရာစာက်ဆာကေတ်နဝ်—"he caused the hunter to go with two warriors to bring him."

Or corresponds in meaning with the Khmer oy, with which it is perhaps related. J. Guesdon, in his "Dictionnaire cambodgien-français," p. 76, defines it: "oy—donner, accorder; pour, afin de—indique l'impératif, le causatif, l'optatif." Lower below, he gives the example: "oy hau, faire appeler" = to cause to call, and E. Aymonier "Dictionnaire khmer-français," p. 47, oy—donner; pour, afin de, à = signe du datif; que; faire. Indique le causatif, le mode imperatif, le mode optatif."

51. ဇနက် တိန် ပြာသာဒ်—၅၀၀

Janak tin prāsād—508

Janaka (holding the princess's hand) ascends the palace—40. 21

Tin = M.T. တိန်, tuin. Prāsād, a building with superposed roofs; hence, a palace, from Skt. *prāsāda*; the modern form is ပြာသာတ်, prāsāt, for soft consonants are not suffered as finals. The pure modern Talaing word for prāsād is တ္ဝုံကြတတ်, tnuṅ krakat, very frequent in the literature. It is found in the Shwezigôn Bell-inscription (A.D. 1557) written ထိုဏုံကြတတ်, sṅi kanuṅ kragat.

52. ကာလ် ဇနက် သ္မာည်—၅၀၉

Kāl Janak smāñ—589

When Janaka enquires—40. 23

Mahājanaka enquires whether the late king had left any instructions. His instructions were: the kingdom should be given to him who could we

the heart of Princess Sīvalī and answer some difficult riddles propounded by the late king himself. All this Mahājanaka did without difficulty.

53. ကိလ် စ္နာယ်ကိန်လောင်—၅၉၀

Kil cnāykīnloṅ—590

(Janaka) gives his (gold) pin to the queen—40. 30

Cnāykīnloṅ is an ornamental pin to keep the hair or the headdress in place; the Burmese version of the same stories wherein this word is found renders it by ဆံကျင် (chaṁ kyaṅ) and ဦးသျှောင်ကျင် (ū³ shyoṅ kyaṅ), both of which mean an ornamental hairpin. The modern forms of the word are စ္ဓဲက္ခံင်, cnāai knåṅ; စ္ဓဲကန်ံင်, cnāai kanhåṅ; စ္ဓဲသန်ံင်, cnāais anhåṅ; တ္ဓဲန်ံင်, tnāai khnåṅ; သ္ဓဲက္ခံင်, snāai knåṅ; သ္ဓဲန်ံင်, snāai khnåṅ; in which the medial *ī* and the *l* in cnāai kīnloṅ have been lost; the equivalence of ◌ော်ငံ (oṅ) and ◌်ငံ (åṅ) is not infrequent, *cf.* အယောင်အလာ, ayoṅ alā, S.B. 27. 1, and အယ်ငံအလာ, ayåṅ alā, more common; ဝ္ဓောင်, glooṅ, S.J. (B) 36, and the more common ဝ္ဓ်ငံ, glåṅ. In the passages where this word is found it regularly translates the Pāli *sūci*, a pin, a needle; the passage in Mahājanaka to which the present plaque refers reads (Fausboll VI. 40. 30): "sīsato suvaṇṇasūciṁ nīharitvā Sīvalideviyā hatthe adāsi," which the modern Talaing version translates very closely: နှုတ်ခိုးဖထူသွဲခန်ံင်ထပ်ဥတ်နင်တဲ့ပွဲထဲဝွကျင် သီဝလိမ်ဒေးဒုံးကိုရ. *Cnāai kinloṅ* is also found in plaque No. 321 of the Vessantara-jātaka; the Pāli (VI. 519. 23) has: "tassa suvaṇṇasūciṁ datvā," "he gave the hunter a golden ornamental hairpin," which is put in the modern version: စ္ဓဲသန်ံင်ထင်ဒွေဖါဒိသတ်ကိုထုလွှ။ At A.V. 92, the meaning of စ္ဓဲက္ခံင် is given as "cūḷāmaṇi" = a crest jewel, which is no doubt a slip; the exact meaning as "pin, needle" is borne out by the first member of the word, စ္ဓဲ, သ္ဓဲ, cnāai, snāai, which by itself means a pin, a needle, something long used in keeping something in its proper place, such as for instance a wheel, *cf.* A.V. 194, *rathagutti*, and 30, *āṇī* = သ္ဓဲမုတ်ရိကွီ, snāai muh ri kwī = a linchpin; and in this sense is equivalent to the Burmese ကျင် (kyaṅ) in the two expressions given above, and which reappears in ကန်လန်ကျင် (kan¹ lan¹ kyaṅ), a bolt. Moreover, the true Talaing expression for a "crest, diadem" is လ္ဗု lmu; A.V. 92, "cūḷā" = လ္ဗုဓက် ထတ္ခ ကွိုဝ် ထေဝ်ဝး, "a *cūḷā* means also a crest (လ္ဗု) tied

(placed) on the head." P. W. Schmidt in his "Buch des Rāg'āwan, der Kõnigsgeschichte" (ရာဇဝံသ ဒီပနီ အဋ္ဌကထာ ဆို ရောင်),[1] page 74, has quite misunderstood the word; he translates k n å ṅ in s n ā a i k n å ṅ as "chair," a meaning it has not; this means the rafters which support the planks of a floor.

54–57 = Plaques 591-94, *missing*.

58. The inscription on this plaque is completely spoilt, only the first letter *u*, and the last *s*, being visible, as well as the number 595.

59. သွင်တိတ် ဥယျာန်—၅၉၆

Smiṅ tit uyyān—596

The king goes out to his pleasaunce—44. 17

U y y ā n = P. *uyyāna*; a form from the Skt., *udyān*, is also met with.

60. ဇနက် မေယ် တြုက်—၅၉၇

Janak mey truk—597

Janaka looks at the mango (trees)—44. 18

The king coming to the gate of his pleasaunce looks at two mango trees, one of which is laden with sweet fruits, the other bearing no fruit at all. He plucks one fruit and eats it, intending to eat more on his return. But as he passes into the garden, everybody in his retinue plucks and eats fruits, and those who do not get any strip off the leaves and break the branches, leaving the beautiful tree all broken.

61. ဇနက် ညာဒ် တြုက်—၅၉၈

Janak ñāc truk—598

Janaka sees the mango (tree)—44. 28

On his return, Mahājanaka perceives the mango tree all battered and broken; on enquiry, he learns it is on account of its fruit, and that the other

[1] Published in the *Sitzungsberichte* der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Band CLI, 1906.

tree near by, having no fruit, has not been molested. This makes him ponder. "This kingdom of mine," muses he, "is like the fruitful tree; it invites ruin and desolation; the ascetic life, on the other hand, is like the barren tree, nobody disturbs it, for the ascetic possesses no riches; why should I not be like the barren tree?". And he resolves then and there to become an ascetic. This decision explains the plaques which follow.

Ñāc = M.T. ကြာတ်, ñāt, to see.

62. သျိင် ဇနက် ကိန်ကန်—၅၉၉

Smiṅ Janak kinkan—599

King Janaka instructs (the generalissimo)—45. 7

As he intends living the life of a recluse in his palace, he gives instructions to the generalissimo that none but two servants should be allowed to see him, and that he, the general-in-chief, should carry on the affairs of state in conjunction with the high officials.

Kinkan, to instruct = M.T. ကာ်း, gakan; variants are kiṅkāl, kinkāl, kiṅkan.

63. သျိင် ဇနက် လုဝေါ်—၆၀၀

Smiṅ Janak luṅo'—600

King Janaka lives in retirement—52. 19

Luṅo', to be retired, solitary, lonely = M.T. ထျဲ, lṅu; for the final ် ('), see note on pa', plaque No. 4

64. ရင် ဗိရိဗေင် သိကိုလ်—၆၀၁

Raṅ birbeṅ sikil—601

They (the two attendants) bring the alms-bowl (and) give it (to Mahājanaka)—52. 22

Raṅ, see note on rāṅ, plaque 5. Sikil, "to give," it is the verb kil = M.T. ထိဒ်, kuiw, "to give," with prefix si = M.T. ∞, sa, and *s*. This prefix is also found in the Nyaung-U Shwezigôn Inscription,[1] line 28,

[1] Edited by C. O. Blagden, *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 22 *ff*.

in the word sik-im, "to smile," in the passage: ma tirla pa kir-īm wo'ci, mū het yo; sak het kyāk buddha tarley gumloṅ sik-im ci kaḥ sak, which means: "What is the reason that my lord smiles thus? Without reason the lord Buddhas do not smile." This prefix သ, s (a), is frequent in modern literary Talaing; the old form si, however, has not been lost, and it is still found written သီ, sī, but it is far less frequent than sa (*s*). Here are a few examples I have gleaned in the course of my reading; it will be remarked that, in each example, this prefix denotes the *future tense*: S.M. 13, ယွံ ဓရုတ် ဓအဲဝိုက် ဒ်ဃို ပထိသဒ္ဓိ။ ဒ်အာဒ္ဓတ် ဒ်ဝတု ကောန် ဟွံ သူးထိ။ ဓအဲဝိုက် သီဈျိတ်ဆေဟ်ထိ—"Sire, my father is with child, it is now ten months, he has not yet brought forth, and I know not (whether) he *will* die"; S.M. 21, ယွံတူးညးဆယးဝတဝိုဏီသ်ဍ်ရ—"Sire, only to-morrow *shall* we answer this"; the next two examples are interesting because, in the same passage in two different manuscripts, one form is written with သီ, sī, in one, and with သ (*s*) in the other manuscript; S.M. (A) fol. *gha*, ဒ္ဓိတ်ကမ္ဘတ်ဒမ္ဘဓတ်ဍဲထို့ ဝတ်ဓရုတ်ထဝ်ဓရှေ် ဝဲဂိုင်ဂံဍ်အဲဝိုက်သီကေတ်ဏာရဒာ, and S.M. (B) fol. *kha*, ဒ္ဓိတ်ကမ္ဘတ်ဒမ္ဘဓတ် ဍဲ ထို့ဝတ် ဓရုတ်ထဝ်ဓရှေ် စာဂိုင်တံဍ် အဲဝိုက် ကွေတ် ဏာရဒာ—"Sire, I *shall* take away the thieves and daoits who are in prison in chains and irons." Similarly, in the following passage, S.M. (A) has the full prefix သီ and (B) the attenuated သ—ဍ်ဓမ္ဘေဒ်ဆွတ်ဍ် ဍ်ညာတ်တဲ့ ဝိုဝိုတ်သီဓန် (သ္ဓန်)ဒးရဒာ—"Sire, if we do get a big or small (piece of the sand-rope), seeing it, we *shall* (be able to) twist (such a rope)." These last two examples are sufficient to show that သီ and သ are the same prefix. The following are examples of သ denoting the future, picked out of a large number: Dhm. Dip. 159. 16, ဍဲတဲ့ဍ် . . . သ္ဓပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်ရ—"to-day . . . he *will* enter parinirvāṇa," the corresponding passage in Pāli (Dhp. Atth. 384) reads: *ajj'eva . . . parinibbāyissati*. Sudh. 29, 9, ဒွဲါဍ်သဗ္ဗညု ပူးဒိုတ်ထဝ်ဓါတ်ဇေက်အဲဓွဲည်ဍန်—"in this place—prophesied the Omniscient one—*will* dwell a tooth-relic of mine." Gpi. 9. 12, ထဝ်ကိုထိယးစ်ကွာအဲဆဝိုက်ကေတ်ဝ ဆိုတ်ရ—"let him first return to-morrow, I *will* pluck all (his feathers)." Dhm. Dip. 27. 12, အဲသွိုက်စတူအဲ ထဍ်ကွဲမ္ဂါဆပုင်သိုဆဓဲဍ်အဲသွရ—"that I wish to devour you is not the fact, I *shall* eat only rice and meat." S.J. fol. *ki*, ထဉ်ဓိဟွံတိုမွးအဲဣတ်ဒဏုတ်ကွဲ့ တိုဓိရ—"if my mother does not tell me (about my father), I *shall* bite off her nipple." Dhm. Dip. 18. 15, ဍ်ထဝ်တဲ့ အဲသွာဝိုက်ကွင်ဂကောံညးရုဓိ—"having got the gold, I *shall* go on board ship with the others, mother." S.J. 6. 15, ဓါရန်ဍ်အဲသွာပန္ဓိက်ဍ်ဗြဝ်ဓဂဓ္ဓိုင်တဲ့။ ထွိန် ဝုဝ်ဒွါဓအဲဍ်အဲသွာဂိုင်ကေတ်ရုဓိ—"Mother, if you have (property with you) I *shall* go

trading and, having got plenty of property, I *shall* go and take the kingdom which is my father's portion."

But ဆီ and ဆ do not always denote the future, and in most passages where they occur they do not seem to add anything to the sense of the verb; at least, I have as yet not been able to distinguish any other connotation but that of the future in a good many cases, except perhaps that, in a very few passages, this prefix (probably from the old form ထ, see plaque No. 85) appears to possess a causative force, or active sense in that it seems to turn neuter verbs into active. But the examples I have as yet collected are perhaps too few to formulate a rule upon. However I give them here, hoping that Talaing scholars, just now unfortunately so few, may add to them from their own notes:

Sudh. 14. 10, အထပ္ပါ ပဆိုဇရေဝ်ကြိုဝ်အသးဂ်။ ဖြဲ့ဒွဂ် ဝဒူ့ဒွ ဝေံဂံတဲ့ဝေံ သထိက်ကောန်ဝေံတဲ့ဝဒူ့ဒွ ဝေံဗကဝ်ဆဝ်ဆတ္ဒ ကောန်ဝေံတဲ့ဖြေဝ်ဇ်အာဂ—"Atappā became king near the Asaḥ forest. Now, a woman, having got a *gadū*,[1] put to sleep her child in it, and covering him with another one, ran away"; the meaning of တိက်, t i k, is, to sleep, and သတိက်, s a t i k, here = put to sleep.

S.B. 9, ကောန်ဖြာဆိုဂ် ဆိုန်ထာ ထ္ဍူပြာသာဘတဲ့။ ခဲ့ထ္ဍူသွာဒိဝ်ညးပ္ဒေလဝ်ဂ်ဆိုက်တန်ဒွံဝ်ရ—the corresponding Pāli (Fausb. VI. 167. 11), of which the Talaing is an exact translation, reads: Rājadhītaraṁ pāsādam āropetvā alaṅkatadibbasayane *nipajjāpesuṁ*, "The princess was taken up into the palace and made to lie on an ornamented divine couch"; here ဆ္ဂိုက်, s t i k, answers to the causal *nipajjāpesuṁ*.

S.J. (A) 63, ဍုက္ခဒေဝီဝလီဂတော်ယသံတ်ကို။ တ်ဒွံနုက္ကလေဝ်ဟွံသဓယ်ရထတဲ့—"Queen Sīvalī wept, and being unable to make him go back"—the Pāli here has *nivattetuṁ*, a causal verb; S.J. (B) in the same passage reads, ကိုဆ္ဂိုကဆေဝ်, k u i w s m i ṅ k a l e ṅ, in which ကို, k u i w, is one of the regular causal auxiliary verbs.

65. သ္ဂိုင် ဇနဲက် ကာသ်—602

Smiṅ Janak kās—602

Janaka shaves (his hair and beard)—52. 23

K ā s = M.T. ကး, k a ḥ, to shave.

[1] A *gadū* is a broad covering made of leaves, somewhat concave, which protects the head, shoulders and back down to the knees, from sun or rain the Burmese for this is *katu*, pronounced *kadu*.

66. ဇနက် စိသ် နော်ရ် သ္နိ—၆၀၉

Janak cis nor sñi—609

Janaka descends from (his) house—53. 3

C i s = M.T. ဆ့်, c e h; the form စိသ်, c i h, intermediate between the old Talaing c i s and the modern c e h is, however, frequent enough, for instance at Sudh. 9. 9, 24. 12; Dhc. 153. 4; similarly, there is an intermediate form, ဖြိသ်, p h y i h, at Sudh. 21. 17, 24. 1, which points to an old form p h y i s (= ပိသ်, see note on p c a n, plaque 33), the more common modern form being ဖျေသ်, p h y e h.

67–70. Four plaques are missing here, that is, up to No. 607 included, since plaque 71 bears wrongly 602 instead of 603. The plaque bearing No. 608 which, in the regular order of the episodes, comes lower down, has been so numbered by mistake, but it is in its right place on the Ānanda.

71. သ္နိင် ဇနက် မ ဤရ်—၆၀၂

Smiñ Janak ma īr—602

Janaka leaves the world—52. 24-29

This plaque bears No. 602 like serial No. 65. For ī r, see plaque 34.

72. ဥကျေက် တ္နိင်—၆၁၀

Gnakyek ptiñ—610

The queens beat (their breasts)—53. 9

The chief queen, not having seen the king for a long time, goes up to his room followed by the lesser queens; they meet him on the stairs, going down clad in the garb of a recluse, but do not recognize him. They soon perceive, however, that it was none but himself; they follow and come up with him in the palace yard; they dishevel their hair and beat their breasts.

The verb ptiṅ is somewhat spoiled in the plaque; the *i*, though visible, is very faint; but this word is very clear in the estampage. The Pāli here (VI. 53. 9) has the verb *saṁsumbhati*, to beat, which is no doubt the meaning of ptiṅ; in the photograph, two queens, representing as usual a very large number, are shown dishevelling their hair and beating their breasts. There is an adverb, ထိန် ထိန်, tiṅtiṅ, used only in the expression ထိန်ထိန်ဝတ်ဖြူးပြီ, "to beat the breast" in sorrow, which is probably connected with the old ptiṅ; ထိန် ထိန် seems to be imitative of the sound made when striking the breast, perhaps ptiṅ also implies this idea. Perhaps the word is stiṅ; the meaning would be the same; but I think the letter is really a *p*.

Gnakyek, a variant of gnakyāk; *cf.* O.T. ḍāk and ḍek, water; pnāṅ and pneṅ, candle, lamp.

73. ဥကြွေက် ထုပး မ ထုရ်—၆၁၁

Gnakyek tubaḥ ma tur—611

The queen shows (Janaka) the (town) burning—54. 10

Sīvalidevī and the lesser queens follow Mahājanaka step by step, trying to make him change his mind; the queen tries several expedients for this purpose; but in vain. Here she has ordered some old houses to be set on fire, to make him believe Mithilā is burning and thus induce him to retrace his steps.

Tubaḥ = M.T. ထုး, thḅah, to show; tur, to burn = M.T. ထု, tū, with loss of the final consonant and the lengthening of the vowel by compensation; *cf.* kwil = ကို, *kwī*; skamir = ကမ်, kamī.

There are two plaques numbered 611: the present one, and another lower down.

74. ဇနက် ကြိတ် တိ—၆၁၂

Janak crit ti—612

Janaka draws a line on the ground—56. 2

To prevent the queen from following him further, the king draws a line across the road and threatens with dire punishment anyone who dares cross it; he then proceeds on his way. The queen, in her sorrow, rolls herself on the ground and thus "breaks the line," and the pursuit begins anew.

Crit, to draw a line, is still in use: Dhm. Dip. 61. 21, ညှဉ် ငေအံ့ ဓရိတ် ရုတ်ခဲရုဒ်—"like drawing a line in water with a stick"; S.J. (A) 66, နဝရုဒ်ခုန်ထမ္ဘင် ထရတ္ထိဝရိတ်ဃဝ်ရ—"the king drew a line across the road with his bamboo staff"; a form ဝရိဒ်, caric, is also found at A.V. 42—udaraṅga = ဝရိဒ်ဘုခံခွဲဂ်—"a fold of the skin of the belly"; here it is a noun meaning a line, a fold; ဝရိတ် is the literary word; the more common expression is သရက်, ဝရက်, sarak, carak. The Talaing version of the Mahājanaka-jātaka, ms. (B), uses the word ဝရက်, S.J. (B) 66, နတိ် ဒဝုန်ဣဆေဒ်ဂ်။ဣဆေဝ်ဝရတ်ကေ့တိုဂျောင်ငွေန်—"with his staff, he drew a line on the ground of the main road." Both forms are used together in the sense of a line, *ibid*: ဓနံဝဝ်ရုင် ပုန် ဝရိတ်ဝရက်ထ္ဂိဒ်ဂ္ဂကျဴဃထိကေ့တဲ့ရဒုဝ်းတဲ့—"and (ပုန်) the people, saying 'the queen has obliterated the king's line . . .'"

Again another plaque, the one bearing the legend, ကြေထ် ဓနတ် ဝ ပျုန်, which comes further on, bears the number 612.

75. ဒျုင် ဒိန္ဒု နာရဒ်—608

Duṁ dindu Nārad—608

(Janaka) receives the instruction of Nārada—56. 22

Nārada, a hermit, seeing the plight of Janaka, and wishing to strengthen his resolution, comes through the sky and instructs him.

76. ဒျုင် ဒိန္ဒု ဓိဂါ—609

Duṁ dindu Migā—609

He receives the exhortation of Migā—59. 1

Another hermit, by name Migājina, likewise exhorts him.

The upper part of this plaque has disappeared; there remains only the legend.

77. ဓနတ် ကေတ် ပ္ဂုန်—610

Janak ket pcun—610

Janaka takes the meat—63. 5

A dog runs away with a piece of meat; coming near Mahājanaka, he drops it through fright, and the king picks it up for his meal.

Pcun, meat = M.T. ဖျုန်, phyun; see note on pcan, No. 33.

78. ဇနက် လုကော၀် ပွုန်—၆၁၁

Janak lukow pcun—611

Janaka breaks the (piece of) meat (and puts it in his bowl)—63. 5-6

Lukow: this, I think, means "to break"; the Pāli does not mention this action, it says: *Maṁsakhandam ādāya puñchitvā patte katvā . . . paribhuñji* (VI. 63. 5-6), "He took the piece of meat, wiped it, put it in his alms-bowl . . . and ate it." The modern word for "to wipe" is ဇွတ်, juit, the Khmer has chut (Aymonier), and I know of no other word approaching the form lukow, which means to wipe. The photograph, however, is helpful here. Mahājanaka is represented as breaking a long piece of meat and putting it in his alms-bowl. There is a verb, ကဒ်, kaw, meaning to break, and lukow is the same word with the prefix *l* (*u*); this verbal prefix *l* is still common in the modern language: လာ်, lagām (= ဝါ်, gām), to go, walk, S.J. (B) 65, ဖုဉ်ထရုဆထုတ် ထဝါဆာထုံ—"then, having gone part of the way"; ထုဒ်, lpāk (= ပါ်, pāk), to halve, tear or cut open, S.B. 15. 27, ဓက်ထွဒ်ကဲ့ဂွဖဒ်ဒွ်—"he (the suparṇa) pecked and tore open the nāga's belly"; ထဗုတ်, lapuik (= ဗုတ်, puik), to tear out, uproot, S.B. 15. 25, S.M. 8. 7; ထဗုတ်, labuit (= ဗုတ်, buit), to fling, cast, S.B. 10. 22; ထုံက်, lpåk (ဝံက်, påk), to open. As far as I have been able to judge, this prefix adds nothing to the original sense of the verb; it is probably to be distinguished from the prefix ∞, la, which forms nouns from verbs, unless, indeed, these nouns in ∞ be used again as verbs, for there is practically no difference made between noun and verb, the same word being used as one or the other. Lukow = lakow = kow = kaw (modern); the equivalence of medial *o* and *a* is very common.

79. တြေ့ ဇနက် ၀ ပွုန်—၆၁၂

Trey Janak ca pcun—612

The Lord Janaka eats the meat—63. 6

Trey = M.T. ဩ, trai, excellent, blessed. As a substantive = lord; *cf.* trey saṅgha, "lords of the Church" = monks (Blagden).

၈၀. ဂုလာည် ကု သံဝတ်—၆၁၃

Gulāñ ku saṁwat—613

(Janaka) converses with the child—64. 18

On the road, they meet a little girl playing; on one wrist she wears only one bracelet and two on the other; these two, being together, jingle. Janaka thinks there is there a good lesson for Sīvalī, and hopes the girl will be clever enough to see it too. He asks her the reason of the jingling; the child tells him, and adds that the jar is owing to the second bracelet; on the other arm the only one bracelet does not jar; "so," says she, "if you desire to be happy, live alone." The king and queen then take separate roads; but the latter, unable to control her grief, again follows him and enters the town of Thūna with him.

၈၁. ဇနက် ညာစ် ကံ—၆၁၄

Janak ñāc kaṁ—614

Janaka sees the arrow—66. 5

They come upon a fletcher, who is making an arrow straight by looking along it with one eye, closing the other. With the same intention as with the child, Janaka asks him why he does that. The other answers that looking with two eyes at an arrow really spoils the straight path of the sight, and that, if he, Janaka, wants to be happy, he should live alone.

K a ṁ = M.T., arrow.

၈၂. ဇနက် လောပ် ဂြိပ်—၆၁၄

Janak lop grip—614

Janaka enters the forest—68. 7

The queen still follows him; at last she swoons, and he enters into a forest near by, and cannot be followed again. Sīvalī returns to the capital, and there becomes a recluse in the mango-grove.

G r i p, forest = M.T. ဂြိပ်, g r u i p; *cf.* c i p = ချိပ်, c u i p, to arrive, and t i n = တိုး, t u i n, to go up.

It will be remarked that this and the previous plaque are both numbered 614.

III.—SĀMA-JĀTAKA

This jātaka is better known among the Burmese as **Suvaṇṇa-shyam-jāt**; it will be remarked that they have preserved the Sanskrit form[1] almost intact, the Pāli being sāma; in the Ānanda plaques, the word is written syām, which is still nearer the Sanskrit (çyāma); the modern Talaings call it jāt-sām, following the Pāli form.

Two persons, husband and wife, become ascetics; she conceives a son miraculously, who is called Suvaṇṇasāma. Both parents become blind, and Sāma looks after them. One day a king comes hunting and shoots him with an arrow. The king attends regretfully upon the parents; Sāma is miraculously healed and both his parents recover their sight.

83. ပဋိသန် သျာမ်—၆၁၅

Paṭisan Syām—615

Conception of Çyāma—73. 29

84. ပရိသုတ် သျာမ်—၆၁၆

Parisut Syām—616

Birth of Çyāma—74. 1

Parisut, bringing forth, from Skt. *prasūti*.

85. ဖူံသုတိက် သျာမ်—၆၁၇

Phūṁ sutīk Syām—617

They (his parents) bathe and put Çyāma to sleep—74. 4

Phūṁ = M.T. ဖုံ, phuṁ, to bathe (some one); this form is probably due to the assimilation of ပ, pa (p), which forms causal and

[1] Burmese သ, *shy*, almost always represents the Sanskrit 'ç'; *cf.* သာသ္တြ = *çāstra*.

active verbs, with a following ဟ, *h*: ပဟံ = ံ; so, ပဟာဒ်, p a h ā p = ပါဒ်, p h ā p, to feed; ဟာဒ်, h ā p = to eat; ပဟွဲ, p a h u a i = ွဲ, p h u a i, to mix; ဟွဲ, h u a i = to be mixed. S u t ī k, to put to sleep; on the force of prefix *s(u)*, *vide* note on S i k i l, No. 64. Whether the old prefixes *si* and *su* are to be treated as being different, the first denoting more particularly the future and the latter an active or causal sense, it is impossible to determine now, for we have too few examples of verbs with s u prefixed in this sense; to decide such points many more clear examples are needed; whereas the old prefix သိ, s i, and its attenuated form သ, *s*, are common enough in the modern language. သု, s u, has not, so far as I am aware, yet been found, except in its attenuated form, သ, *s*. The lengthening of a medial vowel, as *ī*, in this word s u t ī k, was common enough: s k ī r, to dig, and s k i r; g l ī k, a loin-cloth, and g l i k; c ī ṅ, an elephant, and c i ṅ; ḍ ū ṅ, a city, and ḍ u ṅ; t ū y, the sign of the past, and t u y; p h ū ṁ in the present plaque and p h u m in the next (86).

86. သုပရ် ဖုမ် သျှာမ်—၆၁၀

Supar phum Syām—618

The suparnas bathe Çyāma—74. 8

After his parents have bathed him, the suparnas take him to their cave, bathe him, take him to the top of a mountain and make on his forehead the sectarial marks.

S u p a r, from the Skt. *suparṇa* = M.T. သပဒ်, s a p a w, S.B. 20; A.V. 81 = *garuḍa*. The word k i n n a r a, used in the Pāli (VI. 74. 3) instead of s u p a r ṇ a (P. *supaṇṇa*), has become in M.T. သနဒ်, k a n a w.

87. သျှာမ် တိတေယ် ပ္တိတ်—၆၁၉

Syām titey ptīt—619

Çyāma leads (his parents) out (of their shelter)—75. 6

His parents take shelter from the rain among the roots of a tree, but a snake living there in an ant-hill becomes angry and emits a poisonous

breath; both become blind. At last Çyāma finds them; he holds a long pole out to them, of which they seize the end, and he leads them out of their shelter.

Titey = M.T. ထပ်, thatai, more often written ဒပ်, datai, which means, to take along with one, by holding the hand, as for instance a child, or an animal with a rope, or a blind man by holding the end of his stick (as is the case in this plaque), etc.; ထပ် seems to be the colloquial, and ဒပ် the literary, form. Here are a few examples: Dh. Dip. 94. 4—ဒပ်ကေတ်ကော်တဲ့—"she took away her child, holding him by the hand"; Dhc. 148. 15—ည်ဉ်ထိုအိန် ပ ဒပ်ဥကျဉ် ထုဇာတာ—"like Indra leading his queen Sujātā by the hand," S.V. fol. *kha*, ပန်ဒီ . . . နှစ်ဒပ်ကေတ် ကော်စေါထိုန်ဦးတ်ကို—"Maddī . . . taking her two children by the hand, ascended the cart."

Ptīt, to cause to come out = M.T.; for the long medial ī, see sutīk, No. 85.

88. ကာလ် သျာမ် တိန် တ္ဝေဆ်—၆၂၃

Kāl Syām tin tmo'—623

As Çyāma goes up the mountain—75. 23

Çyāma goes, followed by a band of *kinnaras*, to gather fruit in the mountain for his parents.

On the Ānanda, this plaque is wrongly placed, as well as wrongly numbered 623; it should be numbered 620 according to the course of the events in the story; I have here placed it in its proper sequence.

89. သျာမ် ပိန်ရိဟ် အ္ဗော်ဆ် အ္ဗ—၆၂၀

Syām pinrih abo' aba—620

Çyāma ministers to his parents—75. 28

Coming back from the mountain, he makes it his duty to wash their feet, warm their cold limbs and give them the fruits he has brought back.

Pinrih, to minister to, attend on, take care of; I know of no modern form of this word; it corresponds to the P. *paṭijaggati.*

၉၀. သျှာမ် မုန် သွောတ် ဂြိုဒ်—၆၂၁

Syām mun slop grip—621

Çyāma informs (his parents) he is going to enter the forest—76. 5

He informs his parents he is going into the forest to bathe and fetch water.

Slop: the prefix *s* here denotes the future, the immediate future.

၉၁. သျှာမ် လောတ် ဂြိုဒ်—၆၂၂

Syām lop grip—622

Çyāma enters the forest—76. 6

He goes to the bathing place in the forest followed by two tame deer.

၉၂. ကာလ် သျှာမ် တုက် ဍာက်—၆၂၄

Kāl Syām tuk ḍāk—624

As Çyāma is drawing water—76. 22

Plaque 88, as has been said, is wrongly numbered 623.

၉၃. ကာလ် သ္မိင် ပည် သျှာမ်—၆၂၅

Kāl smiṅ pañ Syām—625

The king shooting Çyāma—76. 24

King Piliyakkha is hunting; while Çyāma is drawing water, he shoots him with a poisoned arrow which goes through his body.

Pañ = M.T. ပန်, pan, to shoot, with a bow.

94. သွိင် ဂုလာဉ် ကု သျာမ်—၆၂၆

Smiṅ gulāñ ku Syām—626

The king converses with Çyāma—77. 14 *ff*

Piliyakkha runs to Çyāma, and a conversation follows; the king, touched by the virtue and meekness of Çyāma and his devotion to his parents, promises that after his death—for the boy's wound is deadly—he will himself look after his parents in the forest as if they were his own.

95. ပိဠယက် ယာမ်—၆၂၇

Pīḷayak yām—627

Piliyakkha weeps—82. 25

Then the usual signs of approaching dissolution make their appearance, and King Piliyakkha, thinking Çyāma dead, weeps bitterly.

96. ပိလယက် ပုဇာဝ်—၆၂၀

Pīlayak pujāw—628

Piliyakkha does homage (to Çyāma)—84. 26

He offers flowers to the body, sprinkles water on it, and goes, taking with him the jar from which he had sprinkled the water.

Pujāw, for pūjaw = M.T. ပူဇော်, pūjau, from the P. *pūjā*, an offering, to offer. A small dot on pu appears to make the reading puṁjāw, but it is only a defect in the glaze.

97. ကာလ် သွိင် ရင် ပျုိင် သျာမ်—၆၂၉

Kāl smiṅ raṅ pyuṅ Syām—629

When the king brings (the parents) and shows (them) Çyāma—90. 3

For raṅ, see No. 64, and also rāṅ, No. 5. Pyuṅ, to show = M.T. ပြုဉ်, pñuṅ; this word is found also in plaques 199 and 316.

၉၈. အော်အဆ အဖ သျှာမ် ယာမ်—၆၃၀

Abo' aba Syām yām—630

The mother and father of Çyāma weep—90. 5

၉၉. ပ သစ္စကိရိယာ—၆၃၁

Pa saccakiryā—631

(They) make an act of asseveration—91. 12

Then the mother, the father, and a goddess, each in turn make a solemn act of asseveration, so as to counteract the effects of the poison and thus snatch Çyāma from death.

၁၀၀. ကာလ် သျှာမ် ကေ်—၆၃၂

Kāl Syām kew—632

Then Çyāma (rises) bright (again)—92. 25

The act of asseveration produces (as it always does when truthfully made) its effects, and Çyāma rises fair and strong as before; both parents recover their sight. Every one is happy, and the king, reverentially saluting Çyāma, returns to Benares.

K e w = M.T. ကေ်, k e w, to be bright, clear, beautiful, happy; it answers here to the P. *kalyāṇadassana;* in common parlance, they have an expression, မုက်ကေ်, m u k k e w, which means "to have a bright, happy face."

၁၀၁. သ္မိင် လှောရ် သျှာမ်—၆၃၃

Smiṅ lṅor Syām—633

The king reverentially salutes Çyāma—94. 7

L ṅ o r = M.T. လှော်, l ṅ o w.

IV.—NIMI-JĀTAKA

Nimi is a very holy king, ruling in Vídeha. Sakka sends his charioteer, Mātali, to fetch him and show him round all the heavenly mansions and the hells. After reaching a great old age, his barber shows him his first grey hair; then the king renounces the world and becomes an ascetic.

The Pāli has the form *Nemi* once only, at page 96. 24, and has regularly *Nimi* everywhere else. The Talaings and Burmese have adopted the form *Nemi*.

102, 103, corresponding to Nos. 634 and 635 and probably representing the conception and birth of Nimi, are missing.

104. မေယ် လက္ခဏ် နေမိ—၆၃၆

Mey laksan Nemi—636

(The fortune-tellers) look at Nimi's (bodily) signs—96. 20

105. ကာလ် နေမိ ကျိန်—၆၃၇

Kāl Nemi kmin—637

When Nimi is ruling—96. 27

Nimi's father becomes a hermit in his mango-grove and makes over the cares of the kingdom to his son, who becomes king.

106. အ္ဂ်ိန် သ္မာည် နေမိ—၆၃၀

In smāñ Nemi—638

Indra is questioned by Nimi—98. 3

A doubt arises in Nimi's mind as to whether alms-giving or a retired holy life is better. Sakka, wishing to solve the doubt, comes into the presence of Nimi, and, on being questioned by him, answers that a secluded ascetic life is better than alms-giving.

Smāñ = M.T. သ္မာန်, smān, here used in a passive sense, *cf.* No. 175.

107. မာတလိ နိမန် နေမိ—၆၃၉

Mātali niman Nemi—639

Mātali invites Nimi (to get into the chariot)—103. 29

The gods in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven become desirous of beholding so pious a king, and ask Sakka to bring him to the heavenly abodes. Sakka sends his charioteer Mātali to fetch him. Mātali invites Nimi to come into the heavenly chariot.

108. မာတလိ သ္မာည် တန်ရော်—၆၄၀

Mātali smāñ tanrow—640

Mātali asks which way (Nimi wishes to go)—104. 19

Mātali then asks the king which road he desires to take first: that of the hells or that of the heavens? Nimi replies he will visit the hells first.

Tanrow = M.T. တရော်, tarau, a road, way; a variant is tinrow; another variant, cinrow, is found in Pagan Talaing Inscriptions; the equivalence, in Talaing, of the palatals and dentals surd (aspirate and unaspirate) is very frequent; *cf.* ဗ္လာ်ရာဲ, claḥ carāai, တ္လာ်ရာဲ, tlaḥ carāai, majesty, glory, magnificence, pomp; beauty, grace, charm; စ္မဲမိုန်, cmāai cmin, ဇ္မဲဇိုန်, tmāai jmin, a present, gift; စအာ်, ca-a', ထအာ်, tha-a', and also ထ, ta, to vomit; စိုန်, caṅin, ထိုန်, taṅin, to carry (on the shoulder); စမ္လး, camlaḥ, ထမ္လး, tamlaḥ, free, not enslaved; ဍိ, cuiw, ဋိ, -duiw, up to, until; ဇိ, jwi, ဒိ, dwi, the left (side); ဇရံ, jarām, ဒရံ, darām, and ဓရံ, dharām, a granary.

109. နေမိ ဗိရ် နရက်—၆၄၁

Nemi bir narak—641

Nimi looks at hell—105. 29

Bir = M.T. ဗိ, buiw.

၁၁၀. နေမိ ဗိရ် ဝိမာန် သွရ်—၆၄၂

Nemi bir wimān swar—642

Nimi looks at the heavenly mansion (of the goddess Bīraṇī)—117. 2

A defect in the glaze makes *mi* look like *mī*.

၁၁၁. နိမိ ဂုလာည် ကု ဣန်—၆၄၃

Nimi gulāñ ku In—643

Nimi converses with Indra—127. 30

The dot which appears to be on the *gu* of g u l ā ñ is only a defect in the glaze of the plaque.

၁၁၂. နေမိ ဒိန္ဒု ညး—၆၄၄

Nemi dindu ñaḥ—644

Nimi instructs (his) people (in the practice of the Law)—128. 30

Ñ a ḥ, besides the meaning "he, she," given in Haswell's, also means, first, a person, as in the expressions ညးဇွန်, ñ a ḥ j n o k, "a great person," a chief; ညးဇုံန်, ñ a ḥ g m å ṅ, "a person of courage," a warrior; ညးဝျိန်, ñ a ḥ ḍ u ṅ, "a person of the city," a citizen, etc.; second, the people, as in တ္ဝည်း, t l a ñ a ḥ, "the lord of the people," the king; in the passage corresponding to this plaque the Pāli has *mahājano* (VI. 128. 27); third, it is also used as an interrogative = Who? what? which? Sudh. 9. 13, ညးသွတ်ဖြုံရောအ—"Who is this little girl, sir?"; Sudh. 28. 2, ညးဆယ်ဝ၆ သန်ဒှ ရော—"What were those sixteen wonders?"; S.B. 12, တ္ဝအဲညးဂျိရော—"Who are you, sir?"; S.J. 5, ညးဂျိမန်ဒမအဲရော—"Who is my father?".

၁၁၃. နိမိ မေယ် သိကော်အ်—၆၄၅

Nimi mey siṅko'—645

Nimi sees (his) grey hair—128. 31

As with his father, so also with Nimi; his barber perceives the first grey hair and shows it to him.

၁၁၄. သွိၼ် နေမိ မ ဣၢ်—၆၄၆

Smiṅ Nemi ṃa īr—646

King Nimi leaving the world—129. 3

Then, following his father's example, Nimi enters upon an ascetic life. For īr, see No. 34.

V.—MAHĀ-UMMAGGA-JĀTAKA

The king of Videha has four wise men, so self-styled; there appears Mahosadha, the Bodhisatta, a fifth and real wise man. Then follows a bout of wit between Mahosadha and the four others, the latter never being able to give the right answers to numerous problems and knotty questions, the former invariably succeeding. The four false wise men try in many ways to undo Mahosadha, but he finally triumphs over them.

This story, which is very popular, is not known among the Burmese by the name of "Mahā-ummagga," but as "Mahosadha-jāt," after the name of the hero; the Talaings call it "jāt-Mahos."

၁၁၅. ပဋိသန် မဟောသ်—၆၄၇

Paṭisan Mahos—647

Conception of Mahosadha—330. 5

၁၁၆. ပရိသုတ် မဟောသ်—၆၄၀

Parisut Mahos—648

Birth of Mahosadha—331. 7

၁၁၇. ကာလ် ဣန် ကိလ် ကိန်ဥယ်—၆၄၉

Kāl In kil kin-uy—649

When Indra gives the medicinal herb (to Mahosadha)—331. 11

Sakka, desiring to make it known to the world that the Bodhisatta was born among men, came and placed a medicinal herb in the baby's hand;

this medicine cured instantly all sorts of diseases; the child was therefore called Mahosadha, "He of the great medicine."

Kin-uy = M.T. ဝဲ့ုံ, g a - u - u a i, and ဝဲ့ဲ, g a - 'u a i, medicine.

၁၁၈. မဟောသ် ကိလ် ကိန်ဥွယ်—၆၅၁

Mahos kil kin-uy—651

Mahosadha gives the medicine (to his mother)—331. 16

This plaque is wrongly numbered 651, instead of 650.

၁၁၉. ပ ဟိမောဒ် မဟောသ်—၆၅၀

Pa himo' Mahos—651

The naming of Mahosadha—332. 1

၁၂၀. မဟောသ် ကိဒ် ကိရ်ယာ—၆၅၂

Mahos kil kiryā—652

Mahosadha gives ornaments (to the thousand children)—332. 9

One thousand boys are found to have been born at the same time as Mahosadha, and the father of the latter resolves they should be his son's attendants. A festival is celebrated for them, at which they are given ornaments.

K i r y ā, from the Pāli *kiriyā*, and *kriyā*; but in Talaing, as well as in Burmese, this word has acquired the meaning of: articles of dress, ornaments, utensils, tools.

၁၂၁. မဟောသ် ဝိည် ကု ပုဝက်—၆၅၃

Mahos wiñ ku puwak—653

Mahosadha plays with (his) companions—332. 10

P u w a k, a companion; a follower, attendant = M.T. ဖွက်, b w a k; *cf.* Dhm. Dip. 26. 12, ဝံ့ဒ်း ကျေဒဗျိုဒ်။ကထေဒ်ဒ် ဝံပဖွက်တရ်.—"he subdued the fierce demon, and the demon became his attendant." It is also found written ဘဝက်,

bhawak, at S.B. 18 = ဘဝက်ကွက်, bhawak knak, a follower, retinue, and corresponds, in the Pāli of the same story, to *parivāra* (Fausb. VI. 186. 10); ဘဝက်ကြွ, bhawak krau, is again found at S.B. 27. This word is derived from the verb ပက်, bak, to follow; *cf.* also M.T. ပေါ့, bok, a follower.

122. ဒေါဝ် လော့ဝ် ကြပ်—၆၅၄

Dow lop jrap—654

(Mahosadha's companions) run to enter the rest-house—332. 15

Mahosadha is now seven years of age. While playing with his companions, an unseasonable rainstorm bursts forth; he, uncommonly strong, runs and enters a rest-house; the other children follow him, tumbling and bruising their limbs.

Dow, to run = M.T. ဒေါ်, dau; jrap = M.T., a hall built on the roadside for the convenience of travellers, a rest-house; *cf.* the Burmese: ဇရပ်, jarap.

123. မဟောသဓ ကိုလ် ထရ်—၆၅၅

Mahos kil thar—655

Mahosadha gives the gold (to the carpenter to build a hall)—332. 22

Mahosadha, considering that his thousand companions, while at play, suffered from the heat in summer and from the rains in the rainy season, decides to build a hall; he tells the boys to bring each a coin and, having called a master carpenter, makes the money over to him.

Thar, gold = M.T. သဝ်, thaw.

124. မဟောသဓ ကိန္ဒံ ကြပ်—၆၅၆

Mahos kindaṁ jrap—656

Mahosadha builds the rest-house—333. 5 *ff*

He is not pleased with the carpenter's plan; so, he himself designs a plan, in which were separate rooms for all sorts and conditions of people, and superintends the construction of it.

K i n d a ṁ, to build = M.T. ကန်, k a n h a ṁ. It means also "to do, make"; S.J. 84, ကန်ထွက်၌—"he made, that is, picked up, a quarrel"; ကန်ပြုထိုဟ်, to make (write) a book.

125. မဟောသ် ကိန္ဒ် ကံဗာရ်—၆၅၇

Mahos kindaṁ kaṁbār—657

Mahosadha constructs a tank—333. 17

He finds the splendid rest-house not quite complete yet, and has a tank, with many bends and a hundred bathing-places constructed.

K a ṁ b ā r, a tank = M.T. ကွဲ, k m ā. The dropping of final *r* is frequent; ā r = ာ, ā; ḅ ā r = ါ, ḅ ā; if the vowel before it is short, it is lengthened by compensation: s k a m i r = ကီ, k a m ī.

126. မဟောသ် ဗိစာရ်—၆၅၀

Mahos bicār—658

Mahosadha decides cases—333. 25

Seated in the rest-house, Mahosadha used to decide the cases of all who came to him.

B i c ā r, to decide cases, investigate; investigation, case, from Pāli *vicāreti.*

127. မဟောသ် သုရုဟ် ပ္ဂုန်—၆၅၉

Mahos suruh pcun—659

Mahosadha causes the (piece of) meat to fall—334. 22 *ff*

A hawk carries off a piece of meat; Mahosadha utters a powerful shout which seems to go through and through the hawk which, in its fright, lets

go the meat; Mahosadha follows its shadow as it is falling and receives it in his hand.

Suruh, to fall, or cause to fall off = M.T. သရိုတ်, saruih, to fall off, drop down, as fruits or leaves: it is used colloquially: သွံဃဲ ပဲ့ ကျအခ်ဲ့ ဒဲ့ မှန့် သတ်ဆုထံဒ့်သရိုတ်အိုတ်လေဝ်ဟွံထိ—"I know not why, this year, all the fruits fall off in my garden."

128. ဗိစာရ် ဇွော်—၆၆၀

Bicār jlow—660

The case of the cattle—335. 8 *ff*

A man steals another's cattle; they quarrel; both are brought before Mahosadha. He asks each what he feeds the cattle on. "On rice gruel, kidney beans and sesame flour," says the thief. "I could afford to feed them only on grass," says the real owner. Mahosadha has the cattle given panic seeds, the animals vomit grass, and the case is thus decided

Jlow, cattle = M.T. ၎, glau.

129. ဗိစာရ် ဂန်္ထိ—၆၆၁

Bicār ganthi—661

The case of the necklace of thread—335. 37 *ff*

A woman had tied together some threads of different colours into a necklace. One day, she goes to bathe; while she is in the water, a young woman looks at the necklace, asks permission to try it on her neck, and runs away with it. The other follows in pursuit and overtakes her. They are brought before Mahosadha. He asks the thief what she perfumes her necklace with. "With a compound of all scents," says she. But the owner says she is poor and uses only *piyangu* flowers. The young sage has the necklace placed in a vessel of water; an expert in perfumes is then called in and asked for his opinion. "This water smells of *piyangu*," says he, and this settles the case.

Ganthi, for Pāli *gaṇṭhi*.

၁၃၀. ဗိစာရ် တောလ်—၆၆၂

Bicār tol—662

The case of the cotton thread—336. 21 *ff*

A woman watching cotton fields one day makes a ball of fine thread. While going home she gets into the tank by the rest-house to bathe; another woman sees the ball and runs away with it. Mahosadha asks the thief what she has placed inside the ball to roll the thread on. "A cotton seed," says the thief. The true owner replies she has put in a *timbaru* seed. Mahosadha untwists the ball and produces the *timbaru* seed.

Tol, cotton = M.T. တော်။

၁၃၁. ဗိစာရ် ကောန်—၆၆၃

Bicār kon—663

The case of the child—336. 31 *ff*

A woman bathes her little son in the tank; she then places him on her clothes and herself takes a bath. An ogress comes, takes up the child, and flees. Mahosadha draws a line on the ground, places the child on it, and bids the two women pull, one by the head, the other by the feet, saying that the child would be given to who pulled hardest. At the first cry of the baby, its mother lets go in anguish. The spectators agree with the sage that she who cannot bear to see the child suffer is the mother, and her son is given back to her.

၁၃၂. ကာလ် ဗိစာရ် ကိန္ဒရ်—၆၆၄

Kāl bicār kindar—664

Deciding the case of the wife—337. 16 *ff*

A dwarf marries. One day, he and his wife set out on a journey to visit her parents. They come to a shallow pond; thinking it very deep, they

are afraid to cross. A poor man chancing that way tells them he can cross it; he first takes the wife across, and, in the middle of the pond, makes her promise to be his wife; she accepts. The dwarf runs after them, and the noise of the dispute attracts the attention of Mahosadha, who decides whose wife the woman is and hands her back to the husband.

Kindar, wife; the modern form is ကလေး, kalaw. I have not yet met with this word anywhere but in A.V., where it occurs frequently: p. 114 = *dāra*; 136 = *pajāpati*; 156 = *piyā*; 171 = *bhariyā*; 87 = *gharaṇī*; etc.

133. မဟောသဓဝရ် ကွိုလ်—၆၆၅

Mahos bicār kwil—665

Mahosadha decides (the case of) the cart—338. 21 *ff*

Sakka, the king of the gods, desirous of making patent to all the wisdom of the sage, drives away the cart of a man. The latter follows in pursuit. Mahosadha, at certain signs, recognizes Sakka, and easily decides the case as to who the true owner is.

Kwil = M.T. ကွိ, kwī.

134. ဒဏ္ဍကပဉ္ဉာ—၆၆၆

Daṇḍakapañhā—666

The riddle of the pole—339. 11 *ff*

The enemies of Mahosadha, hoping to lose him in the esteem of the king, put their heads together and invent some puzzles which, they thought, he could not solve. The first was that of the pole. They procured an acacia pole and had it finely smoothed by a turner. They then sent word to the villagers that, if they could not make out the root from the top of the pole, they would be heavily fined. They repaired to the sage. He tied a string right in the middle of the pole and, holding the string, softly set down the pole on the surface of the water; the root, being heavier, sank deeper than the top. Thus he solved the riddle.

135. ကာလ် ဗိစာရ် ကျိုဒ်—၆၆၇

Kāl bicār kḍip—667

Deciding the case of the heads—339. 29 *ff*

Next came the case of the skulls. Two skulls, that of a man and that of a woman, were sent to the villagers, asking them to point out which was which, under penalty of a fine. The sage solved the riddle by pointing out that, whereas the sutures in a woman's head are crooked, those in a man's are straight.

Kḍip, the head = M.T. ချိုဒ်, kḍuip; with kḍip the modern literary form ကျိုဒ်, knip, may be compared.

136. အဟိပညာ—၆၆၀

Ahipaññā—668

The riddle of the snake—339. 34 *ff*

Two snakes were then brought; they had to distinguish the male from the female. The sage solved the problem by pointing out that the tail of the male snake is thick, that of the female thin, etc.

Paññā, a mistake for pañhā; the plaque shows no sign of the subscript *h*.

137. ကုက္ကုဋပညာ—၆၆၉

Kukkuṭapañhā—669

The riddle of the cock—340. 1 *ff*

The villagers were ordered to send in a white bull with horns on his legs and a hump on his head, which regularly gives out his voice three times. Mahosadha showed this to be a cock, which has horns on his feet, that is the spurs, and a hump on his head, that is the crest, and he gives voice three times a day.

138. မဏိပညာ—၆၇၀

Maṇipañhā—670

The riddle of the gem—340. 7 *ff*

The gem given by Sakka to King Kusa was contorted in eight places.[1] Its thread was broken, and owing to these contortions no one could take out the old thread and put in a new one. The villagers were given the task of putting in a new thread. The sage smeared the jewel with honey, also one end of a new thread of wool which he inserted a little way into the hole; he then placed the jewel where there were ants. The ants ate the old thread and pulled through the new one.

139. မဟောသဓ ဗိစာရဏ ဥသဘ—၆၇၁

Mahos bicār usabha—671

Mahosadha decides the case of the bull—340. 18 *ff*

The royal bull having been well fed up, so that his belly swelled, was smeared with turmeric. The villagers were sent this bull *in calf* and told, by royal order, to deliver him. The sage instructs a man. The latter goes to the palace lamenting loudly. On being asked by the king the cause of his laments, he answers that his father is in labour and cannot bring forth. The king perceives the cleverness of the counter-riddle and is pleased.

140. ဩဒနပညာ—၆၇၂

Odanapañhā—672

The puzzle of the rice—340. 35 *ff*

One day the villagers are asked to send to the palace boiled rice cooked under eight apparently impossible conditions, such as: without rice, without water, without fire, etc. As usual, the sage solves the puzzle most easily.

[1] For this translation, more in keeping with the text than that of the Cambridge translation of the Jātaka, see N. Peri's "Un conte hindou au Japon," *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XV, No. 3, page 5, footnote. At the end of the same paper have been reproduced plaques Nos. 134, the riddle of the pole; 136, the riddle of the snake, and 138, the riddle of the gem.

141. ဝါလုကပဉ်ာ— ၆၇၃

Vālukāpañhā—673

The puzzle of the sand (rope)—341. 10 *ff*

The villagers were sent word that the rope of the king's swing being broken they must procure a new one, made of sand. The sage again got the villagers out of difficulty by a counter-request. He sent a deputation to the king, to ask him for a small piece of the old sand rope, so that the new one might be made of the same size.

142. တလာကပဉ်ာ—၆၇၄

Talākapañhā—674

The puzzle of the tank—341. 22 *ff*

The villagers are told the king desires they should send him a new tank covered with lilies. Mahosadha again thinks of a counter-quip. He sends to the palace men soaking wet, with their bodies covered with mud. On being asked what they want, they answer to the king that they had caught a tank in the forest, but when she saw the city she was frightened and ran away; they then ask for the old tank to help them bring in the new one.

T a l ā k a, instead of t a ḷ ā k a (Skt. *taḍāka*).

143. ဥယျာနပဉ်ာ—၆၇၅

Uyyānapañhā—675

The puzzle of the park—342. 4 *ff*

The villagers are requested to send the king a new park filled with trees and flowers, the one he had being old. This request is met, as above, by another request.

U y y ā n a, park : this is the full Pāli form; there is an abbreviated form, ဥယျာန်, u y y ā n; there are found also two abbreviated forms from

the Sanskrit *udyāna*—ဥဒျာ, u d y ā, in the *Bhūridatta-jātaka*, plaque No. 224, and ဥဒျာန်, u d y ā n, at S.B. 10 and S.M. 19.

144. ဂဒြဘပြဿ်—၆၇၆

Gadrabhaprasnā—676

The question of the ass—342. 7 *ff*

Mahosadha is called to the palace to assume office; he takes his father with him. Both arrange beforehand that, when in presence of the king, the father, rising from his place, would ask the sage to take it: a serious breach of etiquette on the part of a son. When they perceive what has happened the four ministers laugh and call Mahosadha a fool; the king expresses his discontent. The sage then asks whether the sire is always greater than the son. "So it is," says the king; Mahosadha has then an ass brought in, and asks whether, in the event of the ass getting a mule colt out of a thoroughbred mare of Sind, the colt would be more valuable, or the ass? The answer is, the colt. The sage thereby shows that he, through his wisdom, is greater than his father.

P r a s n ā, from the Skt. *praçna*, the palatal sibilant being changed into the dental. There were both the Pāli and the Sanskrit forms for the same word. There are examples of this dual borrowing in the literary language.

145. မဟောသဓ ဃောရ် အမ္ဗ—၆၇၇

Mahos lñor amba—677

Mahosadha salutes his father—342. 25

When called to the palace, together with his father, to assume office, the sage salutes him, and instructs him to give up his seat to him in the presence of the king.

This plaque should come before the previous one, for those instructions to his father take place before they go to the palace and therefore before the episode of the ass depicted in plaque 144.

A m b a, father; there is also a form, a b a, more common.

146. ကေတ် မဏိက—၆၇၀

Ket manika—678

Taking the jewel—344. 28 *ff*

In a crow's nest on a palm-tree on the shore of a lake, there was a jewel. The reflexion of the jewel was seen in the lake, and it was thought the jewel was at the bottom. The lake was emptied of its water twice, but the precious stone could not be obtained. The sage is appealed to and easily finds it.

147. ကကန္ဒကပညာ—၆၇၉

Kakandakapañhā—679

The case of the chameleon—345. 29 *ff*

The king went, riding on his elephant, with the sage to the park; a chameleon, which was on the gate, came down and crouched before the king. On enquiry, the sage explains it was paying its respects to the king; the king, pleased, orders that a half-anna's worth of meat should be daily given to it. On a fast day, the servant, unable to procure meat, tied the half anna on the chameleon's neck, and it became very proud of its wealth, so that, when the king again passed that way, it took no notice of him. The sage again explains to the astonished king.

148. သိရိကာလကဏ္ဍိပဉ္ဉာ—၆၈၀

Sirīkālakaṇḍipañho—680

The case of good and bad luck—347. 7 *ff*

A man very unlucky (kālakaṇṇī) marries a very lucky (sirī) girl, and owing to the man's bad luck and dispositions the marriage is not consummated. While on a journey he abandons her. The king meets her and she becomes queen. The king, one day, refuses to believe that a man could

abandon such a beauty; one of the four ministers says he does not believe any man could do so; but the sage says he believes it; the two could not mate, even as good luck and evil luck cannot meet together.

Kālakaṇḍi, wrongly for kālakaṇṇī.

149. မိဉ်ဒပညာ—၆၈၁

Miṇḍapañhā—681

The question of the ram—349. 19 *ff*

The king one day saw a ram and a dog which had made friends. The ram brought meat for the dog from the kitchen, and the dog grass for the ram from the stables. He puts this occurrence in the form of a question to the four ministers and to the sage, saying: "Two natural enemies have become so friendly as to be inseparable. What is the reason of it?" Naturally, the four ministers fail to answer, and the sage solves the question, to the king's delight.

Miṇḍa, wrongly for meṇḍa.

150. ဗုတောန် ပဏ္ဍိတ် ပန်—၆၈၂

Buton paṇḍit pan—682

(He) instructs the four pandits—353. 6 *ff*

The four ministers were nonplussed when the king put to them the "question of the ram," and could find no solution. The sage has already found it, and, full of pity for the four pandits, whom the king had threatened with banishment should they fail, he makes them sit below him in the attitude of pupils listening to their teacher's instructions, and teaches to each one stanza which, though coming very near the solution, yet does not entirely solve the question, and thus saves them from disgrace.

Buton, to instruct = M.T. ဗွန်, bton; there is also a variant, ဗိန္တွန်, binton.

၁၅၁. သိရိမန္ဒပဉ္ဆော—၆၀၃

Sirimandapañho—683

(The king putting to the five) the question of the Rich and the Wise—356. 8

On the *m* of m a n d a, the glaze has flaked off, making it appear as m i.

၁၅၂. မဟောသဓ် သောဟ် ပြသ္နာ—၆၀၄

Mahos soh prasnā—684

Mahosadha answers the question (of the Rich and the Wise)—356. 8 *ff*

The king having put to the five pandits the question of the Wise and the Rich: which is the better?, the four ministers opine for the rich man, but the sage conclusively proves that the wise is the better man. The king overwhelms him with gifts.

S o h, to answer, solve = M.T. သဟ်, s a h.

၁၅၃. မဟောသဓ် သ္မာည်—၆၀၅

Mahos smāñ—685

Mahosadha asks (Amarā whether she is married, etc.)—364. 18

The sage is now sixteen, and queen Udumbarā wishes to look out for a wife for him; but he prefers to go in search of one by himself. So he sets out disguised as a tailor. He meets Amarā, the beautiful, wise and lucky daughter of a once rich family. She was carrying rice-gruel to her father working in his field. They both fall in love at sight. To test her wisdom, he resolves to ask her questions by gestures. So he clenches his fist, meaning "Have you a husband?" and in answer she spreads out her hand, meaning "I have not."

154. မဟောသဓ ဝ ယာဂု—၆၀၆

Mahos ca yāgu—686

Mahosadha eats the rice-gruel—365. 17

Amarā offers him some rice-gruel, which he accepts. He then goes to her house by the way indicated by her in a riddle.

155. မဟောသဓ သိဉ်ဉ ဂိုက်—၆၀၇

Mahos sjiñ glik—687

Mahosadha stitches clothes—366. 7 *ff*

He reaches the house and meets with Amarā's mother. Knowing they were poor, he resolves to help them; so, first, he mends for nothing their old clothes, then those of the villagers, and in one day makes one thousand coins.

Sjiñ, to sew, stitch = M.T. သိုင်, sjiṅ, ဇိုင်, jiṅ; *cf.* ဇွိုင်, jmiṅ, sewing, stitching, *couture*, and သမားဇွိုင်, smā jmiṅ, a tailor; sjiñ corresponds to the Pāli *sibbati*. "To mend" is, properly, ပြန် or ပျော်, bla' or blo'.

156. ကြော်ဝ် ဇုင် မဟောသဓ—၆၀၀

Krow juṅ Mahos—688

(Amarā) washes Mahosadha's feet—366. 26

In the evening, when Amarā comes back, she washes her parents' and the sage's feet.

Krow, to wash = M.T. ကြော်, krau. Juṅ, foot = M.T. ဇုင်, juiṅ; see under plaque No. 82.

157. မဟောသဓ လေတ် ပုဉ်—၆၀၉

Mahos let puṅ—689

Mahosadha smears the boiled rice (on Amarā's head and body)—367. 8

The sage stays a few days in the house to test Amarā's temper. For instance, he gives her rice to cook; one part of it she boils, with the other

she makes gruel, and with the third a cake. The sage finds them delicious, but to test her, he makes a mixture of the three and rubs it on her head and body. She does not in the least get angry.

158. မဟောသဓ ကိလ် ဂျုန်—၆၉၀

Mahos kil gnun—690

Mahosadha gives (Amarā) a loin-cloth—367. 13

After a few days, the sage gives Amarā's parents the money he had brought with him and that which he had earned by stitching; to Amarā he gives a petticoat and tells her to follow him to town.

Gnun = M.T. ဂ္ဂန်, gnin, a woman's loin-cloth, a petticoat; *cf.* ကျုန်, kmun, to reign, a variant of ကျိန်, kmin.

159. မဟောသဓ မုန် ကောဝ်—၆၉၁

Mahos mun cow—691

Mahosadha informs (that he is about) to return (home)—367. 16

The sage, having asked Amarā to follow him, comforts her parents and takes leave.

Cow, to return = M.T. 6, cau.

160. မဟောသဓ ဗိဗတ်—၆၉၂

Mahos bibat—692

Mahosadha tests (Amarā's chastity)—367. 17 *ff*

Arrived in town, in order to test her virtue, he tells her to wait in the gate-keeper's house, goes home and sends some of his men, with a thousand coins, to tempt her; thrice she refuses. Then he has her dragged before him clad in his ceremonial dress, and she does not recognize him. But she still refuses. He is convinced of her chastity.

၁၆၁. မဟောသဓ ပ မင်္ဂလ—၆၉၃

Mahos pa maṅgala—693

Mahosadha marries—368. 7

The next day Mahosadha brings the girl to the palace and marries her amid great rejoicing.

Pa maṅgala, to perform a religious ceremony, especially the ceremony of marriage; the expression is still used in common parlance; the Burmese have the same expression: မင်္ဂလာပြုသည် (maṅgalā pru saṅ). It is the equivalent of the Pāli *maṅgalaṁ karoti*, to perform a ceremony, hold a festival, which is often used in the jātaka in the sense of "to marry."

၁၆၂. မဟောသဓ တာဝ မာန်—၆၉၄

Mahos tāw mān—694

Mahosadha lives as a potter—369. 27

The four ministers, wishing to undo the Bodhisatta, steal from the king his golden slippers, a gem from the crest, his robe and his necklace, which they sent surreptitiously to the sage's house. They are received by Amarā, who carefully notes down the day on which, and the persons by whom, they were brought. The ministers induce the king to put on these things and they cannot be found. They then accuse Mahosadha of theft. The latter comes to the palace to explain; the king refuses to see him. The sage, afraid, consults with his wife, escapes from the town and goes to live at a potter's house.

Taw = M.T. တဝ်, tau, properly means: to dwell, reside, live in or at, to be (in a place), etc.; နဝ်ဓတ်ဒိုင်ဆိန္နရောတ်—"the nāgas who dwell at the foot of Mt. Sineru," S.B. 7; ဥဿဘတ္တိဘဉ် ခြိုက်ပဲ့ဒိုင်—"a white bull (whose) horns are on his feet," S.M. 12; ထ်ပုန်ဒါဓတ်ရော—"where are the flowers?" Dhd. 93. These meanings are not entered in Haswell's, who, moreover, on page 25, gives it as a "euphonic affix"; placed after another verb it shows that an action or state is going on, and the example he gives—ဃးထးဒုံယဂိုဒ်ထ်ဒု—literally means: (the light) is or was shining.

Mān, a potter; the modern form is လမာန်, lamān, by means of prefix la; mān now means: to make pots. This legend might have been translated: "Mahos lives at a potter's." The *Skem* here reads: ဒဿာဝဝတ်မာန် —"he fled and waited upon a potter," that is, took service at a potter's.

163. ဝေဉ် မဟောသဓ—၆၉၅

Weṅ Mahos—695

(The courtiers) go about (looking for) Mahosadha—372. 11 *ff*

The deity that resided in the royal umbrella, not hearing any more the voice of the sage, and finding out what had happened, resolves to bring him back. She puts riddles to the king, who asks his four ministers, but they cannot solve them. The *devatā* then repeats the Firefly riddle, threatening the king with death if he does not solve it. The king, terrified, sends four courtiers, with presents, to find out Mahosadha and bring him back.

For weṅ, Haswell gives one meaning only: to play. But it means also: to go about, wander, roam; to go to; to visit; အခိုက်မှာဝေဉ်ဆိုအခိုက်ညီကျော —"I'll go first to my house," Sudh. 3. 18; ကျွန်ုပ်ဝေဉ်ဖွဲ့—"come and visit us, it is not far." The plaque represents the courtier who has found him, after going about looking for him, and offering him the king's presents. Besides the meanings above given, weṅ has also the following, not in Haswell's:—(*a*) to avoid, eschew; လူဝေဉ်ကေ့—"people (should) avoid him," Dhd. 239. 18; တရွဝေဉ်ကေ့ဖုဒ္ဓိတ်—"who does not eschew bad deeds," Dhd. 54. 3; (*b*) in vain, to no purpose, for nothing; ဩဝါဝကေဝ်ထဝိကိုဝေဉ်လူးထာ—"having amassed property, shall I give it for nothing to people?", Gpi. 14.

With weṅ = to go about, roam, compare ဝေဉ်, geṅ.

164. ကျွန် နှာရ် မာန်—၆၉၆

Tluṅ nor mān—696

Coming from the potter's—374. 9

The courtier explains his mission to Mahosadha, who accompanies him to the town.

Tluṅ, to come = M.T. ကျွန်, kluṅ; there is a variant, ကျွဉ်, tlūṅ.

165. သောတ် သိမ်မာည်—၆၉၇

Soh simmāñ—697

(Mahosadha) answers the (king's) questions—374. 19

The king receives him kindly and, to test his loyalty, puts him a number of questions; he then asks him to solve the four riddles put to him by the goddess, having first got down from his throne and made the sage take his place, as a mark of deep respect for his learning. The umbrella-goddess, delighted, gives the sage a casket full of the seven precious things. In the plaque, the casket is represented twice; first, in the hands of the goddess, as she is giving it, and then in the hands of Mahosadha.

S i m m ā ñ, a question = M.T. သၚ်, s m ā n; သၚ် ၶွတ်ဵ် ဒတ် ၵဲ ၵုၵ်ၽင်္ဂ်—"a question arose in the nāga-city," S.B 11. There are two variants: s u ṁ m ā ñ and s u m ā ñ.

166. ညး ပန် တ္ဝၢင် သွာည်—၆၉၀

Ñaḥ pan tluṅ smāñ—698

The four come to ask (questions to Mahosadha to entrap him)—378. 22 *ff*

The four ministers, vexed at the return to favour of Mahosadha, resolve again to undo him. They go to his house and ask him, "To whom is it right to tell a secret?" He answered, "One should tell his secret to no one." They return to the king and denounce the sage as a traitor, telling what he thinks about secrets. For not to tell a secret to the king is treason.

167. သ္မိင် သွာည် ရဟသ်—၆၉၉

Smiṅ smāñ rahas—699

The king asks (Mahosadha concerning) secrets—379. 29 *ff*

The sage is called to the palace and, before the other four, is asked by the king to whom secrets should be told. Mahosadha maintains that to tell a secret is bad; that none should be told until it is no more a secret. The king is displeased at this answer, and the sage perceives that he has been

entrapped by his enemies. He becomes uneasy and resolves to know the ministers' secrets that very day.

R a h a s, a secret; Pāli *rahassa.*

168. ဒွါင် ကိုင်ရြောဝ် ဒနိဟ်—၇၀၀

Dmoṅ kīnrom danih—700

(Mahosadha) is under the trough—381. 23 *ff*

The king, believing Mahosadha a traitor, becomes anxious. He asks the four ministers what ought to be done; they answer he must be killed. The king gives them his own sword and bids them kill him at the door in the morning. Every day, on leaving the palace, these four were in the habit of sitting on a trough at the palace gate and talking about their plans. The sage gets under the trough, and there learns of his projected murder, as well as the several secrets of his enemies.

D m o ṅ, to dwell, remain = M.T. ၼွဝ်, d m å ṅ; k ī n r o m, under; the equivalent of this word, which would probably be ဝ်ကြောဝ်, I have not yet found in the literary language; it is also not colloquial. But modern Cambodian has it: k r o m = *en bas* (Aymonier, Dictionnaire Français-Cambodien). It is found as k a r o m in the Khmer inscription of Vat Praḥ Keo, 1283 A.D.[1]—d a n i h, a trough = M.T. ၼ်ိတ်, d n i h, and တ္ဍေတ်, t n e h; d n i h is properly a dry measure = d o ṇ i = Skt. *droṇi*, which means also a trough for feeding cattle. The *Skem* has တ္ဍေတ်အမွိၼ်, t n e h - a m u i n = a trough; a m u i n and a m u i ṇ is a dry measure, and also a trough; the Pāli in this passage has *bhattammaṇa* and *ammaṇa* (Vol. VI. 381. 23, 25).

169. ပဏ္ဍိတ် သုဒေ့ မဟောသ်—၇၀၁

Paṇḍit su-er Mahos—701

The (four) pandits look for Mahosadha—385. 22 *ff*

Early next morning, the four pandits, armed with swords and posted at the gate, awaited with expectancy the coming of the sage. But they did not

[1] G. Cœdès, Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya, p. 18, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XVII, No. 2.

see him; for the queen had sent him word of the others' treachery, and bade him come well attended. So he did, and the plan of his enemies failed. The king received him well and was convinced he was no traitor. Then the sage tells the king the secrets of the four ministers, which he had surprised under the trough. The king, incensed, throws them in jail, and orders them to be impaled outside the city. Mahosadha pleads for them, and the king gives them to him as slaves; he immediately frees them and begs of the king to reinstate them in their positions. The king agrees.

Su-er: this reading is quite clear in the estampage and in the photograph; the plaque itself, which I have examined, leaves no doubt as to its being correct. Taking the scene depicted on the plaque together with the text, the meaning of su-er is, I think, clear, and means: to look with expectation. I have not found any corresponding form in the modern language. There is a word, ၸွေ့, s ṅ e w, which means: to look, look at, look for; this may *perhaps* be the modern form (?), with the usual elision of the vowel *u* and the insertion of *ṅ* to facilitate the pronunciation. But I do not feel quite confident of this equivalence, for the simple forms ၸွေ့, ၹီ, ṅ e w, ṅ ī, are also found. The *Skem* has the word ရှိ၌, r å ṅ, to look, ထို့ဖျ၌ သွဲ့ကိုအစာထိုး။ သးဂြိအစာပန်ထို ညးပန်ထိုန်ရှိ၌ခွင်တရ—" the king gave his sword to the pandit Senaka. In the morning, all the four pandits were looking for him." The scene depicted is when the plot has failed and Mahosadha has entered the king's room, which the four ministers also entered; unless we take it that two scenes are represented—one which shows the ministers waiting for the sage at the gate: the swords which they are holding seem to corroborate this; the other, the sage in conversation with the king. In the next plaque, without their weapons, they are sitting in the royal room in humble posture.

170. မဟောသဓ ဗုလား ညး ပန်—702

Mahos bulāḥ ñaḥ pan—702

Mahosadha sets free the four persons—389. 17 *ff*

The scene depicts the ministers being given as slaves to the sage, who sets them free.

Bulāḥ = M.T. ပေး, b a l a ḥ, to set free, to let go.

171. မဟောသဓ ပိန္ဒေါင် ကိုယ်—၇၀၃

Mahos pindoṅ kiryā—703

Mahosadha sends presents (to the 101 kings)—390. 17 *ff*

Now, Mahosadha's power became paramount and he practically governed the kingdom. To be ready for any eventuality, he had the capital strongly fortified; large water-tanks were built, and vast quantities of grains gathered. Along the ramparts and between the watch-towers, he dug three moats—a water-moat, a mud-moat and a dry moat. He sent men with valuable presents to the 101 kings at their capitals, bidding them take service at their courts and report regularly on their doings and plans.

P i n d o ṅ, to send = M.T. ပဏ်ဒ်, p a l å ṅ, after elision of the infix -i n; the letters *l* and *d* (dh, t, th) are often used interchangeably; modern Talaing offers many examples of this; *cf.* ကလမ်, l a l a m, and ကဒမ်, l a d a m, to quiet, appease. Medial *-nd-* regularly becomes *l*.

172. မဟောသဓ ပိန္ဒေါင် ထ္ဝာက်—၇၀၄

Mahos pindoṅ ṫnāk—704

Mahosadha sends (his) parrot—390. 24 *ff*

At that time, Saṅkhapāla, king of Ekabala was assembling a large army. Mahosadha's spy sent news, adding he could not find out the reason of it. Then the sage sent a parrot to find out the truth and report.

T ṅ ā k, a parrot = M.T. တနှက်, t a ṅ e k. For the change of vowels *cf.* k y ā k and k y e k, in Blagden's Talaing Inscriptions. The form t ṅ e k occurs also a few plaques below (No. 181).

173. ထ္ဝာက် ရင် ပ္ရိန်—၇၀၅

Ṫnāk raṅ pinriṅ—705

The parrot brings news

The parrot, having ascertained what was going on at Ekabala, flew to all the capitals of India to listen to what was afoot; he thus came to Uttarapañcāla, the capital city of Kampilla, whose king was Cūḷanī-

Brahmadatta. Kevaṭṭa, the chaplain of Cūḷanī, took the latter into the park, so that nobody might hear their conversation, and then prevailed upon him to conquer all India with his mighty army. The parrot, which was perched on the tree above the king, heard the conversation, went back to Mahosadha and reported to him there was danger from no other king but Cūḷanī. In the plaque, the parrot is seen on the right shoulder of the sage.

R a ṅ, see note on r ā ṅ (plaque No. 5). There is no virāma on the *ṅ* of r a ṅ. P i n r i ṅ, news = M.T. ဝရိဒ်, p a r u i ṅ; this word has another meaning which has not been noted by Haswell; it may often be translated by "about, concerning." Ex., တုပညာဝန္ဒိုင်။ တိကေတ်ပရိုင်ဒတ်ကုတ်ကောန်သဿာညးသင်္ဂံတဲ့— "the wise, thus knowing about (that is, the evil consequences of) the sin of stealing another's wife . . . ," Dhd. 357. 8; ပရိုင်ဒဒိုက်ထထိုတ်ထိုဒိုသွာန်သွက်ပွန်ဝထး— "they conversed about suffering and happiness," S.B. 27; ထွိန္ဒာဒိ . . . ပရိုင်ဦင်သွဝ်ထိုးဦမထာဝန်တံရ—"King Nemi . . . discoursed to the people about Tāvatiṁsa," S.N. 2.

174. This plaque, No. 706 of the series, is missing.

175. မထော သ္မာည် သ္မိင်—၇၀၇

Maho smāñ smiṅ—707

Mahosadha is asked by the king (how Mithilā shall be delivered from its enemies)—396. 23

It is well he has fortified the capital, for Cūḷanī, king of Pañcāla, has conquered all India, added the armies of 101 kings to his own and is now marching on Mithilā. The sage is made aware of all this by his parrot and his spies; he alone knows. Vast quantities of food and water are brought into the city and numerous warriors called in. King Cūḷanī arrives. He wants to poison the 101 kings, his vassals; but his plan is defeated by Mahosadha. Then Cūḷanī prepares to storm the city. The four wiseacres hear the noise, and are nonplussed, for they know nothing; King Vedeha, too, raves with fright. He sends for the sage and asks him how Mithilā can be freed from his enemy. Mahosadha encourages him and unfolds part of his plans.

The *s* in Mahos has been omitted by inadvertence. As it runs, this legend might be read "Mahosadha questions the king"; but it is the king who asks the questions and not Mahosadha. The verb smāñ is used in a passive sense; *cf.* No. 106.

176. မဟောသဓ် တဲ့ ပ္လာဝ်—၇၀၈

Mahos tal pkāw—708

Mahosadha is planting the flower—401. 3 *ff*

King Cūḷanī had conquered all the kingdoms of India, except that of Mithilā, where reigned King Vedeha. Kevaṭṭa, his chaplain, knowing the wit of Mahosadha would defeat all their endeavours, tries to dissuade Cūḷanī from attacking this small kingdom. But Cūḷanī does not listen and lays siege to the capital. It was hoped to reduce it by water-famine, for it was thought the city had its water-supply outside; in reality, it was well stocked with water. To discourage the enemy, Mahosadha procured bamboo poles sixty cubits long, had them split in two, got the knots removed to allow the flow of water, had them joined again, covered with leather and smeared with mud. He sent for the soil and lily-seed which had been brought from the Himālayas by some hermits; he planted the seed in the mud on the edge of a tank, placed the bamboo over the seed, and filled it with water. In one night, the seed grew up and flowered, rising a fathom above the top of the bamboo. The flower with this extraordinarily long stalk was sent to Cūḷanī, who knew he could not reduce the city by cutting off the water.

Tal, to plant = M.T. ᨲᩮᩣ, tuiw; an old final *l* is, in the latter language, either dropped or changed to final *w*; *cf.* gil, to be sick = M.T. ᩈᩤ, gi; kintal, surface = M.T. ᨠᨶ᩠ᨲᩣ, gatā; tol, cotton = M.T. ᨠᨶ᩠ᨲᩮᩣ, tow; bal, army = M.T. ᨻᩮᩣ, buiw. Tal translates the Pāli *ropeti* in the text (p. 401. 6).

Pkāw, a flower = M.T. ᨸᩀ, pkau. ᨸᩀ ᩈᩮᩣ, pkau-sau, wrongly entered in Haswell as "a carver in wood," also means "flower"; it is often found in writings with the infix *r*, ᨸᩀ ᩁᩮᩣ, pkau-srau.

177. မဟောသဓ တိ နှာရ် ဍုၚ်—၇၀၉

Mahos ti nor ḍuṅ—709

Mahosadha leaves the city—403. 31 *ff*

Mahosadha, surrounded by one thousand warriors, his former playmates, leaves the city to fight the "Battle of the Law" with Kevaṭṭa.

Ti, for tit, by inadvertence, to go out = M.T. Nor, see plaque 39.

178. မဟောသဓ ပ ဓံမယုတ်—၇၁၀

Mahos pa dhammayut—710

Mahosadha fights the Battle of the Law—404. 2 *ff*

Many means were resorted to to subdue the city, but in vain. At last, Kevaṭṭa said to Cūḷanī, "There is a way: I shall invite Mahosadha to fight the Battle of the Law; it is thus: the two sages of the two kings shall meet at one place, and the one who salutes the other first shall be vanquished. I am the older, so Mahosadha will salute me, for he has never heard of this battle. And we shall thus conquer the city." But Mahosadha had. The sage was accordingly invited. Before leaving the city, as depicted on the preceding plaque, he asks king Vedeha for the gem contorted in eight places (see plaque 138) in order to conquer Kevaṭṭa with it. The two wise men meet. Mahosadha offers the gem to Kevaṭṭa, who takes it, but it slips from his hand, and in his greed he stoops down at the other's feet to get it back. The sage presses him down to prevent him rising, saying: "Do not, O teacher, make obeisance to me, for I am younger than you!" Cūḷanī with his army, seeing what had happened, fled.

Dhammayut, the "Battle of the Law," as explained above, is the Pāli *dhammayuddha*. Owing to whitewash, the legend in the photograph is not quite clear, but the plaque itself is quite legible.

179. ကေဝတ္တ တ္ဝုၚ် သ္ဒာည်—၇၁၁

Kevaṭṭa tluṅ smāñ—711

Kevaṭṭa comes and asks (for Mahosadha)—413. 13

Cūḷanī had now been one year in his capital of Uttarapañcāla. Kevaṭṭa,

his chaplain, cannot get over his ignominious defeat. He elaborates a plan to entice the king of Mithilā and Mahosadha to Uttarapañcāla and do away with them. This plan consisted in so praising the charms of Princess Pañcālacaṇḍī, Cūḷanī's daughter, to the king of Mithilā, that the latter would be mad with desire; Kevaṭṭa then would go to Mithilā and fix a day for the king to come and fetch the princess. The plan is put into execution. Kevaṭṭa arrives at Mithilā and sees the king, who falls in his trap. The king, glad of this apparent reconciliation between himself and Cūḷanī, desires his wise man also to be reconciled to Kevaṭṭa, and sends the latter to Mahosadha for that purpose. But Mahosadha deigns not to speak with Kevaṭṭa, for he is sure he has come for some foul purpose; so he closets himself in his room and bids his men prevent Kevaṭṭa approaching. Kevaṭṭa comes and asks for Mahosadha, but he is prevented from seeing him.

၁၈၀. သျိဉ် မ္ဍစ် ကု မဟောသ်—၇၁၂

Smiṅ mḍac ku Mahos—712

The king is angry with Mahosadha—417. 7 *b*

Meanwhile, the king had asked his other four wise men what they thought of Cūḷanī's offer of his daughter; they all answered he ought to proceed to Uttarapañcāla. Mahosadha, after Kevaṭṭa's departure, goes to the palace; the king asks him also his opinion, and the sage answers, in strong language, that he ought not to go. The king becomes very angry, and Mahosadha, always prudent, takes his leave and returns home.

Mḍac means "to be angry," and is no doubt a form of ဖ္ဍတ်, pnat, which appears also as ပဏောတ်, paṇot, and a form ပဏတ်, paṇat, is quite regularly possible; Halliday tells me he has found the form ပဏတ်, maṇat; *ḍ* and *ṇ* are phonetically closely related, though I have not met with any other example of their being thus interchanged. The plaque represents Mahosadha fleeing before the king's anger, and confirms the meaning of mḍac as given above; it is confirmed also indirectly by the next plaque, for the instructions to the parrot come, in the text, immediately after the sage's departure from the king's presence. The three estampages taken at different times leave no doubt as to the reading.

၁၈၁. မဟောသဓ ကိုင်္ကန် ကု ထွေက်—၇၁၃

Mahos kiṅkan ku tṅek—713

Mahosadha instructs his parrot—418. 22

Mahosadha resolves to find out the true meaning of Kevaṭṭa's mission. So he instructs his parrot to go to Cūḷanī's palace, make friends with his minah bird which knows all his secrets, pump her out and come back and report.

K i ṅ k a n, see plaque 62. T ṅ e k, see plaque 172.

၁၈၂. ထ္နာက် ကော် နှာ့ သာလိကာ—၇၁၄

Tṅāk cow nor sālikā—714

The parrot returns from the minah bird—425. 16 *ff*

The parrot goes as directed, makes love to the minah, and learns from her that the real intention of Cūḷanī is to kill the king and Mahosadha; then he leaves the minah, comes back and makes his report.

၁၈၃. မဟောသဓ မုန် နာ သ္နာရ်—၇၁၅

Mahos mun na s-ār—715

Mahosadha tells (the king) that he is going (to Uttarapañcāla)—426. 27

Mahosadha, having ascertained the true state of affairs, goes to the palace and, knowing the king was bent upon going to Uttarapañcāla, the capital of Cūḷanī, to marry the latter's daughter, evolves a plan in his mind, by which the king was to get his heart's desire, come back to Mithilā happily and see the disgrace of his enemies. But he must go there first, and he tells the king of his intention. Leave to go is graciously granted.

The last part of the legend in the photograph is difficult to read rightly, some of the letters having been somewhat spoiled, and I was able to decipher it correctly only on examining the plaque itself.

M u n, to tell, inform, apprize, notify, see plaque 42. N a has not here the meaning of "by means of" given it in Haswell; but it is equivalent

to တ်ဒ်, .t n a h n a, a conjunction meaning "that"; it is also equivalent to the Pāli *atthaṁ, atthāya,* "for, for the purpose of, for the sake of," when before nouns, and to the Pāli infinitive *tuṁ* before verbs; the *s* in s-ār (M.T. သ္ဍာ, s-ā) indicates the future (see plaque 64); n a s-ar = "that (he) will go"; the Pāli has here *ahaṁ gacchāmi* (= gacchissāmi) *pure,* "I will go beforehand," which the *Skem* literally translates, ဆဲ ဒိက် သ္ဍာကျာ။ Or s-ār may be taken as a noun, "going," and the legend be translated: "he tells (the king) for going," that is, "begs (the favour of) going." The following are examples of တ်ဒ် used before nouns:—အဿဇိထေရ်တ်ဒ် ဒ ဒ္ဍာပါတ် လုဒ်အာဝုင် ရာဇဂြိဟ်ရ—"the thera Assaji entered the city of Rājagriha for alms," Dhd. 226. 21. ဒိဂ်တ်ဒဒဲ့မြောဒ်ကောဒ်တဲ့—"the mother, for the sake of (her) son . . . ," Dhd. 18. 8.

184. လောဒ် ဝုင် ပံစာလ်—၇၁၆

Lop ḍuṅ Paṁcāl—716

(Mahosadha) enters the city of Pañcāla—428. 1

Mahosadha, with a great army of artisans and labourers, sets forth on his journey; at every league he builds a village, and puts a courtier in charge with instruction to have horses and elephants ready against the king's return, to convey him speedily to Mithilā. At the Ganges, he crosses over and, from the place of landing, measuring the distances says: "This is half a league, here shall be built the great tunnel; in this spot shall be a town for our king to dwell in; and from this place to the palace, that is a mile, shall be the small tunnel." All these were to be built for the safety of the king. He then entered the city.

L o p, to enter = M.T. ထဒ်, l u p. The form l o p is also very frequent in literary Talaing. P a ṁ c ā l = Uttarapañcāla.

185. ဂုလာည် ကု သ္ဍိင် စူလနိ—၇၁၇

Gulāñ ku smiṅ Cūlani—717

(Mahosadha) converses with king Cūḷanī—428. 10 *ff*

Mahosadha is well received by Cūḷanī; they converse together; the sage tells him of his intention to build a palace for his king to dwell in, and permission to do so is granted.

186. မဟောသ် ကိန်ဒံ သုပါန်—၇၁၈

Mahos kindaṁ supān—718

Mahosadha fixes the stairs (firmly)—428. 29

After his conversation with Cūḷanī, Mahosadha, bent upon the perfect safety of his king, begins to carry out his plans. Standing at the foot of the stairs in Cūḷanī's palace, he thought that the entrance to the little tunnel should be there; he had obtained permission to do anything he wanted. He was afraid the stairs would come down while digging the tunnel. He told Cūḷanī he had remarked a defect in the stairs, and, under pretence of remedying it, takes the stairs down, builds a strong wooden platform where the mouth of the passage was to be, and thereon fixes firmly the stairs.

Kindaṁ, properly "to build" (see plaque 124), and here, by extension, "to repair, fix," etc. Supān = Pāli *sopāna*, stairs, staircase, ladder.

187. ကေတ် သိ အဗော်အ် သ္မိင်—၇၁၉

Ket sṅi abo' smiṅ—719

(They) take the king's mother's house—429. 16 *ff*

King Cūḷanī tells Mahosadha that he may build a palace for his king in the city; but the sage wishes to build it on the spot he had previously chosen outside the city. However, he seems to acquiesce, but tells the king that the owners of the houses he may choose to pull down will come and make endless complaints; to allow him, therefore, to post his own men at proper spots so that no one should come into the presence of the king and trouble him. Cūḷanī agrees. He chooses first the house of the queen-mother, and sends his men there ordering them to take possession and do as if they were about to pull it down. The queen-mother is angered, but is prevented from complaining to the king; she gives a heavy bribe to be left in peace, and her silence is thus secured, being afraid of the ridicule of paying heavily to stay in her own house.

188. ကေတ် သိ္ဂ ကေဝတ်—၇၂၀

Ket sṅi Kewat—720

(Mahosadha) takes Kevaṭṭa's house—430. 15 *ff*

Kevaṭṭa is treated similarly to the queen, and has also to pay a hundred thousand pieces.

189. မဟောသ် သ္လောပ် သိ္ဂ သ္မိုင်—၇၂၁

Mahos slop sṅi smiṅ—721

Mahosadha enters the king's house—430. 20

He thus makes a semblance of seizing many houses in all quarters of the city, and receives a bribe at each, for the people thought all this was taking place by royal order. Then he returns to Cūḷanī's palace.

S l o p, to enter = l o p with prefix *s* (*vide* plaque 64).

190. မဟောသ် ကိရ် ဥမာင်—၇၂၂

Mahos kir umāṅ—722

Mahosadha digs the tunnel—431. 17 *ff*

Mahosadha tells the king that the citizens are ready enough to give up their houses, but when they are about to be demolished they are stricken with grief; he does not want to be the cause of such legitimate grief. And he goes on to say it would be better to build the palace outside the city, and that he has found a convenient spot. The king agrees. That no one might see what was going on, he asks the king to forbid all citizens to go near that spot, for, says he, there might be a quarrel; the king again agrees. Then Mahosadha goes to the chosen spot and sets about building the great tunnel for his king's flight. One entrance to the tunnel was on the Ganges; on the other side of which he built a large village, with elephants and horses in readiness; the other entrance was in the city itself well dissimulated.

Kir, to dig = M.T. ကြိုဝ်, kwuiw; some words with the infix *w*, which properly forms nouns, are used as verbs; it must be remembered that, in Môn, the distinction between noun and verb is, to a great extent, vague and indefinite, the same word being either the one or the other. The old word kir would regularly give a modern form *ကီ, kuiw (*cf.* jin = M.T. ဇျိုန်, juin; tin = တိုန်, tuin, etc.), which, if extant, has not yet been found. There is, however, the form with the infix *w*, ကြိုဝ်, kwuiw, a spade (Schmidt, **68.** 8; **72.** 3), also found written ကြီဝ်, twuiw, which is again used as a verb: ထိတ်ဒေသ်ကို အာဃာရ ထုတ် ထဋ်ထဝ်တဲ့။ ချိုန်ခဏဒ် ကျာ ဇနွာတ် ပဲဒ္ဓ ထိုက် တတ်ကြီဝ်ကေ့ဲ ဗျုန်ဖြိတ်—"owing to having been seven days with but little food, at that moment, fierce gases arose within her stomach which dug (that is, cut, slashed) her heart," Dhd. **160.** 2; ဒုခြင်ဗတ်ခါဲ့က်ကြီဝ်ယ်တ်ကိုဒါ်ဒါ်—"tore and dug out both his eyes and gave them in alms," Dhd. **33.** 26. ကြိုဝ် means (1) to dig, dig into, dig out; hence, (2) to stir, disturb, and (3) to slash, cut; literally = to spade. Here are a few examples of nouns in *w* used again as verbs: ဒိဓတ်ကြိုဝ်ဒါ်—"the treasure which is at the rising of the sun" (*i.e.* to the east; the Pāli being *suriyuggamane nidhi*), S.J.; ပဲတဲ့ဓကြိုဝ်—"as the sun was rising," S.M.; from တိုန်, tuin, to rise, ascend. ထွုတ်, twut, weaving; to weave, S.B., from ထုတ်, tut, to weave, N.V.K. **II.** 7; there is also ထွုတ်, tmut, weaving, N.V.K. **II.** 10. ဆွေက်ခွိုဝ်, swek jwuiw, a quarrel; to quarrel, A.V. 60, from သေက်ဇိုဝ်, sek juiw.

Umāṅ is the Pāli *ummagga*, a tunnel; there are two other variants, umaṅ and ummaṅ.

191. ဝဒ္ဓကိ ဇိန် ဒွုဝ် ကု မဟာသ်—၇၂၃

Waddhaki jin dluṅ ku Mahās—723

The shipwrights make over the ships to Mahosadha—432. 27

It will be remembered that, before setting out from Mithilā, Mahosadha gave orders for ships to be built. Three hundred shipwrights having built three hundred ships and loaded them, brought them down and made them over to the sage.

Mahās is a mistake for Mahos.

W a d d h a k i = the Pāli *vaddhaki*, carpenter. J i n, to give, give over, grant, confer = M.T. ဖုန့်, j u i n; with this word compare ဖျုန့်, p h y u i n, to hand over, deliver = ပထိုန့်, p a s u i n, *ibid.* The aspirate ဖျ, p h y, is often the result of ပ, *p* + သ, *s*; *e.g.* ဖျဒ်, p h y a w, to put down = ပသဒ်, p a s a w; ဖျုဉ်, p h y u ṅ, to give to drink = ပထုဉ်; ဖျိတ်, p h y u i k, to render or make happy = ပထိုတ်, p a s u i k. *Cf.* plaque 33.

192. မဟောသဓ ဖိန္ဒောင် ဝေင်—၇၂၄

Mahos pindoṅ weṅ—724

Mahosadha sends (the boats) out of the way—432. 30

Then the sage, not wishing in any way to arouse suspicion, sends the shipwrights to put the boats away in a secluded place.

W e ṅ, to avoid, eschew, keep out of the way; see plaque 163.

193. မဟောသဓ ဝါင် သ္မိင်—၇၂၅

Mahos wāṅ smiṅ—725

Mahosadha goes out to meet the king (Vedeha)—433. 18

The new city for the use of his king, the big and the small tunnels and everything else being ready, Mahosadha goes to meet King Vedeha who has arrived at the Ganges.

W ā ṅ, to go out to meet, the fuller forms being ဝါင်ခုင်, w ā ṅ d u ṅ, ဝါင်ခုင်တ္လုင်, w ā ṅ d u ṅ t l u ṅ.

194. သ္မိင် သ္မာည် မဟောသဓ်—၇၂၆

Smiṅ smāñ Mahos—726

The king (Vedeha) asks Mahosadha—442. 9 *ff*

He takes King Vedeha to the newly built city. King Cūḷanī agrees to give his daughter to Vedeha this very day; but in reality he sends word to array his mighty legions in order to surround Vedeha and kill him. Meanwhile, Mahosadha has tricked Cūḷanī's mother, his consort, son and

daughter through the tunnel into a safe place. Vedeha, impatient with the apparent delay of the princess's arrival, looks out of a window, and is terrified at the sight of Cūḷanī's innumerable army surrounding the city. He naturally thinks this is due to a lack of prudence on the part of Mahosadha. He first asks his four wise men how they could get him out of this danger; they are at a loss. Then, lamenting, he asks Mahosadha, who answers there is nothing to fear.

195. ပုဗရ် ဥမင် ကု သ္မိင် ဗိဒိး—၇၂၇

Pubar umaṅ ku smiṅ Widiḥ—727

He shows the tunnel to King Vedeha—433. 33 *ff*

Vedeha was comforted. Mahosadha ordered the door of the tunnel to be thrown open, when its magnificence appeared in a blaze of light. The king and the ministers enter the tunnel.

P u b a r, to show, exhibit; p u is a variant of the causal prefix p a, often written b a (*cf.* s u = s a, page 23), M.T. is ဗဗိ, b a b u i w; ကောန်သ္မိပ္ဒဲဝဆိုက် ဖွက်ဲလက် ပ္ဒါခါမထိတ်ထက်ဗဗိတူည်း—"when the young princes who were clever in wrestling came out and showed the king a fight," Dhc. **150.** 17; ဒ္ဓါဝေ့မတ္ဒီကျာ ဂ်ိန္ဒိတံရ်းဒ္ဓါမတ္ဒီကြဂ်ိန္ဒိကွတ်ရ်းဗေါဓိသတ်ဗဗိညီးဂမ္ဒိုင်တဲ့—"the Bodhisatta having shown to the people that the extremity (of the pole) which sank first (in the water) was the root, and the one which sank after, the tip, . . . ," S.M. **11**; ဗမ္ဘးဂွံဍ်တဲ့ဂွံဝေ့ပထေတ် ဗဗိညီး—"this brahmin to-day has shown him (the snake) to the people and made him dance," S.B. **19**.

196. တိတ် နောရ် ဥမ္မင်—၇၂၀

Tit nor ummaṅ—728

(Vedeha) comes out from the tunnel—445. 18

When, through the tunnel, the king and his ministers come to the place where Cūḷani's family are kept, the latter shriek in fear. Cūḷanī hears and is puzzled, but keeps quiet for fear of being laughed at at the very thought his family were prisoners. Mahosadha sets Princess Pañcālacaṇḍī upon a heap of treasure, sprinkles her according to the ceremonial of marriage and makes

her over to the king as one of his queens. The place they were in was near the Ganges. The ships are brought, and Vedeha, coming forth from the tunnel, goes aboard ship taking his new queen, with her mother and brother and Cūḷanī's queen, as prisoners. Mahosadha remains behind to bring back intact his master's army.

၁၉၇. ကိန်ကန် ကု သ္မိင် ၀ိဒိဟ်—၇၂၀

Kinkan ku smiṅ Widih—728

(Mahosadha) instructs King Vedeha

As the king is going to embark, the sage instructs him, asking him to treat properly his hostages.

This and the preceding plaque again bear the same number.

၁၉၈. ဂုလာည် ကု စူလနိ—၇၂၉

Gulāñ ku Cūlani—729

(Mahosadha) converses with (king) Cūḷanī—451. 5 *ff*

In due course, Vedeha arrives at Mithilā, his capital. The sage then goes back to the tunnel, buries his sword in the sand at the door and enters the city, where he takes a much-needed rest. At dawn, Cūḷanī orders his armies to approach the city and utters dreadful threats to awe Vedeha. But Mahosadha shows himself, magnificently adorned, and, in conversation with him, makes Cūḷanī know that his plans have been foiled.

၁၉၉. ပျုဉ် ဗေ့ယ် ဂ္နကျာက် အာရ်—၇၃၀

Pyuṅ boy gnakyāk ār—730

(Mahosadha) shows (Cūḷanī) the way (his) queen is gone—456. 17

Cūḷanī becomes furious, and orders the sage to be put to death; Mahosadha points out to him that any harm which befalls him will also befall his wife, mother and son; to the astonished king the sage reveals that they are in the hands of Vedeha. Then in safety on the upper storey of the house, Mahosadha points out, in a number of stanzas, the

way the beautiful queen is gone; thus while praising the beauty of the queen and making the king long for her, preventing him effectually from ordering any violence to be done to himself, through fear of the possible revenge which might be wreaked on his wife.

Pyuṅ translates the Pāli (VI. 456. 17) *ācikkhana*, from *ācikkhati*, to show = Mod. T. ပြုန်, pñuṅ.

Boy = M.T. ဘွဲ့, bwai; this word is used in many senses, to form adverbs and adverbial expressions, and as a preposition with the meanings of: by, to, towards, from, as, about; in this plaque it is indicative of direction: boy ār, the way she went, and renders the Pāli (VI. 456. 19) *ito gatā*; it is also used in M.T. to form adverbs of direction: ဘွဲ့ဃး, against, နွင်္ကတိပက်ထာ ဘွဲ့ဃးထူာ—"throwing dust against the wind," Dhd. 172. 27; ဘွဲ့တောဇောတ်—"straight or directly towards." The following are a few examples of its uses: ဘွဲ့နာရဒညးမတိအဲရ—"people know me as "Nārada," S.J. 70; ဘွဲ့ဦးဦးဃဝ်—"by us it was heard . . . ," S.B. 1; ဘွဲ့တောကဇေါထာရပညဝ်—"by his common appellation," Dhd. 29. 1; ဘွဲ့အထိုက်—"of one's own accord," Dhd. 578. 20; ဘွဲ့တရး—"in detail, in full, *in extenso*," S.B. 24; ဘွဲ့ရှ်—"righteously," Sudh. 7. 4; ဘွဲ့တ်, "suitable, fit, proper" (from တ်, "to follow"), A.V. = *anukūlya*; ဘွဲ့ဖြုတ်—"in circumference," Dhd. 60. 11, and many others not recorded in Haswell. The forms ဝဲဘွဲ့, ဝဲဝဲ, babwai, babai, are also frequently found; ex., ဝဲဘွဲ့ ထွဉ်—"in due course, in regular order," Sudh. 24. 25, Ja. VI, 179. 6 = *anupubbena*; ဝဲဝဲဝဝ်—"righteous, righteously," Dhd. 236. 16. It is also found reduplicated: ဘွဲ့ဘွဲ့ထွဉ်—"in due course."

၂၀၀. စူလနီ ဗရ် ဥမဉ်—၇၃၁

Cūlani bar umaṅ—731

(King) Cūḷanī looks at the tunnel—459. 1 *ff*

When Mahosadha having thus praised his queen to Cūḷanī, the latter longs for her and his children and thinks: "The sage alone can give me back wife and children," the sage tells the king that his mother, wife and son will be given back to him, the only condition is his (Mahosadha's) return. The king now wonders how it is that, the new city being closely invested, his family could have been taken away from his own palace without

anybody having been aware of it. Mahosadha mentions the tunnels, and shows them to him.

B a r, to look, look at = M.T. ၍, b u i w.

201. ဗိစတ် ဒိရှတတ် ကု သျိင်—၇၃၂

Biḅat dirhat ku smiṅ—732

(Mahosadha) measures strength with the king—460. 10 *ff*

Mahosadha shows the king the marvels of the tunnel, its one hundred and one bed chambers, etc.; there was a mechanism by which the door of one being opened, all opened, or being closed, all closed. Having visited the tunnel, the king comes out, and immediately the sage had all the doors closed, shutting in all the king's attendants. Then Mahosadha takes the sword he had the day before hidden in the sand at the gate, leaps eighteen cubits in the air and, seizing the king's arm: "Whose, Sire, are all the kingdoms of India?" "They are yours, my dear sir! Do spare me!" Then the sage comforts the king, and both strike up a sincere friendship.

B i ḅ a t, see plaque 9; d i r h a t, see plaque 29.

202. သျိင် ကျံ ပုဇာဝ် ကိရိယာ—၇၃၃

Smiṅ klaṁ pujāw kiryā—733

The hundred kings offer ornaments (to Mahosadha)—461. 17

Mahosadha opens the tunnel's door, and the one hundred and one kings come out. They address the sage: "Wise sir, you have saved our life; had we stayed in a little longer we would have died." The sage explains this was not the first time, he had already done so when he had all the vessels in which was poisoned drink broken, and by which Cūḷanī, on the advice of Kevaṭṭa, had tried to do away with them. Cūḷanī begs pardon of the kings, which they gladly grant, and they, full of gratitude, present many ornaments to the sage.

P u j ā w, for p ū j ā w = M.T. ပူဇော်, p ū j a u, to offer or present something in token of homage or honour or worship; Pāli, *pūjā*.

203. သျိၼ် ပုမုၼ် မထောသ်—၇၃၄

Smiṅ pumun Mahos—734

The king invites Mahosadha (to stay at his court)—461. 25

The king, desirous of keeping such an eminent man at his court, offers the sage much honour and wealth if he consents not to go back to Vedeha. Mahosadha thankfully declines.

P u m u n, to invite; beg, entreat; I am not sure of the exact modern Talaing for this word; but perhaps the word ဝ၌, g a m a n, to invite, which I have not yet found in the literature but which is colloquial, may be compared with it. There is a word, m u n, met with several times in these plaques with the meaning: to tell, inform, apprize (see plaque 42), which means also "to entreat" in plaque 213; p u m u n is no doubt related to it.

204. မထောသ် ဝေဝ် ဍုၼ်—၇၃၅

Mahos cow ḍuṅ—735

Mahosadha returns to the city (of Mithilā)—463. 10 *ff*

Mahosadha promises the king to send back immediately his mother, his queen and his son, and returns to Mithilā with great wealth.

205. မထောသ် ၽိန္ဒေၼ် ဝေ—၇၃၆

Mahos pindoṅ co—736

Mahosadha sends back (Cūḷanī's family)—465. 4 *ff*

He arrives at Mithilā and is received amidst great rejoicings; then he tells King Vedeha it is time to send back the three hostages. They are accordingly sent back. Cūḷanī, learning of the great hospitality and honour that had been shown them, sends Vedeha a rich present, and both kings become great friends.

C o, for c o w, to return = M.T. 6, c a u.

206 ကုမိၼ် ကောၼ် သျိၼ် ဝိဒေယ်—၇၃၇

Kumin kon smiṅ Wideh—737

They ĕnthrone the son of King Vedeha—466. 19 *ff*

Pañcālacaṇḍī, the daughter of Cūḷanī, was much loved of King Vedeha. She bore him a son; in his tenth year the king died. The sage, raising

over him a white umbrella, instals the young prince on the throne, and begs leave to visit the young king's grandfather Cūḷanī.

Kumin, *cf.* plaque 25.

207. ပရိဗ္ဗာဇ် သ္တာည် မဟောသ်—၇၃၀

Paribbāc smāñ Mahos—738

A female ascetic asks Mahosadha (by gestures, why he does not become an ascetic)—467. 21

Cūḷanī receives him with great pomp, and the sage takes service under him according to a former promise. The queen, however, disliked Mahosadha owing to his having separated her from the king ten years before, and she sets some of her ladies to watch him closely in order to catch him tripping and lose him in the esteem of the king. Now, a female ascetic regularly took her meals at the palace; she had never seen Mahosadha, but had heard of his wisdom; he, likewise, had never seen her, but knew she came to the palace. One day they met in the courtyard of the palace. He saluted her. Then, to test his cleverness, she asked him questions by signs: "Does the king treat you well?" "No, the king is very tight-fisted." Then she puts her hand to her head, showing the peculiar coiffure of ascetics, meaning—"If you are displeased, why do you not become an ascetic?"—and the sage answers by showing his stomach, meaning—"It is impossible, because I have many to support."

Paribbāc = Pāli *paribbājikā*, a female ascetic.

208. မဟောသ် သ္တာည် ပရိဗ္ဗာဇ်—၇၃၉

Mahos smāñ paribbāc—739

Mahosadha asks the female ascetic (to find out the king's mind)—469. 6 *ff*

The queen's ladies have seen the strange conversation and, misinterpreting it, report to the king that Mahosadha and the ascetic are plotting to take his life. The king questions the ascetic, who explains the true meaning of the signs, and Cūḷanī, delighted, appoints Mahosadha generalissimo. Mahosadha, surprised at the honour, reflects that kings often do such things when they intend slaying one; so, in order to know how things stand, he pays her a visit and asks her to find out for him the king's mind. She does so with great cleverness, and finds out that the king is really very fond of Mahosadha.

209. ညး ပ ကျ ဗိစာရိ ပ ဇေ့ာရ်—၇၄၀

Ñaḥ ma kya bicār ma lṅor—740

The persons who have lost the case salute reverentially (Mahosadha)

Although this plaque bears the number 740, it is certainly in the wrong place; it ought to have come after one of the numerous cases tried by Mahosadha in the earlier part of this story. As, however, at the end of all these cases, the two parties make obeisance to the sage, it is impossible to say to which of these this plaque belongs.

K y a = M.T., to lose; the *ṅ* subscript under *l* in l ṅ o r is invisible in the photograph, but quite legible on the plaque.

VI.—KHAṆḌAHĀLA-JĀTAKA.

This story is popularly known in Burma as C a n d a k u m ā r a, from the name of the hero. Candakumāra is the son of the king of Benares and is viceroy. The brahmin Khaṇḍahāla is the royal chaplain, he is also a judge partial and corrupt. A suitor, dissatisfied with Khaṇḍahāla's verdict, complains to the viceroy; Candakumāra decides the case most cleverly and to the satisfaction of the people, and the king appoints him judge. The brahmin resolves to take revenge on Candakumāra. One morning, in his sleep, the king sees the splendours of the heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, and wishing to go there, he asks his chaplain the way thereto. Khaṇḍahāla answers the only way was to sacrifice his queens and his children. The foolish king orders the sacrifice. After many touching scenes, Sakka rescues Candakumāra and the other innocent victims.

210. ဝန္ဒကုမာရ် တာဝ် ဗိစာရ်—၇၄၁

Candakumār tāw bicār—741

Candakumāra is deciding the case—131. 21

Khaṇḍahāla, wicked chaplain and false judge, having decided a case wrongly, the wronged suitor complains to Candakumāra; the latter takes him to the court, tries the case and gives an equitable verdict, to the loud applause of the people.

211. သျိင် ဩရ် ဗိစာရ်—၇၄၂

Smiṅ or bicār—742

The king causes him to try (cases) *or*
(The king appoints Candakumāra as judge)—131. 27

Hearing the loud noise, the king enquires what it means, and learning of his son's success at law, gives him the office of judge and tells him that, henceforth, he is to investigate all suits.

Or, for this word see No. 50, in which the present plaque is discussed. Bicār here is used as a verb: to investigate cases, to judge.

212. ရင် တ္လုင် ဝန္ဒကုမာရ်—၇၄၃

Raṅ tluṅ Candakumār—743

They bring Candakumāra (to the king)—134. 21

The king proclaims he has decided, in order to gain heaven, to sacrifice his children and his wives. He then orders his men to bring Candakumāra and his four brothers. They first bring the prince to the king and then the others, and make them sit together.

Raṅ tluṅ, to bring; for this word see under rāṅ in plaque 5. The plaque shows the king in a pavilion; the figure in the upper row, on the right, near the pavilion, is Candakumāra; he is arguing with the king; the four others are his brothers.

213. ဝန္ဒကုမာရ် မုန်—၇၄၄

Candakumār mun—744

Candakumāra entreats (his father)—138. 8 *ff*

Candakumāra's sisters and the queens are also brought before the king. The people immediately go to the king's father and mother, who come to remonstrate with their son, but in vain. Then Candakumāra, understanding that he alone is the object of Khaṇḍahāla's hatred, and that all the others have been dragged in merely to hide his real purpose and not to rouse suspicion, entreats his father to spare their lives.

M u n, to entreat, beg, supplicate, answers to the Pāli *yācāti* (p. 138. 8); *cf.* p u m u n, plaque 203. M u n has already been met with the meaning—to inform, tell, apprize; see plaque 42. In the plaque, the figure behind Candakumāra represents all the other persons.

214. ဝန္ဒကုမာရ် ကိင်္ကန်—၇၄၅

Candakumār kiṅkan—745

Candakumāra bids (his wives to implore the king)—142. 18 *ff*

The king, deeply moved, renounces his sacrifice and sets free all his family. But Khaṇḍahāla, hearing of this, reproaches the king with his weakness, and the poor victims are again captured; the same thing happens once again, and Candakumāra, unable to mollify the king, bids his wives to implore him in their turn.

K i ṅ k a n, to instruct, give directions, bid; see plaque 62. One only of the wives is represented in the plaque, which is not numbered, probably by inadvertence, for there is room enough to do so.

215. ဇွန်ဉ ဂြဉ် ယစ်—၇၄၆

Dmoṅ jraṅ yac—746

Candakumāra is near the sacrificial pit—154. 21 *ff*

All the supplications of the several members of his family could not, owing to the wicked brahmin's influence, deter the king from his purpose. The prince is taken to the sacrificial pit, all the victims following. Candā, his principal queen, was by his side weeping. All the preparations being finished, the prince was brought and placed near the sacrificial pit with his head bent forward. Khaṇḍahāla raised the sword saying, "Now will I cut his neck!"

The inscription on the photograph is difficult to read, but it is quite clear on the plaque and the estampage. D m o ṅ = M.T. ဒွန်, d m å ṅ, to dwell, remain in a place; J r a ṅ = M.T. ဇရန်, j a r e ṅ, presence, in the presence of, near. The nimbus round the head of Candakumāra indicates he is the future Buddha; between him and Khaṇḍahāla is seen the sacrificial fire; the woman on the left is Queen Candā, Candakumāra's chief queen.

216. ညး ခိလ် ကဏ္ဍဟာလ်—၇၄၇

Ñaḥ khil Kaṇḍahāl—747

The people rush at Khaṇḍahāla (to kill him)—155. 22

At that moment, Queen Candā makes a solemn act of asseveration. Hearing it, Sakka comes down from the heavens brandishing a blazing mass of iron, and frightens the king and his ministers, who immediately set all the victims free. The people rush at Khaṇḍahāla with stones, sticks, etc., and kill him.

Ñaḥ, here = the people, see plaque 112. Khil = modern colloquial ၎, khuiw, not in Haswell's, which means, to rush at, in anger: ၍ဉ်ကျိုင်ထက် အဂ်ိုၵထံရ—"the fellow (၍) who rushed at me to strike me is this fellow." I have not yet found this word in literary Talaing. The figure seated on the right is Candakumāra; between him and the others is the sacrificial fire.

217. ကုမိန် ဝန္ဒကုမာရ်—၇၄၀

Kumin Candakumār—748

Enthroning Candakumāra

Having killed Khaṇḍahāla the people made the king an outcast, and forbade him ever to enter the city. All the requisites for coronation were brought and Candakumāra was anointed king. Candakumāra is seated under the royal white umbrella; in front is a brahmin pouring the lustral water from a conch.

218. ဝန္ဒကုမာရ် တိန် သွရ်—၇၄၉

Candakumār tin swar—749

Candakumāra ascends to heaven—157. 16

After a righteous reign, Candakumāra went to heaven

Tin, to ascend, see plaque 51; Swar, see plaque 110.

VII.—BHŪRIDATTA-JĀTAKA.

The king of Benares, perceiving the growing might of his son, who is the viceroy, banishes him. The prince becomes an ascetic; he is seduced by a Nāga-woman and has two children by her, a boy and a girl. In course of time he becomes king and his daughter is married to Dhataraṭṭha, the king of the Nāgas, to whom she bears four sons, one being Bhūridatta, the future Buddha. Bhūridatta is caught by a snake-charmer, who takes him from place to place making him dance before the people; one of his brothers and his sister, the latter taking the form of a frog, go about looking for him and at last rescue him after many incidents.

219. ပတိသန် ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၅၀

Patisan Bhūridat—750

Conception of Bhūridatta—167. 30

Patisan, for paṭisan = *paṭisandhi*, conception.

220. ဒိရ်ဒသ် ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၅၁

Dirdas Bhūridat—751

Birth of Bhūridat—167. 30

Dirdas = M.T. ဒဒတ်, dadah, the being born, the entering into a new state of existence, from the root das (M.T. dah), to be, to become.

221. ကုမိန် ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၅၂

Kumin Bhūridat—752

Enthroning Bhūridatta—168. 17

When Bhūridatta attained the age of discretion, his father Dhataraṭṭha gave him a kingdom; his three brothers similarly each received one. The plaque is not numbered.

222. Plaque No. 753 is missing.

223. ဘူရိဒတ် သေား သုံမာညိ ဣန်—၁၅၄

Bhūridat soḥ summāñ In—754

Bhūridatta answers Indra's question

Bhūridatta goes to the world of gods to wait upon Indra; the latter was propounding a question which no god could answer; Bhūridatta alone can answer it.

S o ḥ, to answer, a variant of s o h (plaque 152). S u m m ā ñ, a question; variants are s u m a ñ and s i m m ā ñ, from s m ā ñ, to ask, question; the M.T. s m ā n is both a verb and a noun: သွာန်ဒွဲ ထ္ဆိ ဒ်ုံ ဝုင်နာ်ဒ်ု—"a question arose in the Nāga-city," S.B. 11. Ī n, generally I n, the god Indra.

224.–ဘူရိဒတ် မင် သိလ် ဟန် ဥဒ္ဌာ—၁၅၅

Bhūridat maṅ sīl han udyā—755

Bhūridatta observes the *sīlas* in the garden—169. 11

Having seen the splendours of the heaven of the gods, Bhūridatta, disgusted with his present existence as a nāga, resolves to gain heaven by the fulfilment of the observances (sīla) and by fast; he informs his parents of his intention; they agree, provided he practises his religious exercises within the Nāga realm, owing to the many dangers to nāgas outside; he then keeps the *uposatha* fast in the gardens.

S ī l, the Buddhist precepts, Pāli *sīla*, M.T. သီ, s ī. H a n, in, see plaque 28; u d y ā, garden, see plaque 143. Following strictly the text this plaque should have come after the next. Unnumbered.

225. မုန် ပါန် အ္ဂ သ္ဆာရ် မင် သိလ်—၁၅၆

Mun pān aba s-ār maṅ sil—756

(Bhūridatta) asks his father leave to go and observe the *sīlas*—169. 6

See the explanations under No. 224, before which this plaque should have come.

A b a, father, see Nos. 23, 33; S - ā r, will go, see No. 183. M u n p ān is a compound verb meaning, "to beg leave respectfully"; m u n has been

seen already, plaques 42, 213; pān means "to ask leave or permission to do something"; with this may be compared the Burmese ပန်, pan; pan having exactly the same meaning, and the full expression, mun pān, to the Burmese ပန်ကြား, pan krā[3]. Pān, which is still colloquial, is often used in the expression pān akhoṅ, to ask leave (akhoṅ); *cf.* Burmese အခွင့်ပန်, akhwaṅ pan; we find also the expression အာတ်ပါန်, āt pān, at A.V., p. 33 under *āyācana* = ပုဏ္ဏာတ်ပါန်ဆောင် = asking permission. This plaque is not numbered.

226. ဘူရိဒတ် ကိင်္ကန် တု ကိန္ဒရ်—၁၅၇

Bhūridat kiṅkan ku kindar—757

Bhūridatta instructs his wife—169. 15 *ff*

But, as he is observing the fast, the Nāga maidens attend upon him with music and song, disturbing him; so he resolves to go elsewhere. In the fear of his parents preventing him doing so, he tells them nothing; but calling his wife, he gives her some instructions—"I will go to the world of men," says he, "there, on the bank of the Jumna, is a banyan tree and near it an ant-hill; on the ant-hill shall I coil myself and observe the fast. When the night is over, at dawn, send your women with music, to take me back to the Nāga world." Thus, every day at dawn, did the Nāga maidens fetch him from the haunts of men, for a long time.

Kiṅkan, see plaque 62. Kindar, see plaque 132. Plaque unnumbered.

227. ဘူရိဒတ် ဂုလာည် တု ဗုံနး—၁၅၀

Bhūridat gulāñ ku bumnaḥ—758

Bhūridatta converses with the brahmin—171. 1 *ff*

At that time, near Benares, there lived a brahmin hunter. One day, with his son Somadatta he arrives near the ant-hill where Bhūridatta observed his fast. He kills a deer, but as it is already evening, father and son go up in the banyan tree. Early next morning, the brahmin hears the Nāga maidens sing to the Nāga prince who has assumed the human form. The brahmin asks him who he is, and Bhūridatta tells him.

B u m̀ n a ḥ, a brahmin = M.T. ဗမ္ဘး, b a m n a ḥ; there is also another modern form, ဘး, b n a ḥ, not in Haswell: တာထဒ် ဗောဓိသတ္တိန်ဒဲ့ ဂကွဘးဗယိုက်ဒိုက်ရ—"at that time, the Bodhisatta was reborn in an exalted brahmin family, Dhd. 60. 27; ဘးမြြဝင်ဒိဝင် တဲ့ဂကွင်ရ—"the brahmin woman heard the Law and came back (home)," Dhd. 95. 15. There is another old variant, b i m n a ḥ, plaques 275, 309. Plaque unnumbered.

228. ဘူရိဒတ် လောဝ် နာဂဆောဝ်—၇၅၉

Bhūridat lop nāgabhow—759

Bhūridatta enters the Nāga world—172. 23

But Bhūridatta now reflects—"This brahmin, who looks cruel and fierce, might betray me to a snake-charmer, and thus prevent my observance of the fast"; so he promises him great honour and wealth and induces him to dwell in the Nāga country, for, during his sojourn there, there would be no danger of his betraying him. The brahmin accepts, and Bhūridatta, taking father and son, enters into the Nāga world.

B h o w, a dwelling; hence, region, world = M.T. ဝ်, b h a u, from Pāli *bhavana, bhuvana;* A.V. 13, *adhobhuvana* = ဝ့ုင်နာဝဝ်။

L o p, to enter = M.T. လုဝ်, l u p. Plaque unnumbered.

229. ကိလ် ကိရ်မိန် ကု ဗုံနး—၇၆၀

Kil kirmin ku bum̀nah—760

(Bhūridatta) confers regal glory on the brahmin—172. 24

In the Nāga world, Bhūridatta confers on the brahmin and his son all the enjoyment and splendour of a regal state, so as to keep them away from the haunts of men. Meanwhile, he goes as usual to the ant-hill to perform his religious exercises.

K i l, to confer, see plaque 49. K i r m i n, royalty, regal state; here is not to be taken in the strict sense of "sovereignty," but in that of the enjoyment, magnificence, splendour, wealth, etc., belonging to royalty, whether earthly or divine. The Pāli has (172. 24) *dibbasampattiṁ;* the Burmese version translates this by နတ်ဓဏီးဓိဝ်, n a t c a ñ^{3} c i m = *sampatti*. The Talaing version has: ဗောဓိသတ် ဖိုန်ကို ဗိုန်ဟာန် ယဆဃတ် ဓိဝ်ကုဗမ္ဘး—"the Bodhisatta conferred

upon the brahmin wealth and honour," in which ဝိုဏ္ဍာန် ထစ်ဆစ်တိ is the equivalent of *sampatti*. Kirmin corresponds to the M.T. တိုင်, kmin, which means "government, rule, regal state, sovereignty"; also "kingdom, country." Cf. *kumin*, plaque 25. The inscription is somewhat spoiled; the virāma on the *r* and *n* of kirmin is no more visible, as well as the left-hand half of the *m*. Plaque unnumbered.

230. ဘူရိဒတ် ကိလ် မဏိ ကု ဗုံးန်း—၇၆၁

Bhūridat kil maṇi ku bumnaḥ—761

Bhūridatta gives the jewel to the brahmin—175. 61

After a stay of a year in the Nāga world, the brahmin gets tired, and wants to go back to see his wife and friends. Bhūridatta tries in vain to keep him back. At last, so that, through greed, the brahmin may not show his place of retirement on the ant-hill to a snake-charmer, he gives him a jewel which grants all one's wishes, and promises him more wealth whenever he chooses to come and see him. The brahmin, however, desiring to become also an ascetic, does not accept the gem. Plaque unnumbered.

231. အလံဗာယ် ညာဉ် ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၆၂

Alaṁbāy ñāc Bhūridat—762

Ālambayana sees Bhūridatta—184. 1 *ff*

Ālambayana, a poor brahmin full of debts, runs away from Benares and lives with an ascetic to whom he renders many little services. The ascetic, well pleased, gives him a spell which renders the most deadly snakes inoffensive. Ālambayana goes on his way repeating the spell, and thus arrives on the bank of the Jumna. A thousand Nāga youths who waited on Bhūridatta had brought out from the Nāga regions the magnificent gem granting all desires, and had placed it on a mound of sand. As Ālambayana reaches this spot reciting his spell, the Nāgas run away terrified, forgetting the gem, and he picks it up and goes on his way. He is met by the brahmin and his son who were ahunting. The brahmin at once recognizes the gem, and, in order to possess himself of it, tries to convince the other that it is very unlucky; but in vain. At last, he shows to him Bhūridatta

coiled on his ant-hill. Bhūridatta sees Ālambayana, now snake-charmer by means of his spell, and resolves not to defend himself, whatever the latter does to him. Ālambayana seizes Bhūridatta. The brahmin hunter asks again for the gem, which Ālambayana gives him, not knowing its value. But the gem falls down, and through the ground goes back to the Nāga world.

Alaṁbāy, an abbreviation of *Ālambayana;* it is now written အလမ်ဘော, alambāai, and means "a snake-charmer"; the Burmese have also the same word, အလမ်ဘယ်, alambay, with the same meaning. Ñāc, see plaque 61. Plaque unnumbered.

232. အလံဗာယ် ဇက် ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၆၃

Alaṁbāy jak Bhūridat—763

Ālambayana pulls Bhūridatta (by the tail)—185. 3

Ālambayana anoints himself with divine drugs, recites the spell, goes up to Bhūridatta and pulls him by the tail; he then opens his mouth, spits into it a drug he has chewed, spreads him on the ground and pounds him, breaking his bones. Through all these sufferings Bhūridatta keeps his temper. Ālambayana puts him in a basket he has prepared, and goes away.

Jak = M.T., to pull. The photograph shows Bhūridatta coiled round the ant-hill and the snake-charmer pulling him. Plaque unnumbered.

233. အလံဗာယ် ရလေး ဘူရိဒတ်—၇၆၄

Alaṁbāy raleḥ Bh[ū]ridat—764

Ālambayana makes Bhūridatta dance—185. 19 *ff*

He goes into a village and calls out all those who wish to see the snake dance; he makes Bhūridatta do a variety of tricks. The future Buddha thinks it would be better to please the crowd, so that Ālambayana, having received plenty of money, might be satisfied and let him go; and he does all he is bidden. Plaque unnumbered.

Raleḥ, to make dance, as snakes, bears, marionnettes, etc.; the M.T. is ပလဲ့, pa leh; U.O.K. 42. 8 *ff*, referring to Bhūridatta, says: ဖြန်ဝဲ့တော်

ထာပထေဝ်ဒွံဒ်ဒ္ဒာဝ်ဝုင်ရုးကိုး ထဝ်ံထိုဝးထဲဗွတ်—"and although he took him to and made him dance in every town, he (Bhūridatta) did not speak in anger." Raleḥ is the causal of leḥ, M.T. ထေဒ့်, leh, to dance; compare with rinleḥ, dancing, in Blagden's inscriptions. Plaque unnumbered.

234. အလံဗာယ် ရဉ် တ္ဝုင် စိဝ် သ္မိင်—၇၆၅

Alaṁbāy raṅ tluṅ cip smiṅ—765

Ālambayana carrying (the snake) arrives (in) the king('s presence) —191 17 *ff*

But Ālambayana is not satisfied with the money he has received in that village, and, thinking what a fortune it is in his power to make, he goes from village to village carrying Bhūridatta in a bejewelled basket and, reaching Benares, invites the king to come and see the snake play. Now, when it was known in Bhūridatta's family that he had disappeared, there was great anxiety and sorrow. His three brothers go in the world of men in different directions in search of him. His elder brother, Sudassana, in the garb of an ascetic and accompanied by his young sister hiding in his hair in the form of a frog, comes to the ant-hill and, seeing traces of blood, knows that his brother has been caught by a snake-charmer. He follows Ālambayana's track, and arrives at Benares at the moment when the snake-charmer, in the midst of the spectators, a seat having been prepared for the king, sends his message to the latter. Ālambayana calls out Bhūridatta who, on recognizing his brother in the crowd, goes up to him, places his head on his feet and weeps.

Raṅ tluṅ, see plaque 5. Cip, to reach, arrive = M.T. ၶိဝ်, cuip, see plaque 82. Plaque unnumbered.

235. ဘူရိဒတ် နိမိတ် ရုပ် မနိသ်—၇၆၆

Bhūridat nimit rup manis—766

Bhūridatta assumes the human form—196. 15

Ālambayana thinks the snake has bitten the ascetic and offers an antidote; Sudassana answers he does not fear snakes, and that he can set against this one a small frog who can conquer him. The stake is five thousand pieces.

The challenge is accepted. Sudassana goes to the king to borrow the five thousand, and the king comes to see the wonderful fight between a frog and a snake. The frog throws out three drops of fearful poison, which makes the snake-charmer become a white leper, and he sets the snake free. On this, Bhūridatta assumes the human form; so does his sister, and all three stand near the king.

Nimit, to create, perhaps from the Pāli *nimminā̃ti* through *nimmita;* but compare also M.T. ဖြတ်, lmit, with the same meaning (see also under plaque 1); နွဲ့ဂြိတ္ထ ထးခွန်ဒွန်တတ်ပန်ကွင်ဝင်။ အိန်ထဒိတ်ဒွတ် ထဝ်ရ—"at that place, Indra created a square flat stone of ten cubits," Sudh. 13. 5; ရုံင် ထု ဝဏ္ဏာထို့ ထုန် နှအိန် လဒိတ်လဝ်ကို—"and from the time Indra created the city of Suvaṇṇabhumi . . ." Nimit is still used in M.T. in the compound နိုးတ် ဖွတ်, nimit bdah. Rup, form; image, statue = M.T. Manis, man, Pāli *manussa*. Plaque unnumbered.

236. သွိင် တိဝ် ဘူဒိဒတ်—၇၆၇

Smiṅ tim Bhūridat—767

The king recognizes Bhūridatta—196. 19 *ff*

Sudassana then asks the king whether he knows them, and he says no. Sudassana tells him they are the children of Samuddajā, his own sister, who was given in marriage to Dhataraṭṭha, the Nāga king. The king then recognizes them, and kisses them weeping.

Tim, to know = M.T. In the plaque the upper part of the king's body is broken off; the posture of Sudassana shows he is being kissed by the king; Bhūridatta is recognized by the cobra hood behind his head; their sister is not represented. Plaque unnumbered.

237. ဘူဒိဒတ် ကောဝ် နာဂကောဝ်—၇၆၀

Bhūridat cow nāgabhow—768

Bhūridatta returns to the Nāga world—197. 8

All three stay some time with their uncle the king; as his mother longs to see Bhūridatta again, they beg leave to go back, and it being granted Bhūridatta goes back to the Nāga world with his brother and sister.

Cow, see plaque 159; bhow, see plaque 228. Plaque unnumbered.

238. ဘူရိဒတ် စိဝ် နာဂဗောဝ်—၇၆၉

Bhūridat cip nāgabhow—769

Bhūridatta arrives in the Nāga world—197. 9

When Bhūridatta arrived in the Nāga city, being tired and faint with his month's residence in the snake-charmer's basket, he took to a sick-bed; an immense number of Nāgas came to visit him.

239. ဘူရိဒတ် ဂုလာည် ကု ရိသိ—၇၇၀

Bhūridat gulāñ ku risi—770

Bhūridatta converses with the hermit—217. 22 *ff*

Bhūridatta having recovered from his illness goes to visit his grandfather, who lives as an ascetic, in his hermitage, and has edifying conversations with him. When he died, he went to heaven with a host of Nāgas. Plaque unnumbered.

VIII.—MAHĀNĀRADAKASSAPA-JĀTAKA.

The king of Videha is much given to pleasure; he asks an ascetic the various paths of moral duties; his daughter, a very virtuous princess, tries her best to make him abandon his heretical beliefs; this end is at last effected with the future Buddha's help, the Great Brahma Nārada, disguised as an ascetic.

240. ရိသိ နာရ် ဂုလာည် ကု သ္မိင်—၇၇၁

Risi Nār gulāñ ku smiṅ—771

The hermit Nārada converses with the king—242. 25 *ff*

The Great Brahma Nārada, seeing the endeavours of the princess to make her father abandon heretical views, resolves to come down from his heaven to help her convert the king to the true path. He takes the guise of an ascetic; the king, seeing him, comes down from his throne and makes him obeisance. In the ensuing conversation, the king is converted.

241. ရိသိ နာရ် အာရ် ဗြ[ဟ္မ]လောက်—၇၇၂

Risi Nār ār Bra(hma)lok—772

The hermit Nārada goes (back) to the Brahma world—255. 2

Nārada, having converted the king, goes back to the Brahma heaven.

Bralok, for brahmaloka; the meaning is made clear by the plaque; it represents the Great Brahma Nārada going back to his heaven, on a cloud; in all the Pagan plaques, deities going up or down from their heaven are shown on a cloud which represents the air; below is the king and behind him his daughter. The two letters ဟ္မ, h m a, have not been left out by inadvertence, but because the inscription was too long for the plaque. The right comprehension of the word was left to the pious reader who, knowing well the stories (and all these stories are perfectly known), could not fail to identify at once the clipped word b r a for b r a h m a, the last word l o k helping him in this. Moreover, the expression "brahmaloka" had already, for several centuries, been thoroughly familiar to the Talaings. Plaque unnumbered. There are only two plaques to illustrate this jātaka; the reason no doubt is that the story consists mostly of conversations, and contains very little action.

IX.—VIDHURA PAṆḌITA-JĀTAKA.

The king reigning at Indapatta, the capital of the Kuru kingdom, is a great gambler at dice; the future Buddha, the wise Vidhura, was his minister, who gave him advice and instructions in temporal and religious matters. One day, the king, who had gone into his garden to practise meditation, met there Sakka, the king of the gods, Varuṇa, the Nāga king, and Supaṇṇa, the king of the Garuḍas, come for the same purpose. A discussion arises among them as to which is the most virtuous; unable to agree on this point, they ask the opinion of Vidhura, who shows them that all four are equal in virtue. All go back home. The Nāga queen, on hearing Vidhura's praise from the king's lips, conceives a strong desire to have the wise man's heart (for the expression of this desire, she knows, is the only means by which she can manage to have him brought before her, and thus enjoy his pious

discourses). But he cannot do that; he seeks his daughter and tells her that if her mother does not get Vidhura's heart, she will die. The daughter makes it known that, whoever will bring the wise minister's heart, will become her husband; Puṇṇaka, the Yakkha general, offers himself. Puṇṇaka goes to Indapatta, defeats the king at dice and claims Vidhura as his price. In many ways does Puṇṇaka try to kill Vidhura, but in vain. At last, Vidhura asks him what he wants, and, on being told, the wise man wins over Puṇṇaka and goes to the Nāga world, where no harm is done him. All the plaques in this story are unnumbered.

242. ၀၀၌ သေား သုံမာည့် သွိင်—၇၇၃

Widhir soḥ summāñ smiṅ—773

Vidhura answers the question of the (four) kings—260. 27

The four kings, as told in the synopsis, call Vidhura and ask him which is the most virtuous; he answers they are equal.

W i d h i r = Vidhura; for s o ḥ and s u ṁ m ā ñ, see plaque 223.

243. သွိင် က ပုဏ်ဏယက် သွာည်—၇၇၄

Smiṅ ku Puṛṇayak smāñ—774

The king and Puṇṇaka the Yakkha ask (Vidhura)—284. 16

Puṇṇaka having volunteered to get the heart of Vidhura goes to Indapatta, and having defeated the king at dice, claims the wise man. But the king is displeased, because he does not like to part from him, and explains that Vidhura is to him like life itself, and no slave. Puṇṇaka, to avoid controversy, decides that both should go to the court of justice where Vidhura is deciding cases; Puṇṇaka asks him whether he is the king's kinsman or slave.

P u r ṇ a = Puṇṇaka; it will be remarked the abbreviation is, not from the Pāli *Puṇṇaka*, but from the Sanskrit *Puṛṇaka*. Y a k, a yakkha.

244. ကိင်ကာလ် ဝရ် ကု သ္မိင်—၇၇၅

Kiṅkāl dhar ku smiṅ—775

(Vidhura) explains the Law to the king—286. 18 *ff*

Vidhura answers that he is only the servant of the king; the latter has now to give him up to the Yakkha. Reflecting, however, that he would probably never hear anymore his wise advices, the king asks Vidhura to explain to him the right mode of living for a householder. The sage complies.

K i ṅ k ā l, to instruct, to inform, to explain; there is a variant, k i n k a n, at plaque 62. D h a r, the Buddhist Moral Law, from the Sanskrit form *dharma*, M.T. ဝ်, d h a w, from d h a r; the Pāli form, *dhamma*, is found on plaque 178 as d h a ṁ m a; and the Sanskrit d h a r m m a on plaque 37. In the photograph, the person on the raised seat is Vidhura.

245. သ္မိင် ကိလ် ၀၀ရ်—၇၇၆

Smiṅ kil Widhir—776

The king hands over Vidhura—285. 31

The king, saying "If he be a slave, take him," hands Vidhura over to Puṇṇaka.

246. ၀၀ရ် ရင် ဧဝ၁ ပုဏ္ဏယက်—၇၇၇

Widhir raṅ cow Puṇṇayak—777

Vidhura takes Puṇṇaka the Yakkha and goes back (to his home) —288. 29

Vidhura asks Puṇṇaka to allow him to go home for three days so that he may give instructions to his sons, and offers him to lodge at his house for that time; Puṇṇaka accepts, and the wise man, returning home, takes him with him.

R a ṅ, to convey, bring; see plaque 5. P u ṇ ṇ a, we have now the Pāli form.

247. ၸိၵိရ် ခုတ် ပုဏ္ဏယက်—၇၇၀

Widhir khut Puṇṇayak—778

Vidhura (having) called Puṇṇa Yakkha (to his home settles him comfortably) —289. 18 *ff*

Vidhura, having called home the Yakkha, treats him most hospitably and gives him five hundred female attendants. In the photograph Vidhura is seen on the right, and Puṇṇa Yakkha on the left, on a higher seat, being the guest; between them is a woman representing the five hundred attendants.

K h u t, to call; to name; is still used in the literary language: Sudh. 45. 15, ဗြဟ္မုရာဇာဝန္ဒမဂ္ဂဗိန်ခုတ်တဲ့—"Indra called (the bow) 'Rājādhanudhamma'"; S.M. 5, ဗောဓိသတ် ဟိုတ် ကျွေ့ ပတိတ် ဂဲ့ပွဲ့ရှ။ ဓယောသဓ ခုတ် လင် ယူ့ ရောင်—"owing to the Bodhisatta grasping and bringing out (at his birth) a medicine, he was called Mahosadha." Another frequent expression is ခုတ်ခ, k h u t k h a u, Dhd. 370. 7, သူးဂင်္ဂ ဂ့ိုဂ် ကောန်ထြုံဒွဲ။ ဥဒယ ကုမာရ ညး ခုတ်ခ လင်ယူ့ရ—"she obtained and brought forth a son; they called him Udayakumāra." With k h a u in k h u t k h a u *cf.* the Burmese ခေါ် (k h o²), to call.

248. တောသ် ရာဇဝသတိ—၇၇၉

Tos rājavasati—779

He expounds the rules for courtiers to obtain honours at the court—292. 10 *ff*

He then assembles his family and delivers to them a religious discourse. Afterwards he expounds to his kindred, to his friends and enemies, how to obtain honours at the court.

R ā j a v a s a t i is explained in the Pāli text (p. 292. 6) as: *Yasapaṭilābhakāraṇaṁ.*

249. ၽိၼ် ဝုလာည် ၎ သ္ဍာၼ်—၇၀၀

Widhir gulāñ na s-ār—780

Vidhura tells (Puṇṇa the Yakkha) he is ready to go (with him) —300. 26 *ff*

Having thus admonished everybody, taken leave of the king and settled his family affairs, Vidhura announces to the Yakkha he is now ready to proceed with him whither he desires.

Gulāñ here means, "to tell, to announce." For the phrase na s-ār, see plaque 183.

250. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ရိၼ် အာၼ် ၽိၼ်—၇၀၀

Puṇṇayak rin ār Widhir—781

Puṇṇa the Yakkha carries away Vidhura—302. 23

Puṇṇa the Yakkha mounts his horse who, like a man, is endowed with reason, and tells the Bodhisatta, if he is not afraid, to seize the horse's tail. Vidhura answers he knows no fear, and cannot see what harm could befall him, since he has done nobody evil by act, word or thought. Having girt his robe tightly round his loins, he grasps the tail with both hands and presses his feet against the animal's thighs. Puṇṇaka springs forth into the sky, carrying away the sage.

Rin, see plaque 27. Ār, after another verb, often has the sense of "away, off."

251. ၽိၼ် ထာဝ် ဝုလာည်—၇၀၂

Widhir tāw gulāñ—782

Vidhura is conversing (with the Yakkha)—306. 5 *ff*

This plaque is in the wrong place; it should come after No. 256. After having gone through all the attempts, described in the following plaques, of Puṇṇaka to take his life, the sage asks himself what reason could the Yakkha possibly have to be so intent on his destruction. On being asked, the Yakkha answers he wants his heart, for it is the price of the Nāga maiden.

၂၅၂. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ဗုဟိစ်—၇၀၃

Puṇṇayak buhic—783

Puṇṇaka (tries to) frighten (Vidhura)—305. 3

Puṇṇaka carries the Bodhisatta on the summit of the Black Mountain, and reflects that to get his heart and obtain the Nāga princess, he must kill him; but again he thinks it would be better, rather than kill him with his own hands, to kill him by fright, by showing him dreadful shapes. He assumes the form of a lion ready to devour him, but the sage shows not the least sign of alarm.

Buhic, to fear, to frighten = M.T. ဗဟေက်, bahek; *cf.* ဖေက်, phek.

၂၅၃. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ပ္ဒသ် စိင်—၇၀၄

Puṇṇayak pdas cīṅ—784

Puṇṇaka creates an elephant—305. 7

Then the Yakkha comes in the shape of a large furious elephant threatening him with his tusks, but Vidhura shows no fear.

Pdas, to cause to be or become, to make, create = M.T. ပဒက်, ပဒှိ, ဗ္ဒက်, padah, badah, bdah.

၂၅၄. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ဗိဗတ်—၇၀၅

Puṇṇayak bibat—785

Puṇṇaka tests (the steadfastness of Vidhura by means of a snake) —305. 9

Puṇṇaka assumes the appearance of an enormous snake, coils himself round the sage, spreading his hood over him; but no sign of tremor does Vidhura betray.

Biḅat, see plaque 9.

255. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ပ္လက် ကဒိပ်—၇၀၆

Puṇ[ṇ]ayak pkak kḍip—786

Puṇṇaka turns (Vidhura) upside down (and flings him into the sky) —305. 27

Puṇṇaka tries several other means to kill Vidhura, but he fails; he resolves then to kill him with his own hands; he seizes him by the feet, turns him head downwards and flings him in space.

P k a k, to turn over, upset, turn upside down; with this word may be compared the M.T. ဗတက်, ဂတက်, b a t a k, g a t a k, upside down, topsy-turvy, and လက်ဗတက်, l a k b a t a k, having the same meaning. The gutturals and labials often interchange. P k a k k ḍ i p, to turn somebody or something upside down, head downwards; for k ḍ i p see plaque 135.

256. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ဒုဍ် တ္မော—၇၀၇

Puṇṇayak duḍac tmo—787

Puṇṇaka whirls (Vidhura) round—305. 27

This plaque is to be read together with the preceding one, for both represent the same occurrence: the Yakkha whirling the sage round with his head downwards, as he is about to fling him away.

D u ḍ a c, to whirl, to turn round, to spin; there is a colioquial word, ထဒိတ်, t h a ḍ i t, having the same meaning which may be compared with d u ḍ a c, although, regularly, we would expect t h a ḍ a t.

T m o, to turn round and round, over and over, to twirl, whirl, spin = M.T. တ္မဝ် and တမဝ်, t m a w and t a m a w—S.J. (A) fol. *kī*, ဗုဒ္ဓသတ္တဝ်တ် သဒ္ဓိက် ဗောဓိသတ် ထောတမဝ်အာတဲ့—"the Bodhisatta (in appearance) like unto a jewel, was rolling and whirling on the waves"; S.J. (B) 66, ဍုက္ခဒ် .... ထောတ် ထောတ္တဝ်တ်ရ်—"the queen ...: fell and rolled over and over." *Cf.* also ဗထော, b a t o, round and round, over and over; ထောဗတော, l o b a t o, to turn round and round, over and over. The equivalence of ဂ—ဘ and ဝ, is not unfrequent.

257. ပုဏ္ဏယက် သၼည်—၇၀၀

Puṇṇayak smāñ—788

Puṇṇaka asks (Vidhura to teach him the laws of good men)—309. 8 *ff*

While thus being held head downwards and whirled round and on the point of being hurled into space, Vidhura reflects that there must be a mistake somewhere, for what connexion is there between his heart and the maiden? And in fact, here it must be borne in mind that the Nāga queen had asked for his heart in the hope that he might be brought to her alive and she might have the privilege of listening to his pious discourses. To gain time, he tells the Yakkha to set him on his legs on the mountain, so that he may expound to him the laws of good men. Puṇṇaka agrees, sets him on his feet, and then asks him to tell him these good laws.

In the photograph, the upper *ṇ* alone is visible with, on the right hand, a faint trace of the lower *ṇ;* the glaze has flaked off in this place, but the traces of the subscript *ṇ* are clearly visible on the brick. Similarly, the virāma on the *ḱ*, which is quite distinct on the plaque, does not appear in the photograph.

258. ၽိၵ်ရ် ထောသ် ဓရ်—၇၀၉

Widhir tos dhar—789

Vidhura preaches the Law (to Puṇṇaka)—309. 30

The Bodhisatta then preaches to the Yakkha the four rules of good men; the Yakkha is touched and repents his murderous attempts for the sake merely of a woman, and resolves to lose her rather than harm the sage.

Tos, to preach = M.T. တွံ, twaḥ; the primary meaning of this word appears to be simply: to say, to speak; and is frequent in this sense in the literature. Tos dhar = M.T. တွံဓ, twaḥ dhaw, means literally: to speak the Law. *Cf.* the expressions: တွံပ္ဍိင်, twaḥ pmiṅ, "to say and cause to hear" = to preach, A.V. 118 = *desanā;* တွံဂး, twaḥ gaḥ, a very frequent expression equivalent to the English "that is, to wit"; Dhd. 373. 3, ပဲကာလဆေတိက်ဝေံး ပဲအကြောရးပိုးမတွံဂးအင်ရး။ မဂဓရး။ ကာသိကာရးဒိုး—"in times past, between three kingdoms, to wit, the kingdom of Anga, the kingdom of Magadha and the kingdom of Kāsi."

259. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ရဉ် စိဝ် နာဂ်—၇၉၀

Puṇṇayak raṅ cip nāg—790

Puṇṇaka conveys (Vidhura) to the Nāga (country)—313. 22 *ff*

Having made this praiseworthy resolution, the Yakkha offers Vidhura to take him back to his home; but the sage requests to be taken to the Nāga country, and Puṇṇaka conveys him thither.

Raṅ, see plaque 5. Cip, to arrive = M.T. ᩈᩥᩅ᩠, cuip, and both together raṅ cip = to carry or convey to. The personage on the left of the photograph is the Nāga king on his throne; on the right is Vidhura, distinguished by a nimbus, and in the middle is the Yakkha.

260. တောသ် ဓရ် ကု သ္မိင် နာဂ်—၇၉၁

Tos dhar ku smiṅ nāg—791

(Vidhura) preaches the Law to the Nāga king—314. 30 *ff*

Puṇṇaka having conveyed the sage to the serpent world, the latter has a conversation with the Nāga king during which he expounds to him edifying maxims. On the Ānanda, this plaque comes after the following one (No. 261).

261. သ္မိင် နာဂ် ရိန် လော့ပ် သ္ဂိ—၇၉၂

Smiṅ nāg rin lop sṅi—792

The Nāga king introduces (Vidhura) in his house—319. 4 *ff*

A long conversation takes place between the king and the sage, and the latter preaches the Law to the king; the king, delighted, takes Vidhura by the hand and leads him into the Nāga queen's presence.

Rin, see plaques 27, 250; Rin lop = to lead and enter, that is, to introduce into.

262. ပုဏ္ဏယက် ရဉ် တုန်—၇၉၃

Puṇṇayak raṅ tun—793

Puṇṇaka carries (Vidhura) back (to the world of men)—323. 23 *ff*

The Bodhisatta preaches the Law to the Nāga queen, whose desire to see the sage is gratified. The Nāga princess becomes the wife of Puṇṇaka. The latter, delighted at the turn of affairs, offers a magnificent jewel to Vidhura, places him on his horse and, from the depths of the Nāga world, carries him up back to the haunts of men, in the capital of the Kurus.

Tun might appear from the context to = M.T. တိုး, tuin, to go up, ascend and, prepositionally, up, up to, and as a variant of tin (plaque 51); so that raṅ tun would mean, to carry up, upwards. The Talaing version, at this passage, reads: ပုဏ္ဏက . . . ဒက်ချေထိန်ကဲ့။ယွံဘုပညာညဉ်ထိန်ဦးက်ချေဖအဲရ။အဲပုံင်ဩ်ိန် တူပညာရ။—"Puṇṇaka . . . saddled his horse (and said), O! sage, mount the horse with me, I will convey thee up (to the world of men)"; in which ဩ်ိန်, ptuin, would be the causal of tun. But there is also a modern word, ထုန်, tun, which is frequent with the meanings of—and, and then; now . . . ; again, back, in return; and is also used as an emphatic suffix, untranslatable in English, which lays particular stress on the word or words preceding it. In this plaque, tun has the meanings of "again, back," and raṅ tun means "conveyed him again or back"; and this is no doubt the right translation. I may notice here another use of the modern တိုး, very frequent in the literature; it is used as a verbal suffix to show that, whatever the verb denotes, refers to another person or object: ကာဃဋ်ကောန် သွိင်ဂ်ဗက်ထောဝ်အာတဲ့။ ညးတူအဲရေးသွာန်တိုန်။အဲဦက်နာဂ်ဖြုရောင်အာ—"then, the prince followed (her) into the hut and asked, 'Who art thou?' (She answered) 'I am a Nāgī, Sir.'"

263. ၽိၽိရ် ကိလ် မနိက်—၇၉၄

Widhir kil manik—794

Vidhura gives the jewel (to the king)—327. 10

Puṇṇaka takes back the sage to Indapatta and sets him down before the door of the Hall of Truth, wherein the king, who had been warned in a

dream of the sage's return, was awaiting him in great pomp. Puṇṇaka goes back to his celestial abode. Vidhura explains to the king all that has befallen him, and presents him with the gem given him by the Yakkha.

Manik, a gem, from Pāli *maṇika*.

264. ဝေဝ် သိုဆ်—၇၉၅

Cow sṅi'—795

(Vidhura) returns home

Vidhura then returns to his home. There are great rejoicings for one month in the city. At his death, the sage is reborn in heaven. The mention of his going back home is not in the text nor in the *Skem*, but must of course be taken as a matter of course.

This inscription has suffered from whitewash; the lower portion of the *c* (o) has disappeared. In the photograph, the subscript *ṅ* in sṅi' is almost invisible, but apparent on the plaque. Sṅi', see plaque 274. The woman following him is no doubt his wife.

265. ၽိၽ် ဇွါင် တိုန် သို [ဆ်]—၇၉၆

Widhir dmoṅ hin sṅi('?)—796

Vidhura is at home (receiving gifts)—328. 31 *ff*

Then the Bodhisatta, in his home, receives the visit of the queens, the princes, brahmins, merchants, etc., who bring him many gifts of food and drink. At his death, he was reborn in heaven.

Dmoṅ, see plaques 168, 215. Hin, in, at, to; there is a variant, han (plaque 28). I had at first taken the character after the word sṅi to be bja, but a close examination of the plaque, which is somewhat spoiled at that place, showed that the letter must have been a' (အ), and that we have to read, as in the preceding plaque, sṅi'.

X.—VESSANTARA-JĀTAKA.

This is the most popular jātaka, not only in Burma, but in the East generally. Prince Vessantara is very liberal and much devoted to giving alms and gifts. One day, he gives to four brahmans an elephant much valued by the citizens owing to his magical powers. The citizens force the king to banish him; he retires with his wife and his two children to the Vindhya Mountains. The prince gives away in alms his wife and children. They are at last, after many vicissitudes, happily reunited. All the plaques of this story are unnumbered and, generally speaking, their inscriptions have suffered more than those of the other jātakas and present, consequently, more difficulties, and in some cases more incertitude, in reading.

266. ပဋိသန် ဝေဿန္တရ်—၇၉၇

Paṭisan Wesantar—797

Conception of Vessantara—484. 35

In times past, in the kingdom of Sivi, there was a king, Sivi by name, who ruled in his capital of Jetuttara. To him was born a son, whom he called Sañjaya; sixty thousand devas were conceived at the same time in the families of sixty thousand courtiers. Queen Phusatī, the mother, when her time was near, desired to visit the city, and the king had everything arranged for this visit. When Queen Phusatī reached the middle of the Vessa Street (the Merchants' Street), the pains of labour came over her. A lying-in chamber was erected then and there, and therein the Bodhisatta was born; on that account he was called Vessantara.

The *r* in Wesantar is scarcely visible.

267. အာဝ် ထရ် နဲ သ္ကိုသ် ဒါန်—၇၉၀

Āc thar na skil dān—798

(Vessantara) asks for gold to give alms—485. 14

As soon as he was born, Vessantara held out his hand to his mother, saying, "Mother, I wish to give alms. Have you anything?" Phusatī placed in his hand a purse containing one thousand coins to satisfy this first craving for almsgiving.

Āc, to ask = M.T. ဆာတ်, āt. Na skil, *cf.* No. 183 and see plaque 64, where the prefix *si* = s(a) is discussed. Dān, from the Pāli *dāna*, alms, almsgiving.

268. ပ ဢိုမောဆ် ဝေဿန္တာ်—၇၉၉

Pa imo' Wesantar—799

They give him the name Vessantara—485. 17

Owing to his having been born in the Vessa Street, they give him the name Vessantara. See explanations under No. 266.

Imo', a name; *cf.* himo', plaque 4; pa imo', to give a name, to name.

269. ကိုလ် အ္ဗောဆ် မိန်မိန်—၈၀၀

Kil abo' minmin—800

The father gives nurses to Vessantara—485. 25 *ff*

The king carefully chose sixty-four nurses, all free from the defects of ordinary nurses, for the care of the child. It must be remarked, for he plays subsequently a great rôle in the story, that a purely white elephant was brought, on Vessantara's birthday, into the royal stables by his mother, who came flying through the sky.

Minmin, a nurse, an *ayah* (Anglo-Indian); there are two modern forms, ဗိန် and မိန်, mimin and mamin, of which the second has lost the infix *-in-* altogether, and the first, the infixal nasalization; at A.V. 44, ဗိန် = *upamātu*, and at 121, မိန် = *dhātī*. *Cf.* S.T. folio *kī*, ဖြ ၆ ၆၌ ၆၄ သို့ကိုမင်ဒွဲဖင်ဒေဖေဒီသတ်ရ—"the king caused sixty-four nurses to look after and feed the Bodhisatta"; S.V. folio *kū*, ထိုရတ် မသူ့ဒ်ဃောန်မသင် ထောန်ဂြပါတဲ့။ ဗိန်၏ ကဲ့ ၄၀ သို့ဒွေဒ်ကို ဥပ္ပာဒ မေါဒီသတ်ရ—"the king rejected (such nurses as had) the defect of being too tall or too short, etc., and appointed two hundred and forty nurses to take care of the Bodhisatta." There are several other words meaning "a nurse": ဗိန်, minī, S. Nr. 11, ကောန်ဖြ . . . ရ ၌ ဝး ကို ဗိန် ထံရ—

"(his) daughter thus said to (her) nurses"; ဗဉ်, m i t a h (colloquial); ဗမတ် and ဗမာဉ်, b a m a u t a h and b a m ā t a h, mostly in compound forms; A.V. 44, ဗဗာတ်, m i b a m ā t a h = *upamātu;* S.V. folio *kū*, ၈၆ဗမတ်, m i m i n b a m a u t a h; ခဲ့ဂမာ, b̲ a i g a m ā, at Sudh. 14. 17. In this expressions, ဗမာ, ဂမာ and ဗမ် mean "to suckle an infant." The photograph seems to read "sinsin"; the estampages, however, though much blurred at that place, have "minmin"; the plaque itself leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the latter reading.

270. သွင် ကိုလ် ကိရိယာ ဟ်—၈၀၁

Smiṅ kil kiryā h—801

The king gives (Vessantara) an ornament—485. 29

The king gets a necklace worth a hundred thousand pieces of money made, and gives it to his son.

K i r y ā h, this reading, perfectly clear, is also found on plaques 295 and 387; the virāma over the *h* is quite distinct, although, in the present plaque, it has been somewhat spoiled by whitewash. I had at first been tempted to read *kiryāpā* as equivalent to *kiryābā*, which would have made perfect sense, for *kiryābā* would have answered to the modern word ကြိယာဗာ, k r i y ā b ā, which has exactly the same meaning as k i r y ā, so often found in old Talaing inscriptions; ကြိယာဗ is found at U.O.K. 33. 3, Dhc. 88. 9, A.V. 43 = *upakaraṇa*, and 73, under *koṇa*. That k i r y ā h has exactly the same sense as k i r y ā is clear from the numerous plaques in which the form k i r y ā occurs with the same meaning, and k i r y ā h is never found in the Pagan Talaing Inscriptions edited by Mr. Blagden. The final *h* has nothing to do with a change in the pronunciation of *ā* in k i r y ā; it is added (only three or four times) when the word k i r y ā ends the legend, and never in the middle of it. This leads me to suppose that this *h* is a device to fill up, on the right hand, the space left blank by the shortness of the inscription; it is true we should rather expect the more common two *daṇḍas* (॥); but the supposition is confirmed by m a d d ī h, for m a d d ī, in plaque 288, and a few others, the common reading being of course m a d d ī.

271. အဇ ကိလ ဒါန ကိရြာ—၀၀၂

Aja kil dān kiryā—802

The wise (in which Vessantara) gave the ornaments (to his nurses) —486. 1

The Bodhisatta was four or five years of age when he received this necklace; he took it off and gave it to his nurses. A second necklace was made for him, which again he gave the nurses; and it went on like this nine times.

Aja, way, wise, representation, illustration, etc.; as an adjective = like. It is still in common use. It is rather spoiled and not quite clear on this plaque, but it is clearer in the next and perfectly clear in plaque 280.

272. အဇ ပသ်ဿနာ ဒါန—၀၀၃

Aja passenā dān—803

Representing (Vessantara) thinking of (more exacting) almsgiving —486. 5 *ff*

When he was eight years old, the child, seated on his couch, thinks that the alms he has given up to then are of but little value, being all external to his own person, and with all his heart he longs to give such things as will require great stoicism on his part, such as his eyes, his heart, his flesh, etc.

Passenā, I am not absolutely sure of this reading, but it may be the right one, the more so as it agrees in sense with the text. Passenā = the modern ပတ်သာ, bahsnā, to think of, remember, long for, and answers to the Pāli (486. 11), *tass' evaṁ sabhāvaṁ sarasacittaṁ cintentassa . . .* It is true we should expect bassanā instead of passenā, but the labials, surd and sonant are often interchanged, and senā may perhaps be an older form of snā. I was first inclined to the reading pa sāsanā dān, "he makes an offering to the religion"; but this does fit neither the text nor the context, for *sāsanadāna* means "giving up one's son to the religion," that is, making him a novice; and this was not the case, of course, with Vessantara. Perhaps have we to read, after all, paḥ sāsanā

dān = "he thinks of (more exacting) almsgiving to the religion," if the dot on the paḥ after the first word is not merely, as it appears to be, a defect in the glaze, like the other two in the middle of the inscription, right under the prince's seat; in which case paḥ would be the modern bah.

273. ဝေဿန္တရ် မယ် သိ် ဒါန်—၀၀၄

Wesantar may sṅi dān—804

Vessantara looks at the alms-halls—487. 5

When Vessantara was sixteen, his father, desiring to make him king, chose the beautiful Maddī, the young man's first cousin, for his wife; after his marriage, Vessantara, having been entrusted with the government of the kingdom, gave abundant alms, six hundred thousand pieces of money every day. After a time, he had a son, who was called Jālī, then a daughter whom they named Kaṇhājinā. Six alms-booths had been built in the city, and the Bodhisatta used to visit them every month mounted on his precious white elephant.

May, the same as mey; the form mey is frequent in some modern works; see No. 46.

274. ဝေဿန္တရ် တော၀် သိ်း'—၀၀၅

Wesantar cow sṅi'—805

Vessantara returns home—487

Vessantara returns home after his monthly visit to the alms-halls.

275. ဗိမ်းနး် အာစ် စိ်—၀၀၆

Bimnaḥ āc ciṅ—806

The brahmins ask for the elephant—488. 4

At that time, in the kingdom of Kalinga, there was a famine consequent on a drought, and men had to rob to live. The people complained to the king; the latter, by the strict observance of the precept and the fast days,

endeavoured to bring on rain, but did not succeed. He made known his failure to the citizens, who told him—"Well, Sir, in this case, there is only one thing to do; King Vessantara, in the kingdom of Sivi, is greatly devoted to alms-giving; he has a white elephant who, wherever he goes, causes the rain to fall. Send brahmins, let them ask for that elephant and bring him back." The king did so. The brahmins went to Jetuttara and, stationing themselves near the alms-hall at the southern gate, asked for the elephant as Vessantara was passing.

Bimnaḥ, a brahmin = M.T. ဗ္ဗြဟ္မဏ, bamnaḥ; there is a variant, bumnaḥ, at plaque 227.

276. ဝေဿန္တရ် စိသ် နော်ရ် စိင်—၈၀၇

Wesantar cis nor ciṅ—807

Vessantara gets down from the elephant—488. 13

On hearing the request of the brahmins, Vessantara is delighted, accedes to their request and descends from the elephant.

Cis, see plaque 66.

277. ကိလ် နာ စိင် ဗိန္တာင်—၈၀၈

Kil nā ciṅ bintāṅ—808

(Vessantara) gives away the white elephant—488. 14

The king, having descended from the white elephant, gives him to the brahmins. This inscription has suffered somewhat. The lower stroke of the *n* of nā has been spoiled and cannot be seen in the photograph. The more common modern form of this word is ထာ, ṇā, but the form နာ, nā, is also found very frequently. The original meaning of ထာ is "to take to, take away, carry (away), to send; to lay or connect, as water pipes, the rails of a railway, a telegraph line, etc.," as may be seen from the following examples: ဒသာဒ်ထဝိန္ဒြကာဝပူဇ်ကျဉ်ရ—"he took a gold tray to the Buddha and offered it to him," Sudh. 32. 4; ၅၀၀ ကသာဝိဉ် ထာကိုထိုဒေ် ထေ်ရ—"he sent five hundred coins to the house of his younger brother," Dhd. 174. 26; at A.V. 42 we have *udahāraka*, "one who makes small canals for irrigating rice-fields" = ညးဖဘာဝုဒ်ဓာဒထဂါဒ်, and at p. 133, *nettika* = *udahāraka*—ညးဖနာ ဝုဒ်ဓဒ်ထ ဂါဒ်; ထာကြိဒ် = literally, "to carry the head towards," that is,

to face towards, ပြုဗွဲ ဒိတ် ဖွဲအဿဇိထေမ္ဟုံဈး ဖွဲဒိတ်ဒွိ အဲဏာ ဘွိဝ်ရ—"in whichever place is the thera Assaji, towards that place I face," Dhd. 229. 8; ဏာဒွိုဝ် = *lit.* "to cause to go and arrive at," that is, to lead to, convey to, take to; to send: ဓဏာဒွိုဝ်ကိုနိဗ္ဗါန်—"which leads to Nirvāṇa," Dhd. 9. 2. A very frequent meaning derived from those given above is that of "away," as in the English expressions, "to put away, give away, go away," etc.; this would give the meaning of nā in kil nā, "to give away," in the present plaque.

Bintāṅ, white = M.T. ကျောင်, btāṅ; the *n* over the *t* is doubtful, though there seems to be traces of it on the plaque; two variants of this word are biṅteṅ and bumteṅ.

278. ဝေဿန္တရ် သိက် ဒါန်—၈၀၉

Wesantar sik dān—809

Vessantara is pleased with his gift—488. 13

The reading sik is quite clear on the plaque, but it is evidently a mistake for sḍik, to be pleased, to delight in, which is in accord with the context; it translates the Pāli *cāgādhimānaso* (488. 13). Sik (သိက်) in the modern language has only two meanings so far as I am aware: 1st, "Why? For what reason? How?", ယွံတ္တသိ သိက်ဒွိ ဆထုံဒုငဲရုးမဝွံထေငဲဗွိုက်အာဒွိရ—"O, Rishi! why would the whole country be destroyed?", S.B. 23. 21; ထိဂ္ဂးရောအမာတ်—"How do you say, ministers?", S.J. (B) 28, in which သိဂ္ဂး, siggaḥ = သိက်ဂး, sikgaḥ, by assimilation. 2nd—the second meaning I have not yet found in books, but it is used colloquially = "to put into, cram, stuff, compress," ဖုန်အဲဒွိသိက်ကိုသွကြိတ်ဧည်—"please put cotton into my mattress"; စစ္ဆိုဒွိ ပသိက်စိုုငဲဒွိယဲနော်ငဲ—"if one eats too much (crams food in) one gets sick." Neither of these two meanings can fit the context.

279. ကတ္တာ တူုငဲ မုနသ်—၈၁၀

Kattā tluṅ munas—810

The agent comes and informs (Vessantara of what is happening) —491. 28

When the citizens of Jetuttara heard that Vessantara had given away the white elephant to foreign brahmins, they became angry; they went to

Vessantara's father and told him his son had no right to give away such a precious animal, the national property. They go on to say they do not want such a king and that he must leave the country and go into banishment in the Vindhya Mountains. The weak-minded father, instead of endeavouring to appease the citizens, in a moment of fright, gives way to them. He calls an agent and sends him to Vessantara; the agent goes to the king and informs him of the state of things.

Kattā, Pāli, a doer, one who does or performs, an agent; this is the word used in the text. Munas, to tell, inform; *cf.* mun, Nos. 42, 213, munpān, No. 225, and pumun, No. 203.

280. အဇ ဗိစာရ် မဟာဒါန်—၀၁၀

Aja bicār mahādān—811

Showing (Vessantara) arranging for the great offering—494. 9

Vessantara does not, of course, recognize the people's right to circumscribe his alms; however, he bows to the will of the people so far as he is personally concerned. He only asked to be granted one day's delay in order to be able to give the Great Offering, which consisted in giving away seven hundred each of everything, elephants, horses, chariots, virgins, slaves, etc.

Aja, see plaque 271. Bicār, here "to arrange, prepare."

281. ဝေဿန္တရ် မဒ္ဒီ ဂုလာဉ်—၀၁၂

Wesamtar Maddī gulāñ—812

Vessantara and Maddī converse—494. 10 *ff*

Vessantara then goes to Queen Maddī's apartments and tells her the turn affairs have taken. He breaks to her the news that on the day after the morrow he will start for the Vindhyas, and makes her understand it will be better for him to go alone; but Maddī, loving and dutiful, will not hear of the proposal, and resolves to accompany him with the two children.

၂၈၂. ဂ္ဂကျောက် တ္လုင် မေယ်—၀၁၃

Gnakyāk tluṅ mey—813

Queen (Phusatī) comes to see (Vessantara)—498. 12

Queen Phusatī, Vessantara's mother, wants to know what Vessantara intends doing, whether he will go in exile or not. She goes to see her son who is in Maddī's apartments, and on nearing the door, hearing their resolve, she is overcome with sorrow, but tries to console them.

M e y, see plaques 46, 273.

၂၈၃. ကတ္တာ တ္လုင် မုနဿ်—၀၁၄

Kattā tluṅ munas—814

An official comes to inform (Vessantara that the Great Offering is ready) —503. 28

၂၈၄. ဝေဿန္တရ် ကိလ် ဒါန် ထရ်—၀၁၅

Wesantar kil dān thar—815

Vessantara gives gold in alms—504. 1 *ff*

The Bodhisatta then goes into the city, where the offerings have been prepared, and gives golden ornaments and utensils to all comers.

T h a r, see No. 123.

၂၈၅. ဗိဿန္တရ် သ္လာရ် ဟန် အမ္ဗ—၀၁၆

Wissantar s-ār han amba—816

Vessantara goes to his father—505. 8

Evening fell even while the Bodhisatta was giving alms; he then returned to the palace, to see his father and mother, before departing in the morning.

This inscription is very much spoiled; fortunately three estampages of it were taken at different times, and they show how rapidly in some cases these plaques deteriorate; by their means, I have been able to reconstruct the legend as above.

For s-ār, see plaques Nos. 183.

286. ဝေဿန္တာရ် တ္လုၚ် သိပ် အဗ—၀၁၇

Wesantar tluṅ sip aba—817

Vessantara comes and attends respectfully on his father—505. 10

Having come in the presence of his parents, he comes to his father and attends respectfully on him.

Sip, to attend respectfully on, as a child on his parents, a courtier on the king, etc.; it generally translates the Pāli *sevati*; the M.T. is သိပ်ဂျိပ် sipglip; A.V. 255, ဝေဿိပ်ဂျိပ် = sevanā, "attending on."

287. တ္လုၚ် ဟန် အဗော'—၀၁၀

Tluṅ han abo'—818

He comes to his mother—505. 28

Having announced to his father his determination, in accordance with the wishes of the people, to retire to the Vindhya Mountains, he turns and comes to his mother, and begs her permission to leave the world.

288. ဂုလာည် ကု မဒ္ဒီ ဟ်—၀၁၉

Gulāñ ku Maddī h—819

(The old king) converses with Maddī—506. 16 *ff*

His mother gives him leave to go, but entreats him not to take Maddī with him; Vessantara answers he does not in any way intend to make her follow him, that she is perfectly free to go or stay back. Then the king, his father, in a long conversation with Maddī, tries to persuade her to remain behind; but she refuses and decides to follow her husband.

For the *h* after Maddī, see plaque 270.

289. (ဝေသန္တ)ရ် ကုတ တိတ်—၀၂၀

(Wesanta)r kuta tit—820

Vessantara turns to depart—510. 21 *ff*

This is not actually expressed in the text; it probably refers to Vessantara turning back after taking leave of his parents and leaving (တိတ်) the apartment. Only the *r* in Wesantar remains, the rest having been broken off; the rest of the inscription is quite clear.

Kuta, I think, is the M.T. ကတ, gata (kuta = kata = gata), to turn, turn round, turn to, turn back; kuta tit, "to turn round and go out," that is, to take one's leave. This is confirmed by the plaque, which represents Vessantara leaving the palace. ကတ is both colloquial and literary, ဗောဓိသတ္တံမသွးဂေါဝ်ဂ်မိတဲ့။ ကတ္ဆက်ဗွဲ ဓဎောရောက်ဲ ဒိဟ်သွဝ်ကျာ—"the Bodhisatta, having been freed from his mother's bosom (= on being born), turned his face due north," Dhd. 62. 11; ဗောဓိသတ္တံ ပွဲ ဂေါဝ်ဂ်မိဗ်ဒုမဒ္ဓံ ထဝါန္ဒံဝ်တဲ့ ကတ တိတ်မုက်ဗွဲဒူး—"the Bodhisatta, sitting cross-legged in his mother's bosom, turned his face towards the outside," Dhd. 62. 6.

290. ညီး ရင် တ္ဂျင် ကွိုလ်—၀၂၁

Ñaḥ raṅ tluṅ kwīl—821

They bring a carriage—510. 22

A magnificent carriage drawn by four horses of Sindh is brought round at the gate of the palace.

Kwīl, see variant kwil, No. 133.

291. မဒ္ဒီ ကု ကောန် ဒုက် တ္ဂာရ်—၀၂၂

Maddī ku kon ḍuk tlār—822

Maddī, with the children, mounts (the carriage) before (Vessantara) —510. 25

Then Maddī having made obeisance to her parents-in-law, and bidden farewell to the ladies of the palace, goes before Vessantara and mounts first the carriage.

Ḍuk = M.T. ဒုၚ်, ḍuik, to mount or ride a horse, to mount or travel in a carriage. Tlār, before (in time), first; there are two variants in the Pagan Inscriptions, tumlār and tumlār. In the 15th century, on the glazed plaques of Pegu, we find this word as tlā, in which the final *r*, as well as the infix, have already been lost; the M.T. is လာ, klā.

292. ဗိဿန္တရ် တိတ် အာရ်—၀၂၃

Wissantar tit ār—823

Vessantara goes away (to the Vindhyas)—511. 4

Then Vessantara takes his place in the carriage and sets out for the Vindhya Mountains. His mother caused two carts, full of precious things, to follow the carriage, so that her son might give alms on the way; all these, and even the ornaments he was wearing on his person, he distributed on his way through the city.

293. မန် နာနာရ် မဟာဇန်—၀၂၄

Man nānār mahājan—824

(? He addresses or admonishes the crowd while going—511. 14)

The estampages and the plaque leave no doubt as to the reading given above; the place of the plaque between Nos. 292 and 294 leaves likewise no doubt as to the episode it refers to; it corresponds to the Pāli (511. 14), *èvaṁ Mahāsatte mahājane āmantetvā "appamattā dānādīni puññāni karothā" ti tesaṁ ovādañ ca datvā* . . . I do not, however, exactly know what the words man nānār mean; but I think it probable the meaning is as follows: Man, to give advice, to advise, from the Pāli *manteti;* there is already a word man from the same Pāli word in its sense of "to repeat sacred texts, to recite mantras, to consecrate by means of mantras," etc.; nānār may possibly be an adverb from the verb nā, to go (see plaque 277), meaning, "in going, while going"; perhaps also, but I doubt it on account of the final *r*, it may be the Pāli *nānā*, "various, in many ways," etc.

294. အဗ ပိန္ဒေါင် ကွိုလ် ဓါရ်—၀၂၅

Aba pindoṅ kwil ḅār—825

(Vessantara's) mother sends (him) two carts (filled with ornaments) —511. 16

As, after admonishing the people, he was going on his way, his mother sent him, for-distribution, two carts filled with ornaments and precious things.

Aba, this refers to Queen Phusatī and therefore means "mother"; up to this plaque it has been found regularly with the meaning of "father"; see plaques 23, 145. Bār, 2 (two) = M.T. ၈, ḅā..

295. ဝေဿန္တရ် ကိလ် ကိရ်ယာ ဟ်—၀၂၆

Wesantar kil kiryā h—826

Vessantara gives the ornaments—511. 18 *ff*

Then Vessantara gave, not only all the ornaments contained in the two carts, but even those he was wearing on his own person.

296. ဝိဿန္တရ် ကိလ် ဒါန် ရတ်—၀၂၇

Wissantar kil dān rat—827

Vessantara gives in alms the precious things—511. 18 *ff*

This almsgiving refers to the precious things, seven kinds of them (sattaratana), which were sent along with the ornaments.

Rat, precious thing, precious stone, jewel, from Pāli *ratana.*

297. ဝိဿန္တရ် ဗိရ် တုန် ဍုင်—၀၂၀

Wissantar bir tun ḍuṅ—828

Vessantara looks back at the city—511

Having given away all that his mother had sent him, he went on his way and left the city; he then became desirous of beholding the city once more, and he turned round to look upon it. The earth under his chariot, by

a miracle, was cleft asunder, and, revolving, brought the chariot round to face the city; and there were earthquakes and other wonders.

Bir, to look; a variant is bar (plaque 200); *cf.* also the causal pubar, plaque 195. Tun, back, again = M.T. bir tun, to look back. See also plaque 262.

298. ဝေသန္တရ် ဇိလိက် တုန်—၀၂၉

Wesantar jilik tun—829

Vessantara drives on again—512. 2

Having looked at the city, he turns towards the sixty thousand courtiers who were born on the same day as he, and towards the people, who had so far accompanied him, and makes them turn back. Then, driving on again, he says to Maddī, "See, Lady, if any mendicant is coming behind"; and he drives on again.

Jilik, to drive; there are two modern colloquial forms of this word, ကဇိုက် and ဃိုက်, kaluik and caluik = to drive. A very common word is ဇက်, jak; another is စ၀်, caw, very common in the literature: ဓင်ဗ္ဗဲဒွဲ၀ဝ် ကျဲင်ကွီ—"a young man came driving a cart," S.M. 9; စ၀်ကျဲင်ကွီပွဲဂတ္တမုက်ဖြာ်ဝ်ဒွ ကျာက် ဓဂဇ် ဒွံဝ်ဒြ်—"he (Indra) came on driving a cart in front of the rest-house wherein the queen was seated," S.J. 3; A.V. 130, *niyāmaka*, a driver = ညးဓစ်ဝ်ကွီ; A.V. 184, *Mātali*, the deva who drives Indra's cart = ကော်ဒေ၀ ထဓစ်ဝ်ကွီဇုန်း The Talaing version in this place has ဇက်စ၀်, jak caw, to drive. ထွီဝေသန္တ၀် . . . ဇက်စ၀်ဆာကွီရ—"King Vessantara . . . drove on."

299. ယာ၀် ဇြေ၀် ဗေယ် ရာဇာ—၀၃၀

Yāc drep boy rājā—830

The mendicants run towards the king—512. 8

Maddī sat down watching. Now, four brahmins had come too late to be present at the last distribution of gifts; they ascertained the direction the Bodhisatta had taken and followed up. Maddī took them to the king, who had remained in the chariot.

Yāc, a beggar, Pāli *yācaka*. Drep, to run = M.T. For boy see plaque 199.

၃၀၀. ဝေဿန္တရ် ကိလ် ဒါန် ၎ေး—၀၃၁

Wesantar kil dān kseḥ—831

Vessantara gives the horses in alms—512. 10

On coming up, the brahmins ask Vessantara for the horses and he at once gives them up.

K s e ḥ, a horse = M.T. ချယ်, k h y e h (pron. c h e h). I had at first thought this was to be read k ṣ e ḥ, but this word appears in three other plaques round the base of the Ānanda and twice in the Shwezigôn inscription (lines 128, 129), in which the reading is clearly k s; moreover, for the sound *sh* = Skt. *s*, they use in Talaing the letter ဖ. The group *ks* seems to correspond in M.T. to ၶ, *khy* (pron. c h, in "church"); *cf.*, for instance, ကသူ (ၶူ), k a s ū (k s ū), M.T. ၶူ, k h y ū (pron. c h ū), to write; ကသဝ် (ၶဝ်), k a s a u (k s a u) = M.T. ၶဝ်, k h y a u, an oath, a curse; ကသီ (ၶီ), k a s ī (k s ī) = M.T. ၶီ, k h y ī, to shake, quake, tremble. There is a variant, k s e ḥ h; in the plaque, after k s e ḥ, there appears to be a letter, but so much damaged as to make it very doubtful what it is, if it is a letter at all.

၃၀၁. ရမင် ဝ ဇက် ကွိလ်—၀၃၂

Ramaṅ ma jak kwil—832

The red deer drawing the chariot—512. 15

After the gift of the horses, the travellers were stranded on the road; at that moment, four gods, seeing their plight, took the form of red deer and drew the chariot.

R a m a ṅ, a red deer = M.T. ဓင်, m a ṅ; with r a m a ṅ compare the Burmese သမင်, s a m a ṅ.

၃၀၂. ကိလ် ဒါန် ကွိလ်—၀၃၃

Kil dān kwil—833

He gives away the chariot—512. 22

A while afterwards, a brahmin comes up and asks Vessantara for the gift of the chariot; this also he gives without hesitation.

303. ဝေဿန္တရ် လော်ဝ် ဂြိပ်—၀၃၄

Wesantar lop grip—834

Vessantara enters the forest—513

So soon as the chariot was given away, the four deer disappeared, and Vessantara and his wife were obliged to go on foot; the former carried little prince Jālī and Maddī carried Kaṇhājinā; and thus they entered the forest. That they entered the forest is not expressed in this connexion in the Pāli.

Grip, forest, see plaque 82.

304. သ္ဝာည် တိန်ရော်ဝ်—၀၃၅

Smāñ tinrow—835

They ask the way—513. 11

Whenever they met anyone, they asked the way to the Vindhya Mountains; all these travellers were much touched on beholding them, and answered, "Long, still long is the way!"

Tinrow, road, way, a variant of tanrow (see plaque 108).

305. ဗသ် ကိလ် သစ္ဆု၂အ်—၀၃၆

Bas kil sacchu'—836

They pluck and give fruits (to the children)—513. 19

As they were thus going, the two children were clamouring for the beautiful fruits growing on the trees. By the power of the Bodhisatta, the fruit-laden branches bowed down of their own accord within reach, and they plucked the ripest and gave them to the children.

Bas, to pluck = M.T. ဗသ်, bah. Sacchu', a variant of sacchu, plaque 9.

306. စိဝ် သုဝဏ္ဏဂိရိ—၀၃၇

Cip Suvannagiri—837

They arrive at the Suvaṇṇagiri Mountain—514. 1

Suvanna, for Suvaṇṇa.

307. ကုန္တိမာရနဒီ—၀၃၀

Kuntimāranadī—838

(They arrive at) the Kontimāra River—514. 2

Leaving the Suvaṇṇa Mount, which is five yojanas away from Jetuttara, they arrive at the river Kontimāra, which is five yojanas still further.

Kuntimāra, the Pāli has *Kontimāra.*

308. စိဝ် အရညဂိရိ—၀၃၉

Cip Arañña giri—839

They come to the Arañjara Mount—514. 3

309. တွာည် ဗိမ်းနး—၀၄၀

Twāñ bimnah—840

(They arrive at) the brahmin village—514

Leaving the Arañjara Mount, another five leagues bring them to the brahmin village of Dunnivitṭha.

Twāñ, village = M.T. တွာ်ၚ် and တွာၚ်, twān and kwān. Bimnaḥ, a brahmin = M.T. ဗမ္ဗး, bamnaḥ; there is a variant, bumnaḥ (plaque 227).

၃၁၀. မာတုလ နဂိရ်—၀၄၁

Mātula nagir—841

(They arrive at Vessantara's) uncle's city—514. 6

Ten leagues further, they arrive at the city of the Bodhisatta's uncle: its distance from Jetuttara was thirty leagues (yojanas).

Nagir, the Pāli *nagara*, city = M.T. နာဂိဒ်, nāguiw, Dhd. 63. 6.

၃၁၁. ဒွောဉ် ပ္ဍေယ် ဇြပ်—၀၄၂

Dmoṅ pdey jrap—842

They stay in a rest-house (near the city)—514. 16

They did not enter the city but entered and sat in a rest-house situated outside the city. Maddī, the dutiful wife, wipes the dust from her husband's feet and shampoos them.

Dmoṅ, see plaques 215, 265. Pḍey, in = M.T. ပ္ဍဲ, pḍai.

312. This legend is practically illegible. The scene represents Maddī with her children, when, having shampooed Vessantara's feet, she stands outside the rest-house, well within sight of people, with the intention of announcing Vessantara's arrival (Pāli, VI 514. 17-18). There is a somewhat spoiled, but still clear enough, *dī* on the left hand, with, before it, some traces of a letter which may have been *ma;* the name Maddī in this connexion is probable enough. The last letter on the right is *s*, with before it, and separated from it by two doubtful letters, what looks like (?) *sin*, *min* or *bin*.

၃၁၃. မဒ္ဒီ ဂုလာဉ်—၀၄၄

Maddī gulāñ—844

Maddī converses (with the women of Ceta)—514. 19-25

The women going in and out of the city of Ceta, seeing the queen outside the rest-house, come and surround her and ask her about herself;

Maddī tells them, and the women deplore her fate. The Pāli says nothing about Maddī telling the women what has happened and the fatigue of the journey. It is, however, in the Burmese version (Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1903, p. 64); the Talaing version merely says that the women *asked* her about herself, but her answer is not recorded, though, of course, it must have been given: ခဲ့ကာထဝတ်ဖြည့်ဝုင်ဝန္ဒိုင်ဝတိတ်မလောင်ထံ၌။ ညာတ်ဒွက္ခဲတဲ့။ ထိုဗဒိုင် သွာန် ပရိုင် ဒွက္ခဲတဲ့။ ရှိခိုးခဲ့တဲ့ ထုံး ဆိုတ်ရ။—"the women of the city who were going in and coming out, seeing the queen, surrounded her and asked her about herself, then they exclaimed ('O, the tender lady!' etc.)," S.V. 23.

314. ညး် တာဝ် မင်—၀၄၅

Ñaḥ tāw mañ—845

They are keeping watch (on the king and queen)—517. 26

They then have abundant food brought, make the rest-house comfortable and, surrounding it, keep watch. This plaque should properly come after the next.

The lower part of the right-hand half of the *t* (∞) in tāw is spoiled, and at first sight the word looks as if it were ကော် (kew). An examination of the plaque shows that the glaze has slightly peeled off.

Mañ, to keep, to watch = M.T.

315. ဂုလာည် ကု သ္မိင်—၀၄၆

Gulāñ ku smiṅ—846

(Vessantara) converses with the princes—515. 5 *ff*

Then the people go and inform the king, Vessantara's uncle, of their arrival, and sixty thousand princes come to see him, lamenting. To induce him not to proceed to the Vindhyas, they offer him the kingdom of Ceta; he refuses. This should have come before the preceding plaque.

316. သွိၼ် ပျုၼ် တိၵ်ၶြော—၀၄၇

Smiṅ pyuṅ tinro—847

The princes show the way (to Vessantara)—518. 1

They stay one day and one night in the rest-house, and early in the morning resume their journey; the sixty thousand princes accompany them for fifteen leagues; then, at the entrance to the forest, they stand and carefully point out his way to the Bodhisatta.

Pyuṅ, to show, see plaque 97. Tinro, for tinrow; the legend as it is fills the plaque, and there is no room for the final *w*; see plaques 304 and 108.

317. ၸိပ် ၵန္ဓမာဒန်—၀၄၀

Cip Gandhamādana—848

They arrive at the Gandhamādana Mountain—519. 19

The princes, in order to prevent any danger from befalling the travellers, order one of their men, very skilful in woodcraft, to follow them and keep a careful watch; they then go back. The royal exiles, continuing their journey, arrive at Mount Gandhamādana.

318. ကုရော်ပ် တ္ဝေား်—၀၄၉

Kurow tmo'—849

Turning his back on the (Gandhamādana) Mount—519. 20

Leaving the Gandhamādana behind, Vessantara goes on his way.

Kurow, turn the back on = M.T. ကရဲ, karau, which is used colloquially in this sense: ခေါ်ဟ်ကရဲ ၼ်ဝးကိုအဲ—"do not be turning your back on me." Tmo', a rock, a rocky hill, mountain = M.T. တ္မအ်, tma'.

319. စိပ် ဝေပုလပရ်—၀၅၀

Cip Wepulapar—850

They arrive at the Vipula Mountain—519. 21

Par, a mountain, from the Sanskrit *parvata;* the modern form, ပဗ်, paw, is very frequent in books after names of mountains.

320. ကေတုမာရနဒိ—၀၅၁

Ketumāranadī—851

(They rest near the) Ketum River—519. 21

Passing by the foot of the Vipula Mount, they come to the banks of the river Ketumatī, where they rest and take a meal prepared by the forester who accompanies them.

321. ကိလ် နွာယ်ကိငန်လွန်—၀၅၂

Kil cnāykinloṅ—852

They give (their guide) a (golden) hairpin

In acknowledgment of the forester's services they present him with a golden hairpin.

For cnāykinloṅ, see plaque 53.

322. ဇွစ် ဇြေယ်သုမ်—၀၅၃

[G]ja' jreysum—853

Sitting under the banyan tree—519. 24

After his meal, Vessantara, full of peace, crosses the river Ketumatī and seats under a banyan tree.

Gja', to seat = M.T. Jreysum, a banyan tree = M.T. ဂြိသံ့, jraisuṁ, Sudh. 2. 21. The Bodhi tree under which Gautama attained Omniscience is called ဂြိသဒ်, jrai thaw, A.V. 28 = *assattha;* ဂြိမ္ဗာဗုဒ်, jraimhābudh, A.V. *ibid,* and ဆုဗောဓိ ပထိပ်, chu bodhi paluih, A.V. 167. In

the last expression, ဝဇိဟ် means the circle in the centre of Jambudīpa, around the Bodhi tree, U.O.K., 45. 17, ဗောဓိယာဝဇိဟ်။

323. စိဒ် နာလိပဒ်—၀၅၄

Cip Nālipar—854

Then he moves on and comes to the mount Nālika—519. 26

324. စိဒ် မုဂလိန်—၀၅၅

Cip Mucalin—855

He arrives at the Mucalinda Lake—519. 26

325. စိဒ် စတုရသ် အည္စ—၀၅၆

Cip caturas añca—856

He arrives at the square lake—519. 29

They passed along the bank of the Mucalinda Lake and, following the course of the stream which flowed from the mountain, they arrive at the square lake.

Caturas, square, from the Pāli *caturassa.* Añca, a lake; I have not found any modern equivalent.

326. စိဒ် အဿမပိတ်—၀၅၇

Cip assamapit—857

He arrives at the hermitage—520. 10

Now Indra, perceiving from his heaven what was happening, called the architect of the gods, Viçvakarma, and told him to go to the Vindhyas, and there build a hermitage in a pleasant spot. Viçvakarma builds two retreats, one for Vessantara and one for Maddī, and keeps there ready all that is necessary for hermits. He then writes an inscription: "This is for him who wishes to become a hermit"; he drives away from the spot all inhuman creatures and loud-voiced beasts and birds, and goes his way. The Bodhisatta, following a path, arrives at the hermitage.

Assamapit, hermitage, from the Pāli *assamapada;* M.T. အသ္သမ္ပိတ်, asmāpuit, A.V. 28.

327. ရာဇာ လောင် မ အိုရ်—၀၅၀

Rājā lop ma 'ir—858

The king enters (the hermitage), becoming a hermit—520. 11 *ff*

On seeing the inscription, Vessantara understands that the hermitage has been prepared by Indra; he goes in and dons the garb of a hermit which was there ready.

'Ir, to leave the world, see plaque 34.

328. တိတ် နော့ရ် ပရ်နသာလ်—၀၅၉

Tit nor parnasāl—859

(Vessantara) goes out from the hermitage—520. 14

Then he goes out from the hermitage with the calm of a Pacceka Buddha, and approaches his family. Maddī falls weeping at his feet.

Parnasāl, a hut made of leaves, a hermitage, from the Sanskrit *parṇaçālā;* in M.T. the form ပန္နသာ, from Pāli *paṇṇasālā*, is found, S.B. 1.

329. မဒ္ဒီ လောင် ဂြိပ်—၀၆၀

Maddī lop grip—860

Maddī enters the forest—521. 1

Maddī, her emotion over, goes in her hermitage and assumes the ascetic garb. She asks as a favour to go herself in search of fruits and roots, and he asks her, now they are ascetics, not to come to his hut unseasonably. Now, by the power of the Bodhisatta's compassion, all the wild animals within a large radius were full of compassion also and did no harm to one another. Daily, at dawn, Maddī fetches water, sweeps the hermitage and, leaving the two children in the father's care, enters the forest in quest of roots and fruits.

330. ဝ သစ်ဆူ—၀၆၀

Ca sacchu'—861

They eat the fruits—521. 4

In the evening, she returns, and, having bathed the children, they all four sit down and eat the fruits she has brought.

331. မဒ္ဒီ လောဝ် ပရ်ၚသာလ်—၀၆၂

Maddī lop parnasāl—862

Maddī enters her hermitage—521. 5

The meal over, the queen takes the two children, and retires to her hut. Thus did they live for seven months.

332. ၜီ ညာဝ် ၵုဝ် တ္ဝး[ငဲ]—၀၆၃

Cimī ñāc Juc tlu[ṅ]—863

(Vessantara) looks expectantly and sees Jūjaka coming—541. 20

Now, in Kalinga, there lives a brahmin named Jūjaka; he is married to a young wife. She wants two slaves to do the rougher house-work. Jūjaka has heard of Vessantara and of his readiness to give, so he resolves to go to him and ask him for his two children. After many adventures, he comes near the hermitage, but being afraid Maddī would prevent the gift of her two children, he waits till she has gone to the forest for fruits. During the night Maddī is visited by a dreadful premonitory dream, and she runs to the Bodhisatta's hut to tell him of it. At once, he understands some one is coming to ask for the children, and rejoices; but he does not tell her the meaning of the dream; he consoles her, telling her not to believe in dreams. Then, early in the morning, as usual, she makes over the children to Vessantara and goes into the forest. Jūjaka comes up the footpath leading to the hermitage, and the Bodhisatta sits down, eagerly watching the way by

which he would come; and as he looks forward expectantly he sees Jūjaka coming.

Cimī, to look forward, to look to expectantly = M.T. ၿ, camī; the Talaing version, at this passage, has: ဗောဓိသတ် ဆဝါခွင်ထွ့ဲ တွံသးဝီခွင် ဗဒ္ဓးမကူ့ဝ်ရ်—"the Bodhisatta sat cross-legged on a flat stone and looked forward to the brahmin coming"; Sudh. 19. 25, ခွါကန် ဝဒ့ိုမြဝဝီ ညာတ် ကျဉ်တြဲ ထတူ ကိုဝ် တွံဒ့ိ—"the people of the place, looking expectantly, saw the Blessed Buddha (standing) on the summit of the hill." Haswell has the form ဆီ, lamī. Juc = Jūjaka. The plaque is somewhat spoiled, and the estampage and photograph would have been of little avail without the plaque itself; in cimī, there are only faint traces of the *c* and of the *ī*. In tluṅ, only faint traces of luṅ are still to be seen.

333. ဇာလီ ဝါန်—၀၆၄

Jālī wāṅ—864

Jālī goes to meet (Jūjaka)—542. 4

On seeing Jūjaka, Vessantara is delighted, for now he will be able to give something to some one, which he has not done for seven months; he calls out to him to approach; then he tells his little son Jālī to go and meet him. The little prince obeys.

Wāṅ, see plaque 193.

334. ဗုဟိစ် ဇာလီ—၀၆၅

Buhic Jālī—865

(Jūjaka) frightens Jālī—542. 6

As the boy approaches him, offering to relieve him of his luggage, Jūjaka thinks, "This surely must be Vessantara's son; from the very first I must speak harsh words to him." So he snaps his fingers, bawling out, "Get away! Get away!"

Buhic, see plaque 252.

335. ဇာလိ ကုမာရ် တုန်—၀၆၆

Jālī kumār tun—866

Prince Jālī returns (near his father)—542. 7

Jālī returns to his father's side and, looking at the brahmin, perceives in him all the signs of a low, cruel man.

Tun, see plaque 262; here it is used as a verb, to return; *cf.* further this sense in the expression ပတ်သွာ, patun paā, an exchange of friendly greetings = Pāli *paṭisanthāra;* this expression is found at Dhd. 63. 13 and 226. 27. The text has (542. 7) *āgantvā*, "having returned."

336. ဂုလာည် ကု ဇုစ်—၀၆၇

Gulāñ ku Juc—867

(Vessantara) conversing with Jūjaka—542. 11 *ff*

The brahmin then comes up to the Bodhisatta and the latter converses with him; he asks him on what business he is come and Jūjaka answers he has come to ask for his two children. Vessantara agrees to give them, but asks him to wait for Maddī, so that she may see them once more; this Jūjaka flatly refuses. Then Vessantara asks him, before taking the children to his village, to show them to their grandfather at Jetuttara, but this request again is declined, for the brahmin is afraid of the old king's ire.

337. ဗာတ် ဟန် တျော့—၀၆၀

Bāt han tyoḥ—868

(The two children) hide in a clump (of bushes)—545. 13

The two children, hearing the cruel words of the brahmin, flee and hide in a clump of bushes.

Bāt, to hide; I have found yet no modern equivalent of this word; the sense of "to hide" is clear from the context and the scene depicted on the plaque; in the text, it answers to the Pāli *nilīyati.* Han, see

plaque 28. T y o ḥ, a clump, of trees, of bushes, etc.; this word appears again in plaque 356, where it is applied to a clump of flower bushes, t y o ḥ p k a w. Of this also I have found no modern form equivalent.

338. သံဝတ် . . . . —၀၆၉

Saṁwat . . . . —869

The children . . . .

This inscription is very badly weathered; the first word seems to be s a ṁ w a t, children. The last letter is *t*, and that before it seems to be *ȧ̀*; the letter before the *ā* is very indistinct; it may have been *ḃ*, thus giving us b ā t, as in the preceding plaque.

339. ဇာလိ ကုမာရ် တိန်—၀၇၀

Jālī kumār tin—870

Prince Jālī comes up (from the square lake)—546. 11

From the clump of bushes they run to the square lake and, getting into the water, they stand concealed with lily leaves over their heads. Jūjaka, not seeing them, gets into a temper, and accuses Vessantara of having made them a sign to run away. Vessantara tells him he will fetch them back; then, following their footprints, he comes to the square lake; he calls out to Jālī, "Come, my boy, come," and the prince, fearful of disobeying his father, comes up from the lake.

T i n, to ascend, go up, come up; M.T. = တိုန်, t u i n.

340. [တိ]န် ဂနှာရ် ကံဗာရ်—၀၇၁

[Tiṉ nor kaṁbār—871

(Kaṇhā) comes up from the lake—546. 21

He also calls out to little princess Kaṇhā, who likewise comes up from her hiding place and, clasping her father's feet, weeps.

K a ṁ b ā r, see plaque 125.

341. ကိလ် ဒါန် ကောန်—၀၇၂

Kil dān kon—872

(Vessantara) gives in alms his (own) children (to Jūjaka)—547. 12

Vessantara explains to the children that he gives them in order to obtain the highest fulfilment of the virtue of almsgiving, and so may, in a next existence, attain Omniscience. He then fixes a price on each; if Jālī wishes to become free, he must pay one thousand pieces of gold; as for Kaṇhā, she will have to give a hundred slaves, male and female, a hundred horses, elephants, etc., and takes them back to the hermitage. He takes a water-pot, and, consecrating his gift by pouring out the water, gives in alms his children to the brahmin.

342. ဇူဒ် ကฺဍည် ဇုက်—၀၇၃

Jūj kḍañ juk—873

Jūjaka bites off a creeper—548. 3

Having made his gift, Vessantara, joyful, stands looking upon his children; meanwhile, Jūjaka bites off a creeper to tie them with.

K ḍ a ñ, to bite, bite off; I have not found an equivalent modern form; in the plaque, Jūjaka is depicted as biting off a creeper; the *ḍ* is somewhat spoiled, but the plaque shows traces of the lower stroke. J u k = M.T.; Haswell gives only the meaning of "rope," but Stevens, under "Creeper," has: ထွံဇုက်, ဇုက်ဂြိုဝ်, t n a ṁ j u k, j u k g r u i p; a rope is properly ဇုက် ဃောတ်, j u k l o t, Sudh. 21. 16.

343. ဇူစ် ဒက် ရိန် အာရ်—၀၇၄

Jūc dak rin ār—874

Jūjaka binds and takes away (the children)—548. 4

With the creeper he has bitten off, the brahmin binds Jālī's right hand to Kaṇhā's left and, beating them with the ends of the creeper, takes them away. The reading j ū c with long *ū*, which is indistinct in this plaque and the preceding one, is quite clear in the estampages.

344. ကင်္ကာလ် ဒေါသ်—၀၇၅

Kinkāl dos—875

Vessantara subdues his anger—552. 21 *ff*

Blood runs down their bodies; in a rugged place the brahmin stumbles, and the children slipping off their tiny hands from their bonds run weeping to their father; but the brahmin follows up and drives them away. Vessantara's heart is filled with sorrow, and he retires to his hut where he weeps bitterly. At the thought of the unmerciful beatings they were suffering, his anger rises, and he resolves to pursue the brahmin, kill him and bring back the children. But he thinks better of it and does not do so.

K i n k ā l, a variant of k i n k a n, No. 62; *lit.* "to instruct one's anger," that is, to reason it away, to master it, subdue it. D o s = Pāli *dosa.*

345. ဇူဇ် ဒက်—၀၇၆

Jūj dak—876

Jūjaka binds (again the children)—554. 5

Meanwhile the children were being taken away by Jūjaka. In a rough place the latter again falls down, and the children make another bid for freedom. But the brahmin follows them in a vile temper and binds them up again.

346. ဇူစ် ရိန် အာရ်—၀၇၇

Jūc rin ār—877

Jūjaka takes away (the children again)—554. 8

And then he again takes them back with him.

347. ကဏှာဇိန် ဇိလိတ်—၀၇၀

Kaṇhājin jilīt—878

Kaṇhājinā looks back (at her father)—554. 9

As they are being led away, Kaṇhā turns back, looks at her father and laments pitifully.

Jilīt, to turn back, to look back = M.T. ဖွတ်, glit; I have not yet found this word in the literature, but it is used colloquially in the expression ငဂ္ဂဖွတ်, new glit = to look back; the Pāli has *nivattitvā olokentī*, "turning back and looking" (at her father), and the *Skem*, p. 118, ကဏှာဇိန် ကလေဝ်ရုံဆို—"Kaṇhājinā turned back (ကလေဝ်) and looked at the king."

348. ဝေသန္တရ် ယာမ်—၀၇၉

Wesantar yām—879

Vessantara weeps—554. 24

On hearing his daughter's lamentations, Vessantara's heart wells up with emotion and sorrow, and he weeps bitterly.

349. ကိလ် ဒါန် ဗူယ်—၀၀၀

Kil dān būy—880

Vessantara gives . . . . (?)—554

I cannot make out the meaning of the word būy. The plaque has somewhat weathered in this place, and though, in it, the letter looks like a *b*, it may have been originally a *t*; if so, we should read: kil dān tūy, tūy being the suffix of the past tense, and translate: "(Vessantara) after he had given in alms (his children)." The plaque represents him seated in front of his hermitage; and this would tally with the text, which says that, after his fit of weeping, he reasoned with himself that he should not give way to this earthly affection, but should be calm, and sat still as usual. From the episode of his weeping to that of the appearance of the lions in Maddī's path, there is made mention of no gift of his which could be represented by the word būy.

350. ဇာဒိသိင် ဒလ်—၈၈၁

Jādisiṅ dal—881

The lion bars (Maddī's path)—556. 30

While being dragged away, the little princess continues her lamentations, which move the hearts of the deities, who reflect that, if Maddī arrived at the hermitage at the usual time, she would immediately go in search of her children and thus get into great trouble. So, to keep her back until the setting of the sun, they instruct three of the gods to assume the form of a lion, a tiger and a leopard, and to obstruct her way till sunset. They do so.

Jādisiṅ, lion = M.T. ဇာဒိသိင်, jādisuiṅ; *cf.* Cambodian, s o n g (Aymonier). D a l, to shut, obstruct, bar = M.T. ဒဿ, d a w.

351. မဒ္ဒီ သ္မာည် ကောန်—၈၈၂

Maddī smāñ kon—882

Maddī enquires about her children—560. 30 *ff*

Maddī, perceiving the wild beasts in her path, is terrified and dares not proceed; she remembers the bad dream she has had (plaque 332), and becomes convinced something dreadful has happened. At sunset, the gods disappear and Maddī proceeds on her way to the hermitage. She does not perceive her children as usual, and comes up to Vessantara, who is sitting in silence; she enquires of him about the children.

352. မဒ္ဒီ စိပ် ကြေင်—၈၈၃

Maddī cip kreṅ—883

Maddī comes up to the eugenia tree—564. 5

To all her enquiries and lamentations, Vessantara does not answer, and he keeps his ominous silence. Then, in the moonlight, she seeks her children in all the places where they used to play, and thus comes to the cluster of eugenia trees, which was one of these.

353. မဒ္ဒီ ဂုပ် ကြုင်—၀၀၄

Maddī cup kruṅ—884

Maddī arrives at the river—564. 9

Cup = cip, to arrive.

354. မဒ္ဒီ တိန် တ္မောအ်—၀၀၅

Maddī tin tmo'—885

Maddī ascends the hill—564. 11

She goes up the hill where the children used to eat fruit and pluck flowers.

355. မဒ္ဒီ စိပ် စိင် ကျဲး—၀၀၆

Maddī cip ciṅ kseḥ—886

Maddī comes upon the (toy) elephants and horses—564. 15

In her ramblings she comes upon the children's toys.

356. မဒ္ဒီ စိပ် တ္ယေား ပ္ကၝ်—၀၀၇

Maddī cip tyoḥ pkāw—887

Maddī arrives at the clump of flower-trees—564. 25

She then comes to a clump of flowering plants and looks here and there for her children.

Tyoḥ, see plaque 337. Pkāw, see plaque 176.

357. မဒ္ဒီ စိပ် အည်္စ—၀၀၀

Maddī cip añca—888

Maddī comes to the lakes—564. 29

She comes to the lakes covered with lotuses, near which the prince and princess used to play.

Añca, a lake = Pāli *pokkharaṇī;* see plaque 325. This plaque, on the Ānanda, is wrongly placed after the one which follows (358).

358. ကုရော် ဗောယ် ရာဇာ—၀၀၉

Kurow boy rājā—889

(Maddī) goes back to the king—565. 2

But she can see the children nowhere. She then returns to the hermitage, wherein she finds Vessantara with his face cast down; she addresses him; he does not answer. A second and a third time, receiving no answer, she wanders into the night.

Kurow, to return, go back, see plaque 318. Boy, to, towards, see plaque 199. The word rājā is not fully clear in the photograph, being somewhat spoiled on the plaque itself, but a careful examination of the latter shows it to be rājā.

359. မဒ္ဒီ လောတ် ပိုတ်—၀၉၀

Maddī lot plit—890

Maddī falls and swoons—566. 8

Having come back for the third time and still unable to obtain any information from Vessantara, the distracted mother falls down upon the ground in a swoon.

Lot, to fall = M.T. Plit here means "to swoon"; the M.T. is ပျိုတ်, pluit, to become extinguished.

360. ယောက် ရုသာလ်—၀၉၁

Yok rusāl—891

(Vessantara) raises (Maddī's head) and lays (it on his lap)

Vessantara believes her dead; he feels her heart and, perceiving she is still alive, fetches a pitcher of water, raises her head, and lays it on his lap.

Yok, raise, lift up; the more modern form is ယိုက်, yuik, but the form ယောက်, vok, is also found, for instance, at Dhc. **151.** 26. Rusal, to lay,

place; put; it is found also in Blagden's Pagan Inscriptions. There is a variant, l u s ā l, also in the Pagan Inscriptions, and also, in the same inscriptions, a form, s ā l, to which answers the modern colloquial သာ, s ā.

361. ဝိဿန္တရ် သး ဍာတ်—၀၉၂

Wissantar saḥ ḍāk—892

Vessantara pours water (on Maddī's face)—566. 23

He pours water from the pitcher on her face, to make her regain her consciousness.

S a ḥ, to pour = M.T. ဆိုတ်, s u i h, occasionally found written သေတ်, s o h; Dhd. 485. 5, နိဗ္ဗာန်မွဲ စိုတ် သတိုတ် သိတ်ပထိုက် ကေ့ပွတ်ခွေ့ ၁၁—"only Nirvāṇa, quenching the eleven fires (eleven passions), is exceedingly cool"; in which ဆိုတ် = to pour and ပထိုတ် = to put out, extinguish. Another modern form is စရိုတ်, c a r u i h, with infix *r*. In the Su-daung-bye Inscription, 15th century, is found the form သြောဟ်, s r o h, line 19—နမဒေသနာရ် သပြိုတ် မတွတ်ပွး ဖြိတ်ခွေ့ ဒုိတ်ကုက္ကစ်ပန်ဂဟ်။ မသြောဟ် ပထိုတ်ကေ့ဖဟ် စရ်ကိထေသ ဒုိတ်သိန် မတ်ပွတ် သန်ထာ သဘ်ဂဒွါင်မ တွတ်ပွး ပဓတ်မပွေင်ကရ် ဂဟ်တုတ်—"with the great rain, that is, of the Law of the virtuous of the four continents, he poured down and extinguished the fire that destroys the world, that is, all the passions in man."

Between this and next plaque comes No. 375, which has been misplaced on the Ānanda.

362. မဒ္ဒီ အနုမောဒနာ—၀၉၃

Maddī anumodanā—893

Maddī rejoices (at Vessantara having given away the children) —567. 22

He then sprinkles her face with water and she comes back to consciousness; he explains he has given the children away, and did not tell her for fear of causing her pain. He consoles her, assuring her they would get back the children, alive and well Maddī then rejoices in his gift

363. ဗိမ္ဗာ့ တ္လုင်—၀၉၄

Bimnaḥ tluṅ—894

(Sakka, disguised as) a brahmin comes—568. 30

Now, Sakka, in his heaven, thought, "Vessantara has given his children in alms yesterday; now, another low creature may come and ask him for his wife, and he would be left helpless and destitute. I will take the form of a brahmin and ask for Maddī; he will thus attain the height of perfection; having then made it a condition that she is not to be given to any one else, I will give her back." And so, at dawn, disguised as a brahmin, Sakka comes to the hermitage. Most of the lower portion of the *l* in tluṅ has disappeared.

364. ကိုလ် ဒါန် ကိန္ဒရ်—၀၉၅

Kil dān kindar—895

(Vessantara) gives his wife in alms—570. 4 *ff*

Sakka asks for Maddī, and Vessantara, pouring water from a pitcher in ratification of his gift, gives his wife to him.

Kindar, see plaque 132.

365. ဒုင် ဒါန် ကိန္ဒရ်—၀၉၆

Duṅ dān kindar—896

(Sakka) receives the wife of Vessantara in alms—570. 4 *ff*

366. ကိုလ် တုန် မဒ္ဒီ—၀၉၇

Kil tun Maddī—897

(Sakka) gives back Maddī—572. 1

Vessantara looks at his wife's face to see how she takes his gift of her; she is perfectly calm; Sakka then praises her and gives her back to the Bodhisatta.

367. ဣန် ဂုလာဉ်—၀၉၀

In gulāñ—898

Indra converses (with Vessantara)—572. 1 *ff*

A conversation then goes on between Sakka and the Bodhisatta; the former reveals his identity and asks Vessantara to choose any eight boons, and that he would grant them to him. The latter asks them: the first and most important for the story is, that his father may become reconciled, soon recall him, and set him again on the throne.

368. ဣန် ဝေဝ် အာရ်—၀၉၉

In cow ār—899

Indra goes back (to his heaven)—573. 18

Sakka assures him that they all will be soon reunited to his father and goes back to his own place.

369. ဇုပ် ဆွိက် ဟိန် ဆု—၉၀၀

Juc stik hin chu—900

Jūjaka sleeps on a tree—573. 29

Maddī and Vessantara lived happily in the hermitage. Meanwhile, Jūjaka travelled with the children, over whom the gods watched carefully. In the evening, when the sun went down, he used to tie up the children and make them sleep on the ground; himself, however, frightened of wild beasts, would get up on a tree and sit in a fork of the branches.

370. စိရ္မိဳလ် သ္မိင်[အ္ဗ ? . .]—၉၀၁

Cirmīl smiṅ (aba? . . ?)—901

(Vessantara) looks out for (his father) the king—582. 10

The gods, guiding Jūjaka's footsteps, made him come to the capital, Jetuttara, instead of to his own place in the kingdom of Kalinga, and

brought him into the palace courtyard. The old king, Vessantara's father, perceives the children and has them brought to him. The young Jālī explains how they came to be with Jūjaka. The grandfather pays the brahmin the price set upon each child by Vessantara; Jūjaka dies of an indigestion. The grandfather gathers a large army to accompany him to the Vindhyas in order to bring back the Bodhisatta and Maddī. As they near the Vindhyas, Vessantara hears the great noise made by the large army and, together with Maddī, ascends a hill and looks out.

C i r m ī l, to look towards, to look forward to, is a variant of c i m ī (plaque 332); there remains only faint traces of the *ī* over the *m*. The last two words after s m i ṅ are practically illegible; the first, however, I take to be a b a, father, but this is only a conjecture; perhaps it is a m b a = father.

371. သွင် တျုင် စိ—၉၀၂

Smiṅ tluṅ cip—902

The king (Vessantara's father) arrives—583. 15 *ff*

On beholding the army, Vessantara, not knowing whose it might be, becomes anxious; but Maddī convinces him it can only be his father's; then he goes back with her and sits before his hut. Vessantara's father having arrived, calls Queen Phusatī and explains that, if they go all together, Vessantara and Maddī might receive a shock. "I'll go first," says he; "when you think that after a few moments, the first emotion has subsided, follow up.

The *m* in s m i ṅ is no more visible a defect in the glaze in the middle of the letter *ṅ* makes it look like *i*.

372. သွင် တျုင် ဟိန် ကောန်—၉၀၃

Smiṅ tluṅ hin kon—903

The king comes up to his son—583. 25

The king mounts his elephant and comes up to his son.

373. ဝေဿန္တရ် လှော်ရ် အဗ္ဗ—၉၀၄

Wesantar lñor aba—904

Vessantara salutes his father—584. 1

374. ဥကျာက် တ္လုၚ် စိပ်—၉၀၅

Gnakyāk tluñ cip—905

The queen (Phusatī) arrives—585. 30

Touching greetings are exchanged; the old king tells them he has brought with him the two children, well and sound. And then Queen Phusatī, feeling the first emotion must by now be assuaged, comes to her son.

G n a k y ā k, queen = M.T.; *cf.* the variant g n a k y e k, plaque 72.

375. သ္မိၚ် ပတ် ဝုလုၚ်—၉၀၆

Smiñ pat culuñ—906

The king (Vessantara) chafes (Maddī's) head—566. 24

This plaque is altogether in the wrong place; it should come after No. 361. It refers to the episode when Maddī, after a fruitless search for her children, falls in a swoon and Vessantara, placing her head on his lap, pours water on her and chafes her face.

P a t, to press with the hand, squeeze, shampoo, chafe = M.T. C u l u ṅ, the head; the final *ṅ* is somewhat spoiled, and could be taken for an *n*. Strange enough the *Skem* in this place, p. 64, has exactly the same words: သ္မိၚ်ပတ် ဝုထုၚ် ဍုကျာ်—"the king chafed the head of the queen." This word is found also under the form ဝထုၚ်, c a l u ṅ. There is another literary form, သမ္လုၚ်, s a m l u ṅ, with *m* infix; *c* and *s* are often interchanged. With the legend on this plaque compare Sudh. 13. 21, ဖတဲအြ် ကျာ်ခြေ သဝေါတ် သမ္လုၚ်—"the Blessed Buddha stroked (*lit.* pressed) his head with his right hand."

376. ရာဇာ ထွောရ် ဂ္နကျာက်—၉၀၇

Rājā lñor gnakyāk—907

The king salutes the queen (his mother)—586. 5

When they see their mother approaching, Vessantara and Maddī salute her respectfully. On the plaque can be seen pretty clearly the traces of the first two words, which are barely legible on the photograph.

377. ကောန် တ္လုၚ် ဟိန် အဒွောအဲ်—၉၀၈

Kon tluñ hin abo'—908

The children come to their mother—586. 8

The two children, perceiving their mother, come running to her, weeping.

378. မဒ္ဒီ ကု ကောန် လောတ်—၉၀၉

Maddī ku kon lot—909

Maddī falls (on the ground) with her children—586. 29

Sakka, from his heaven, perceives that the six royal personages have fallen on the ground in a swoon and that there is no one to sprinkle water on them; so he causes a wonderful shower to fall, in which only those who desired to be wet were wet.

379. ဝေသန္တရ် ဂုလာည်—၉၁၀

Wesantar gulāñ—910

Vessantara converses (with his father)—587. 18 *ff*

The shower brings back the six royal persons to their senses. The sixty thousand courtiers and the people approach, and the people call upon Vessantara and Maddī to ascend the throne again. Vessantara addresses his father, "You and the people have banished me, who was ruling righteously." His father acknowledges his and his people's fault, and Vessantara consents to become king again.

၃၈၀. ဝေသန္တရ် ဓါသ် ဂျိက်—၉၁၁

Wesantar ḅās glik—911

Vessantara changes his dress—588. 7

Then, the sixty thousand courtiers born on the same day as himself ask him to throw aside his ascetic garb. Vessantara enters the hut and changes his dress.

Bās, to change = M.T., ဗး, ḅaḥ.

၃၈၁. လ္ဝောရ် ပန္နသာလ်—၉၁၂

Lṅor pannasāl—912

(Vessantara) salutes reverentially the hermitage—388. 10

Having changed his dress, he comes out of the hut and, remembering that, therein, he had lived the ascetic life for nine months and attained to the summit of perfection in almsgiving, he salutes it reverentially, walking thrice round it with his right towards it, and falls prostrate before it.

၃၈၂. ဗိသေက် ဝေသန္တရ်—၉၁၃

Bisek Wesantar—913

They consecrate Vessantara (king)—588. 13

They then pour over him the water of consecration and make him king.

Bisek, coronation; to consecrate king by pouring water on the head = Pāli *abhiseka*, M.T. ပဆေက်, pasek, sometimes found as ပသိုက်, pasuik; also ပသေက် ပသဒ်, pasek pasaw.

၃၈၃. ဗိသေက် မဒ္ဒီ—၉၁၄

Bisek Maddī—914

They consecrate Maddī (as queen)—588. 23

Maddī also is bathed and adorned and anointed queen.

384. မဒ္ဒီ ဒုက် စိင်—၉၁၅

Maddī ḍuk ciṅ—915

Maddī mounts her elephant—591. 6

After the coronation, Maddī mounts an elephant; Vessantara was on another; in great pomp they leave the hermitage and proceed to the camp.

385. တီတ် နော်ရ် ဂြိပ်—၉၁၆

Tīt nor grip—916

They go out of the wilderness—592. 4

The royal family, the courtiers and the army amused themselves with sports in the wilderness for a month, after which time they left it and went to the city of Jetuttara.

386. ဝေသန္တရ် ဒွေါင် ပြာသာ[ဒ်]—၉၁၇

Wesantar dmoṅ prāsā[d]—917

Vessantara dwells in his palace—592. 27

They travelled the distance of sixty leagues in two months. Vessantara enters the capital, decorated in his honour, and ascends his palace, where he dwells ever happy till his death.

The story of Vessantara ends with this plaque. The three plaques which follow have been put in the wrong place on the Ānanda.

387. ကိလ် ကိရျာ ဟ်—၉၁၀

Kil kiryā h—918

(Vessantara) gives ornaments

This plaque should have come among those illustrating the first part of the story.

388. ဗလ်ရတ် ကိန္တရင်—၉၁၉

Balrat kintarañ—919

I have not been able to read this plaque at all, torn as it is from its context. According to the phonetic changes which have taken place from the old to the modern language, the first word, b a l r a t, might be now, b a w r a t, or b u i w r a t; I cannot fix a meaning on any of these. In the Pagan Talaing Inscriptions, there is a word, t i n r a ṅ, which means, I think, "door," the modern form being ထရင်, t a r a ṅ, also pronounced k a r a ṅ; perhaps k i n t a r a ṅ means a door? Supposing this to be correct, b a l r a t would probably mean "to knock," and the legend would then be read, "(Maddī) knocks at the door (of Vessantara's hut)," and would refer to the episode when, after her dreadful dream, Maddī gets up and knocks at her husband's door to ask him the meaning of her dream; but the modern word for "to knock" is ခဒုတ်, ထဒုတ်, and ဖဒုတ်, k h a ḍ å k, t h a ḍ å k, and p h a ḍ å k, and I do not see the relation of b a l r a t with these forms. The above is all conjecture.

389. ဝေဿန္တရ် တိန် . . . . —၉၂၀

Wesantar tin . . . . —920

Vessantara ascends . . . .

This plaque is badly broken and one or two words are missing; all the personages have disappeared, except one, a man seated: this is probably Vessantara. Perhaps this plaque was intended to illustrate the Bodhisatta ascending his palace after his return from the Vindhyas, and in that case should come before No. 386. The difficulty is that Vessantara—if it be he—is represented seated.

APPENDIX A

Alphabetical List of the words in the Legends of the Ānanda Plaques.

N.B.—Each word is given first in transliteration, and then in the Talaing characters; the meaning follows; the numbers indicate the plaques in which the word is found; last follows the modern equivalent, in native characters and in transliteration. A point of interrogation (?) indicates that the word has fallen into oblivion and has no modern equivalent, or, if any, I have not been able to trace it in the literature. When the old form and the modern form are exactly the same, the formula " = M.T." (is the same as modern Talaing) is used.

Aja, အ္ဇ, way, wise, manner, representation, illustration, 271, 272, 280; = M.T. This word, in the plaques, might be read rājā; but in the first two instances he was only a small boy of five and eight years of age, and not yet rājā.

Añca, အည္ဆ, a lake, 325, 357; ဃဝ, laca.

Anumodanā, အနုေမာဒနာ, to rejoice in, 362; *Pāli.*

Aba, အ္ဘ, father, 23, 33, 98, 225, etc.; (?).

Abo', ေအ္ဘာ, mother, 23, 33, 41, etc.; (?).

Abo' aba, ေအ္ဘာအ္ဘ, parents, 89.

Abhisekha, အဘိေသက, consecrating as king by pouring water, coronation, to consecrate as king, 47; ပေသက်, pasek.

Amba, အ္ဗ, father, 145, 285; *vide* aba.

Arañña, အရည္ဉ, 308; this is probably an error for Arañja = Arañjara; *Pāli.*

Alambāy, အလံဗာယ်, a snake-charmer, 231, 232, 233, 234; အလဗဲ, alambāai; from *Pāli*, Ālambayana.

Assamapit, အဿမပိတ်, a hermitage, 326; အသ္ဍာပိုတ်, asmāpuit; from *Pāli*, assamapada.

Ahi, အဟိ, a snake, 136; *Pāli.*

Āc, အာဒ်, to ask, to beg, 267, 275; အာတ်, āt

Ār, အာရ်, to go, 199, 241, 250, etc.; အာ, ā.

Imo', ဣမော်အ်, a name, 268; *cf.* himo' (plaque 4); ဣမု, imu; *cf.* Senoi, imo, imū; Khmer, jhmoh.

In, ဣန်, the god Indra, 1, 106, 111, 117, etc.; = M.T. and also အိန်, 'In.

'Ir, အိရ်, to leave the world, to become a recluse or a monk, 327; (?); it answers to the *Pāli*, pabbajati.

Īn, ဤန်, the god Indra, 223; *vide* In.

Īr, ဤရ်, 71, 114; *vide* 'ir.

'Īr, အီရ်, 34; *vide* īr and 'ir.

Udyā, ဥဒျာ, a garden, a pleasance, 224; ဥဒျာန်, udyān; from *Sanskrit* udyāna. *Cf.* uyyān, uyyāna.

Umaṅ, ဥမင်, a tunnel, 195, 200; = M.T

Umāṅ, ဥမာင်, 190; = umaṅ.

Ummaṅ, ဥမ္မင်, 196; = umaṅ.

Uyyān, ဥယျာန်, a garden, pleasance; 59; from *Pāli*, uyyāna. *Cf.* udyā.

Uyyāna, ဥယျာန, 143 = uyyān.

Usabha, ဥသဘ, a bull, 139; *Pāli.*

Odana, ဩဒန, cooked rice, food, 140; *Pāli.*

Or, ဩရ်, to send, to cause to, make to, 50, 211; ပ္ဍော်အ်, p-'ow.

Kakaṇḍaka, ကကဏ္ဍက, a chameleon, 147; *Pāli.*

Kña, ကြ, to invite, 32; = M.T., which has also the form ဉ, ña. The *h* in ñha may be due to the desire of preserving the notation of the proper vowel sound, that is *a* and not *ea;* there are numerous examples of this use of *h*.

Kattā, ကတ္တာ, one who does or performs, an agent, 279, 283; *Pāli.*

Kapalla, ကပလ္လ, fire-pan, 22; *Pāli.*

Kāl, ကာလ်, time, when, while, 5, 28, 52, etc.; *Pāli*, kāla.

Kāla, ကာလ = ကာလ်, 43.

Kās, ကာသ်, to shave, 65; ကး, kaḥ.

Kin-uy, ကိန်ဥယ်, medicine, 117, 118; ဂဲ့ and ဂအဲ့, ga-uuai and ga-'uai.

Kiṅkan, ကိင်္ခန်, to instruct, inform, explain, 181, 214, 226; ဂန်, gagan. *Cf.* kinkan.

Kiṅkāl, ကိင်္ခာလ် = kiṅkan, 244; *cf.* kinkāl.

Kinkan, ကိန်ကန် = kiṅkan, 62, 197.

Kinkāl, ကိန်ကာလ် = kiṅkan, 344; *cf.* kiṅkāl.

Kinta, ကိန္တ, before, in front, 388; a variant of kanta; ဂတာ, gatā.

Kindaṁ, ကိန္ဒံ, to do, make, build, 124, 186; ကန္ဒံ, kanhaṁ.

Kindar, ကိန္ဒရ်, a wife, 132, 226, 364, 365; ကလတ်, kalaw.

Kir, ကိရ်, to dig, 190; ကွိ, ကွိ, kwuiw, twuiw. with infix *w*.

Kirmin, ကိရ်မိန်, regal state, the magnificence and enjoyment of such a state, 229; ကွိန်, kmin.

Kiryā, ကိရ္ယာ, articles of dress, ornaments, 120, 171, 270, 271, 387, etc.; ကြိယ္ယာ, kriyyā; from *Pāli*, kiriyā, kriyā.

Kil, ကိလ်, to give, bestow, 158, 229, 230, 245, etc.; ကို, kuiw.

Kīnrom, ကီန်ရောမ်, under, 168; (?); this points to a form, *krom, not met with, but compare *Khmer*, karom.

Kīlābhaṇḍaka, ကီသာဘဏ္ဍက, toy, 10; *Pāli*, for kīḷā . . . .

Kú, ကု, with, and, to, 9, 13, 16, 35, 37 40, etc.; = M.T.

Kukkuṭa, ကုက္ကုဋ်, a cock, 137; *Pāli*.

Kuta, ကုတ, to turn, turn round, turn back, 289; ဂတ, gata. The 15th century Talaing is also ဂတ။

Kuntimāra, ကုန္တိမာရ, the river Kontimāra, 307.

Kumlac, ကုမ္လစ်, thief, 5; ကမ္လတ်, kamlat.

Kumār, ကုမာရ်, a prince, 335, 339, etc.; *Pāli*, kumāra.

Kumin, ကုမိန်, accession to the throne, and as verb, to make king, enthronize, 25, 206, 217, 221. *Cf.* kirmun and kirmin, and the modern ကွိန်, kmin.

Kurow, ကုရော်, to turn the back on, to return, go back, 318, 358; ကရ, karau.

Ket, ကေတ်, to take, 26, 77, 146, etc.; = M.T.

Kew, ကေဝ်, bright, clear, beautiful, happy, 100; = M.T.

Kewat, Kewatta, ကေဝတ်, ကေဝတ္တ, name of a person, 188, 179, *Pāli*, Kevaṭṭa.

Kon, ကောန်, son, child, 131, 206, 291, 341, etc.; = M.T.

Kaṁ, ကံ, an arrow, 81; = M.T.

Kaṁbār, ကံဗာရ်, a tank, pond, 125, 340; ကွာ, kmā.

Kḍañ, ကွည်, to bite, bite off, 342; (?).

Kḍip, ကွိပ်, the head, 135, 255; ကွိပ်, kḍuip.

Kmin, ကွိန်, to rule, reign, 105; = M.T.

Kruṅ, ကြုင်, river, 353 = M.T.

Kreṅ, ကြေင်, the eugenia tree, 352; = M.T.

Krow, ကြောဝ်, to wash, 156; ကြော်, krau.

Klaṁ, ကွံ, one hundred, 202; = M.T.

Kwil, ကွိလ်, cart, carriage, 133, 301; ကွိ, kwī.

Kwīl, ကွီလ်, a variant of kwil, 290, 294, 302.

K-seḥ, ကြွေး, a horse, 300, 355; ချွေ့, khyeh.

Khil, ခိလ်, to rush at in anger, to assault, 216; ခွိ, khuiw.

Khīra, ခီရ, milk, 7; *Pāli.*

Khut, ခုတ်, to call, to name, 50, 247; = M.T.

Gja', ဇာ်, to sit, 322; = M.T.

Gñi', ဍဳ်, to adorn, to be adorned, 30; ဍု, gñi.

Gadrabha, ဂဒြဘ, a donkey, 144; *Pāli.*

Ganthi, ဂန္ထိ, a knot; here a necklace of threads, 129; for *Pāli*, gaṇṭhi.

Gandhamādana, ဂန္ဓမာဒန, name of a mountain, 317; *Pāli.*

Gar, ဂရ်, the womb, 39; ဝ် and ဝေါ်, gaw and gow; from *Sanskrit*, garbha.

Gahak, ဂဟက်, an official, an officer, 49; *Pāli*, gāhaka.

Giri, ဂိရိ, a mountain, 308; *Pāli.*

Gulāñ, ဂုလာည်, to converse, speak, talk, 35, 80, 94, 111, 185, etc.; the modern ဂလာန်, galān, is regularly used as a noun, meaning: word, speech, conversation.

Gnakyāk, ဉကျာက်, queen, 50, 199, 282, 374, 376; = M.T.

Gnakyek, ဉကျေက်, a variant of gnakyāk, 72.

Gnun, ဉုန်, a woman's loincloth, 158; ဉုန်, gnin.

Grip, ဂြိ, forest, wood, wilderness, 82, 90, 91, 303, etc.; ဂြိ, gruip.

Glik, ဂျိက်, loincloth (in general), 155, 380; = M.T.

Ca, စ, to eat, 79, 154, 330; = M.T.

Caturas, စတုရသ, having four sides, square, 325; *Pāli*, caturassa.

Ciṅ, ဆင်, elephant, 275, 276, etc.; = M.T.

Cīṅ, ဆီင်, a variant of ciṅ, 13, 253.

Cip, ဆိ, to arrive, arrive at, come to, 306, 317, 319, 323, etc.; ချိ, cuip. *Cf.* the variant cup.

Cimī, ဆီ, to look forward, to look to expectantly, 332; စီ, camī. Haswell has လီ, lamī.

Cirmīl, ဆိရ်မိလ်, a variant of cimī, 370.

Cis, ဆိသ်, to descend, go down, 66, 276; ဆိဟ် and ဆေဟ်, cih and ceh.

Cup, ချုပ်, to arrive, 353; a variant of cip, *q.v.*

Culuṅ, ချုလုင်, the head, 375; စထုင် and သမ္ဗုင်, caluṅ and samluṅ.

Cow, ဆော်, to return, go back, 32, 182, 204, 237, etc.; ၆, cau.

Cnāykinloṅ, ဉာယ်ကိန်ဆောင်, an ornamental pin used to keep the hair or headdress in place, 321; the modern forms are several: ဉဝက်ခဲ

cnāaiknåṅ, ကွဲဝကန်ဒ်, cnāaikanhåṅ, ကွဲဝသန်ဒ်, cnāaisanhåṅ, တွဲဝန်ဒ်, tnāaikhnåṅ, သွဲဝကွဲဒ်, snāaiknåṅ, သွဲဝခန်ဒ်, snāaikhanhåṅ.

Cnāykīnloṅ, ကွာယ်ကီန်လောင်, a variant of last word, 53.

Crit, ကြိတ်, to draw a line; to draw a line by scratching, 74; ဝရိဒ် and ဝရိတ် caric and carit; another modern word of the same meaning is, သရက်, ဝရက်, sarak, carak, and the compound, ဝရိတ် ဝရက်, carit carak.

Chu, ချ, a tree, a plant, 369; = M.T.

Chu', ချအ်, same as chu, 305, 330.

Jak, ဇက်, to pull, draw, 232, 301; = M.T.

Janak, ဇနက်, King Mahājanaka, 38, 62, etc.

Jādisiṅ, ဇာဒိသိင်, lion, 350; ဇာဒိသိုင်, jādisuiṅ. *Cf.* Cambodian, soṅ.

Jālī, ဇာလီ, name of a prince, 333, etc.

Jilik, ဇိလိက်, to drive, 298; စလိုက်, ကလိုက်, caluik, kaluik.

Jilīt, ဇိလီတ်, to turn back and look, to look back, 347; the modern colloquial, ဂျိတ်, glit, is found in the expression ငဉ်ဂျိတ်, ṅewglit, to look back.

Juc, ဇုဉ်, the brahmin Jūjaka, 332, etc.

Jūc, ဇူဉ်, Jūjaka, 343.

Jūj, ဇူဇ်, Jūjaka, 342, 345.

Juṅ, ဇုင်, the feet, 156; ဇိုင်, juiṅ.

Jraṅ, ဇြင်, presence, in the presence of, near, 215; ဇရေင်, jareṅ.

Jrap, ဇြဝ်, a hall built on the roadside for the convenience of travellers, a rest-house, 122, 124, 311; = M.T.

Jrum, ဇြုံ, a snake, 14; = M.T.

Jreysum, ဇြေယ်သုဒ်, a banyan tree; 322; ဇြသုံ, jraisum.

Jlow, ဇွောဝ်, cattle, 128; ဇွ, glau.

Ñāc, ညာဉ်, to see, 61, 81, 231, 332; ညာတ်, ñāt.

Ñaḥ, ညး, a person, the people, 112, 166, 170, 209, etc.; = M.T.

Ḍāk, ဍာက်, water, 92, 361; = M.T.

Ḍuk, ဍုက်, to mount or ride a horse, etc., to go in a carriage, 291, 384: ဍိုက်, ḍuik.

Ḍuṅ, ဍုင်, city, town, 48, 177, 204, 297; = M.T.

Taṅglāy, ထင်္ဂျွယ်, molasses, 20; ထင်ကျဲ, taṅklāai. *Cf.* Burmese, ထန်လဲ, taṅlai.

Tanrow, တန်ရော်, road, way, 108; တရ်, tarau; see variant tinrow; there is a variant, cinrow, in the Pagan Talaing Inscriptions.

Tal, တတ်, to plant, 176; ထိုင်, tuiw.

Talāka, တဠာက, tank, pond, 142; for *Pāli* taḷāka.

Tāw, တော်, to dwell, live (in or at), to be (in a place), to be (doing something), 162, 210, 251, 314; တ်, tau.

Ti, တိ, the earth, ground, 28, 74, 177; = M.T.

Tit, တိတ်, to go out; also: away, off; 27, 39, 59, etc.; = M.T.

Titey, တိုးတေယ်, to take along with one, by holding the hand, as a child, or an animal with a rope, or a blind man by holding one end of his stick, etc., 87; ဒေ and ထေ, datai and thatai.

Tīt, တီတ်, a variant of tit, 385.

Tin, တိန်, to ascend, go up, 51, 88, 218, etc.; ထိုန်, tuin.

Tinrow, တိန်ရော်, road, way, 304, 316; တရ်, tarau. *Cf.* tanrow.

Tim, တိဒ်, to know, recognize, 236; = M.T.

Tuk, ထုက်, to draw water, 92; ≐ M.T.

Tun, ထုန်, to return, give back; return, come or go back to; back, again, 262, 297, 298, 335, 366; = M.T.

Tur, ထုရ်, to burn, be burning, 73; ထူ, tū.

Tuḥaḥ, ထုဟ်, to show, 73; ထူး, thḥaḥ.

Tol, ထောလ်, cotton, 130; ထော်, tow.

Tos, တောသ်, to preach, 37, 248, 258, 260; တွဲ, twah.

Tñāk, ထ္ညာက်, a parrot, 172, 173, 182; a variant of tñek.

Tñek, ထ္ညက်, a parrot, 181; တငဉ်က်, tañek.

Tmo, တ္မော, to turn round and round, over and over, to twirl, whirl, spin, 256; ထွဝ်, tmaw.

Tmo', တ္မောအ်, a rock, rocky hill, 88, 318, 354; ထွအ်, tma'.

Tyoḥ, ထျောဟ်, a clump of trees, of bushes, etc.; 337, 356; (?).

Truk, ထြုက်, mango, 60, 61; ကြုက်, kruk.

Trey, ထြေယ်, excellent, blessed, lord, 79; ကြဲ, trai.

Tlār, ထ္လာရ်, before, first, 291; က္လာ, klā.

Tluṅ, ထ္လုင်, to come, 23, 26, 164, 166, etc.; က္လုင် and also ဘ္လုင်, kluṅ and tluṅ.

Twāñ, ထွာည်, village, 309; ထွာန်, ကွာန်, twān, kwān.

Twās, ထွာသ်, a disciple, 36; ထွဲ, twaḥ.

Thar, ထရ်, gold, 123, 267, 284; ထဝ်, thaw.

Dak, ဒက်, to tie, bind, 343, 345; = M.T.

Daṇḍaka, ဒဏ္ဍက, stick, pole, 134; *Pāli.*

Danih, ဒနိဟ်, properly = a dry measure; a trough shaped like a canoe, as used in the East, 168; နှိဟ် and တ္နေဟ်, dnih and tneh. *Cf.* the *Pāli*, doṇi.

Dal, ဒဿ်, to shut, obstruct, bar, 350; ဒဒ်, daw.

Dān, ဒါန်, alms, almsgiving, 267, 271, 272, etc.; = M.T.; *Pāli*, dāna.

Dindu, ဒိန္ဒု, to instruct, 36, 75, 112; ဒလော်, dalo'.

Dirdas, ဒိရ်ဒသ်, the being born, the entering into a new state of existence, 220; ဒဒဟ်, dadah.

Dirhat, ဒိရ်ဟတ်, strength, 29, 201; ဒြဟတ်, ဒရ်ဟတ်, drahat and darhat.

Duṅ, ဒုင်, to receive, 75, 365; = M.T.

Duḍac, ဒုဍစ်, to whirl, turn round, spin, 256; ? ထဋိတ်, thaḍit.

Dewatāw, ဒေဝတာဝ်, a god, 6, 45; ဒေဝတ်, devatau; *Pāli*, devatā.

Dow, ဒေါ်, to run, flee, 122; ဒေါ်, dau.

Dos, ဒေါသ်, anger, 344; *Pāli*, dosa.

Dmoṅ, ဒ္မောင်, to dwell, remain, 168, 215, 265, etc.; ဒ္မံင်, dmåṅ.

Drep, ဒြေပ်, to run, 299; = M.T.

Dluṅ, ဒ္လုင်, a boat, 191; ဂ္လုင်, gluṅ.

Dhar, ဓရ်, the Law, Buddhist Law, 244, 258, 260; ဓဒ်, dhaw; *Sanskrit*, dharma.

Dharmma, ဓရ်မ္မ, same as dhar, 37.

Dhaṁmayut, ဓံမယုတ်, the Battle of the Law; for full explanation see under No. 178; *Pāli*, dhammayuddha.

Na, နာ, with, by, 183, 249, 267; = M.T.

Nagir, နဂိရ်, a town, city, 310; နာဂိ, nāguiw; *Pāli*, nagara.

Nadī, နဒီ, river, 307, 320; *Pāli.*

Narak, နရက်, hell, 109; *Pāli*, naraka.

Nā, နာ, away, 277; for full explanations see under this number; ထာ and နာ, ṭā and nā.

Nāg, နာဂ်, a nāga, serpent, 259, 260, 261; နာဿ်, nāk; *Pāli*, nāga.

Nāga, နာဂ, same as nāg, 237, 238.

Nāgabhow, နာဂဘောဝ်, the mansion or world of the nāgas, 237, 238; နာဂ ဘော်, nāgabhau.

Nāṭaka, နာဋက, a nautch, 24; *Pāli.*

Nār, နာရ်, the hermit Nārada, 240, 241.

Nārad, နာရဒ်, the hermit Nārada, 75.

Nāli, နာဠိ, the mountain Nālika, 323.

Niman, နိမန်, to invite, 1, 107; = M.T.

Nimit, နိမိတ်, to create, 235; နိမိတ်, လိုတ်, nimit, lmit.

Nor, နော်ရ်, from, 39, 66, 164, 177, etc.; နှ nū.

Pa, ပ, to do, make, 99, 119, 161, 178, 268; = M.T. *Cf.* the variant pa'.

Pkak, ထက်, to turn over, upside down, upset, 255; ပထက်, ဂထက်, batak, gatak.

Pkāw, ကျိဝ်, flower, 176, 356; ကျ, pkau.

Pcan, ဖန်, to send or leave a message or instructions, 33; ဗန် and ဖျန်, bacan and phyan; for the latter form see plaque No. 33.

Pcun, ဖျုန်, meat, flesh, 77, 78, 79, 127; ဖျုန်, phyun (see plaque No. 33).

Pañ, ပည်, to shoot with a bow, etc., 93; ပန်, pan.

Pañña, ပညာ, question, riddle, problem, 136, wrongly written for ပဉ္ဉာ, pañhā = M.T.; *Pāli*, pañha. *Cf.* prasna.

Pañhā, ပဉ္ဉာ, *vide* pañña, 134, 137, 138, etc.

Pañho, ပဉ္ဉော, same as pañhā, 148.

Paṭisan, ပဋိသန်, conception, 2, 38, 83, 115; ပဋိသန္ဓိ, paṭisandhi = *Pāli*.

Paṇḍit, ပဏ္ဍိတ်, a pandit, a clever and wise man, a scholar, 169; *Pāli*, paṇḍita.

Pat, ပတ်, to press with the hand, to squeeze; to shampoo, chafe, 375; = M.T.

Ptiṅ, ပ္တိင်, to beat the breast, in sorrow, etc., 72; connected with the modern adverb တိတိင်, tiṅtiṅ.

Ptīt, ပ္တီတ်, to cause to come out, 87; ပ္တိတ်, ptit; tīt is a variant of tit (*q.v.*).

Pdas, ပ္ဒသ်, to cause to be or become, to make, create, 253; ဒ္ဓတ်, bdah.

Pan, ပန်, four, 150, 166, 170; = M.T.

Pannasāl, ပန္နသာလ်, 381; *Pāli*, paṇṇasālā; see parnasāl.

Par, ပရ်, mountain; used only after proper names of mountains; 319, 323; ပဝ်, paw; from *Sanskrit*, parvata.

Parnasāl, ပရ်နသာလ်, a hut made of leaves, a hermitage, 328, 331, from the *Sanskrit*, parṇaçālā; the modern form, ပန္နသာ, pannasā, is from the *Pāli*, paṇṇasālā.

Paribbāc, ပရိဗ္ဗာဇ်, an ascetic, here = a female ascetic, 207, 208; ပရိဗ္ဗာတ်, ပရိဗိတ်, paribbāt, paribuit; *Pāli*, paribbājikā.

Parisut, ပရိသုတ်, birth, the bringing forth, 84, 116; = M.T.; *Sanskrit*, prasūti

Passenā, ပသ်သေန၁, to think of, remember, long for, 272; ဗဟ်သ္ဝာ, bah snā, but see note under plaque No. 272.

Pān, ပါန်, to ask leave, ask permission, beg, 225; = M.T. *Cf.* Burmese, ပန်, pan.

Pindoṅ, ဗိန္ဒောင်, to send, 171, 172, 192, 205, 294; ပထံင်, palåṅ.

Pinriṅ, ဗိရြင်, news, 173; ပရိုင်, paruiṅ.

Pinrih, ဗိန်ရိတ်, to minister to, take care of, attend on, 89; (?); corresponds to *Pāli*, paṭijaggati.

Pīlayak, ဗီလယက်, King Piliyakkha, 96.

Pīḷayak, ဗီဠယက်, *ibid.*, 95.

Puṅ, ပုင်, rice, 157; = M.T.

Pujāw, ပုဇော်, to offer something as an homage, to do homage, 96, 202; ပူဇ, pūjau.

Puṇṇayak, ပုဏ္ဏယက်, the Yakkha Puṇṇa, 246, 247, etc.; this form is from the *Pāli*. *Cf.* purṇa.

Pubar, ပုဗရ်, to show, exhibit, 195; a causal: pu + bar (*q.v.*); ပဗိုု, ဗဗိုု, pabuiw, babuiw.

Pumun, ပုမုန်, to invite, to beg, entreat, 203: related to the colloquial ဂမန်, gaman.

Purṇa, ပုရ်ဏ, Purṇa the Yakkha, 243; this is the *Sanskrit* form. *Cf.* puṇṇayak.

Puwak, ပုတ်, a companion, a follower, 121; ဗွတ်, ဘတ်, bwak, bhawak.

Pūwakhajja, ပူဝခဇ္ဇ, cakes, 8; *Pāli*, pūvakhajja. See Appendix B, No. 8.

Paṁcāl, ပံစာလ်, Uttarapañcāla, 184.

Pa', ပအ်, to do, make, 4; a variant of pa.

Pḍey, ပ္ဍေယ်, in, into; 311; ဲ့, pḍai.

Pnāṅ, ပ္နာင်, lamp, candle, 19; = M.T.

Pyuṅ, ပ္ယုင်, to show, 97, 316; ပ္ရုင်, pñuṅ.

Prasnā, ပြသ္နာ, a question, problem, riddle, 144, 152; *Sanskrit*, praçna. *Cf.* pañhā.

Prāsād, ပြာသာဒ်, a building with superposed roofs, a palace, 51, 386; ပြာသာတ်, prāsāt; *Sanskrit*, prāsāda.

Plit, ပ္လိတ်, to swoon, 359; the M.T. ပ္လုတ်, pluit = to become extinguished.

Phum, ဖုမ်, to bathe, 86; = M.T.

Phūṁ, ဖူံ, 85; a variant of phum.

Phaṁ, ဖံ, a drum, 18; = M.T.

Balrat, ဗလ်ရတ်, ? 388. See Index B, No. 388.

Bar, ဗရ်, to look, 200; ဖို, buiw; see variant, bir.

Bāt, ဗါတ်, to hide, 337; (?); it answers to the *Pāli*, nilīyati. The Hokkien dialect, for to hide, conceal, has bāt; the Amoy dialect, bat; in Annamese, māt.

Bicār, ဗစာရ်, to investigate, decide cases; a case (at law); to arrange; 126, 128, 132, 210, etc.; *Pāli*, vicāreti.

Bintāṅ, ဗိန္တာင်, white, 277; ဘာင်, btāṅ.

Bimnaḥ, ဗိမ္ဗး, a Brahmin, 275, 309, 363; ဗမ္ဗး, bamnaḥ. *Cf.* the variant bumnaḥ, and with this the Burmese, ပုဏ္ဏား, puṇṇā[3].

Bir, ဗိရ်, to look, 109, 297; ဖို, buiw. *Cf.* bar.

Birbeṅ, ဗိရ်ဗေင်, the begging-bowl of a monk, 64; ဗဗေင်, babeṅ.

Bisek, ဗိသေက်, to consecrate king by pouring water on the head, 382, 383; ပသေက်, pasek.

Biḥat, ဗိဟတ်, to try, test, 9, 13, 160, 201, 254; ဗဟတ်, baḥat.

Buton, ဗုဒ္ဓေါန်, to teach, instruct, 150; ဗွန်, bton.

Bulāḥ, ဗုလား, to set free, let go, 170; ဗလး, balaḥ.

Buhic, ဗုဟိစ်, to fear, to frighten, 252, 334; ဗဟက်, bahek, and ဖက် (a contraction of ဗဟက်), phek.

Bumnaḥ, ဗုမ္ဗး, a brahmin, 227, 229, 230, a variant of bimnaḥ; ဗမ္ဗး, bamnaḥ. *Cf.* Burmese, ပုဏ္ဏား, puṇṇā[3].

Būy, ဗူယ်, (?); see under 349. Perhaps it is tūy, တူယ်

Boy, ဗောယ်, by, to, towards, from, about, 199, 299, 358; ဖွ, bwai.

Bhūridat, ဘူရိဒတ်, the Bodhisattva Bhūridatta, 219, etc.

Bhojana, ဘောဇန, food, 11, ဘောဇုန်, bhojuin; *Pāli*.

Bhow, ဘော်, mansion, world, 228; ဘဝ်, bhau.

Bram, ဗြမ်, to capsize, as a boat, 43; = M.T.

Bralok, ဗြဟ္မလောက်, a contraction of brahmaloka, 241.

Ma, မ, a particle which may be translated by "who, which, where"; sometimes, perhaps, also by a present participle; 34, 71, 73, 114, 301, etc.; the modern is used also somewhat differently.

Maṅ, မင်, to keep, watch, observe, 224, 225; = M.T.

Maṅgala, မင်္ဂလ, a religious ceremony; marriage, 161; = M.T.; *Pāli*.

Maṇi, မဏိ, a precious stone, jewel, 138, 230; *Pāli*.

Maṇika, မဏိက, same as maṇi, 146. *Cf.* manik.

Man, မန်, to advise, give advice; see No. 293.

Manik, မနိက်, same as maṇika, 263; = M.T.

Manis, မနိသ်, a man, 235; မ္နိတ်, mnih; from *Pāli*, manussa.

May, မယ်, to look, 273; see under mey.

Mahā, မဟာ, great, large, 280, 293; မှာ, mhā, pronounced both *mhā* and *mahā*.

Mahājan, မဟာဇန်, the people, 293; = M.T.; *Pāli*, mahājana.

Mahos, မဟောသဓ်, the Bodhisattva Mahosadha, 115, etc.; now written မဟော သဓ in full, and မှုတ်သဓ, Mhuhsadha.

Mātula, မာတုလ, uncle, 310; *Pāli*.

Mān, မာန်, a potter, 162, 164; လမာန်, laman; မာန် is now used only as a verb = to make pots.

Migā, မိဂါ, name of a hermit, Migājina, 76.

Miṇḍa, မိဏ္ဍ, a goat, 149, for *Pāli*, meṇḍa.

Minmin, မိန်မိန်, a nurse, 269; မိန် and မိန်, mimin and mamin.

Mucalin, မုစလိန်, the lake Mucalinda, 324.

Mun, မုန်, to tell, inform, apprise, notify, 42, 90, 159, 183, 213 = to entreat, supplicate; (?); see munas, pumun, munpān, pān.

Mun pāṅ, မုန် ပါန်, to beg leave respectfully, 225; mun seems to have fallen into oblivion; pān (*q.v.*) is still used colloquially.

Munas, မုနသ်, to tell, inform, 279, 283; (?); see mun.

Mey, မေယ်, to look, 46, 60, 104, etc.; မဲ and မွဲ, mai and mwai; the latter form is more commonly used. See may.

Mḍac, မ္ဍဒ်, to be angry; *cf.* M.T., မဏတ်, maṇat; *vide* plaque No. 180.

Yac, ယဒ်, a sacrifice, 215; ယတ်, yat; *Pāli*, yaja.

Yāgu, ယာဂု, rice-gruel, 154; = M.T.; *Pāli*.

Yāc, ယာဒ်, a beggar, 299; *Pāli*, yācaka: this word is now used in its full form, ယာစက, as in Burmese.

Yām, ယာဒ်, to weep, cry, 95, 98, 348; = M.T.

Yok, ယောက်, to lift up, to carry in the arms, 45, 360; ယိုက်, ယောက်, yuik, yok; the first form is the more common.

Raṅ, ရင်, to convey, carry, bring, 64, 173, 246, 259; not now used by itself, but in composition. See rāṅ.

Raṅ, ရင်, shed, booth, hut, a building of any sort, 388; a variant of ruṅ; ရုံ and ရွိင်, ruṁ and ruiṅ.

Raṅtluṅ, ရင်တ္လုင်, "to carry and come," to bring, 290; = M.T. See plaque No. 5.

Rat, ရတ်, precious stones, precious things, 296; = M.T.; *Pāli*, ratana.

Ramaṅ, ရမင်, red deer, 301; မင်, maṅ. *Cf.* Burmese, သမင်, samaṅ.

Raleḥ, ရလေး, to cause to dance, 233; ပလေတ်, paleh.

Rahas, ရဟတ်, a secret, 167; *Pāli*, rahassa.

Rājawasati, ရာဇဝသတိ, rules for courtiers to obtain honours at court, 248; *Pāli*.

Rājā, ရာဇာ, king, 33, 34, etc.; *Pāli*.

Rāṅ, ရင်, to carry, convey, 5, a variant of raṅ. See raṅtluṅ.

Rin, ရိန်, to lead away, take along with one, convey, 27, 250, 261, 343, 346; (?).

Risi, ရိသိ, a hermit, a rishi, 36, 239, etc.; = M.T.; *Sanskrit*, ṛṣi.

Rup, ရုပ်, form, appearance, 235; = M.T.; *Pāli*, rūpa.

Rusāl, ရုဿာလ်, to lay, place, put, 360; သာ, sā, *vide* plaque No. 360.

Laksan, လက္ခဏ်, marks, signs, 46, 104; ထက်သန်, laksan, and လက္ခဏ်, lakyan (pronounced *laksan*).

Luṅow, လုငေါ့, to be retired, solitary, lonely, 63; လု, luṅu.

Lukow, လုကော်, to break, 78; ထော်, kaw.

Let, လေတ်, to smear, 157; = M.T.

Lot, လောတ်, to fall, 359, 378; = M.T.

Lop, လောပ်, to enter, 48, 82, 91, 122, etc.; လုပ်, လောပ်, lup, lop; the first form is the more common.

Lṅor, လ္ငော်, to salute respectfully, make obeisance, 101, 145, 373, etc.; လ္ငော်, lṅow.

Waddhaki, ဝဒ္ဓကိ, a carpenter, 191; *Pāli*.

Wāṅ, ဝါင်, to go out to meet, 193, 333; now used only in the compounds, having the same meaning, ဝါင်းငှါင်, ဝါင်းငှါင်းဖွဲ့, wāṅ duṅ, wāṅ duṅ tluṅ.

Wāluka, ဝါလုက, sand, 141; *Pāli*, vālukā.

Wiñ, ဝိည်, to play, 40, 121; ဝင်, weṅ.

Widih, Widiḥ, and Wideh, ဝိဒိ, ဝိဒိး, ဝိဒေတ်, King Vedeha, 197, 195, 206.

Widhir, ဝိဓိရ်, the Bodhisattva Vidhūra, 242, 245, etc.

Wimaṁsa, ဝိမတိ, trial, 7; *Pāli*, vīmaṁsā.

Wimaṁsana, ဝိမတိန်, trial, investigation, 8; *Pāli*, vīmaṁsana.

Wimān, ဝိမာန်, mansion, 110; ဝိမာန်, ဝိုမာန်, wimān, lwīmān; *Pāli*, vimāna.

Wissantar, ဝိဿန္တရ်, King Vessantara, 285, 292.

Weṅ, ဝင်, to go about, wander, roam; to go to; to visit, 163, 192; = M.T. See under plaque No. 163.

Wec, ဝေၚ်, to admonish, instruct, 23; ဝေတ်, wet.

Wepula, ဝေပုထ, the Vipula Mountain, 319.

Wesantar, Wesaṁtar, King Vessantara, 266, 281.

S(a), si, su, သ, သိ, သု; on these prefixes, which denote the future and the causal, see plaques Nos. 64 and 85.

Skil, သ္ကိတ်, to give, will give, 267; သ္ကိုၚ်, skuiw. *Cf.* sikil.

Saṅ, သင်, a conch, 17; still used in the compound, ကဏ္ဍသင်, kaṇḍusaṅ, conch; *Pāli*, saṅkha.

Scis, သိုသ်, to descend, go down, 28; သိုတ်, သျော်, scih, sceh. *Vide* cis.

Saccakiryā, သစ္စကိရိယာ, an act of asseveration, 99; = M.T.; *Pāli*, saccakiriya.

Sacchu, သစ္ဆု, a fruit, 9; သတ်သု, သစ္ဆု, satchu, sacchu.

Sacchu', သစ္ဆုအ်, 305, 330; a variant of sacchu.

Sjīñ, သျှီည်, to sew, stitch, 155; သျှိင်, ဇိင်, sjiṅ, jiṅ.

Stik, သ္တိက်, to sleep, 369; သ္တိက်, ထိက်, stik, tik.

Sthān, သ္ထာန်, a place, 49; ထာန်, thān; *Sanskrit*, sthāna.

Samajja, သမဇ္ဇ, a mime, 15; *Pāli*.

Sārathī, သာရထိ, a driver, coachman, 26, 31; *Pāli*.

Sālikā, သာလိကာ, the minah bird, 182; *Pāli*.

Sik, သိက်, an error for sdik, *q.v.*

Sikil, သိကိတ်, to give, 64; သ္ကိုၚ်, skuiw.

Siṅko', သိင်္ကော်အ်, a grey hair, 113; သော်ကအ်, sok ka', in which sok = hair, and ka' = Old Talaing siṅko' (prefix *s* and infix *in*).

Sip, သိဝ်, to attend respectfully on, 286; သိဝ်ဂျိဝ်, sipglip.

Simmāñ, သိမ်မာည်, a question, 165; သ္မာန်, smān. *Cf.* the variant summāñ.

Sil, သိလ်, = sīl, 225.

Sīl, သီလ်, the Buddhist precepts, 224; သီ, sī; *Pāli*, sīla.

Su-er, သုဂေရ်, to look, look at in expectation, 169; ?

Sutīk, သုထိက်, to put to sleep, 85; သ္တိက်, stik.

Supar, သုပရ်, the garuḷa bird, 86; သပဝ်, sapaw; *Sanskrit*, suparṇa.

Supān, သုပါန်, stairs, ladder, 186; *Pāli*, sopāna.

Suruh, သုရုတ်, to fall, cause to fall, 127; သရှိတ်, saruih.

Summāñ, သုမ္မာည်, a question, 223, 242; သ္မာန်, smān. *Cf.* the variant simmāñ.

Soh, သောဟ်, to answer, solve, 152, 165; သတ်, sah.

Soḥ, သေား, a variant of soh, 223, 242.

S-ār, သွား၎, to go, will go, about to go, 183, 225, 249, 285. *Cf.* plaque No. 64.

Samwat, သံဝတ်, a child, 40, 80, 338; သဝတ်, samat.

Saḥ, သး, to pour, 361; သိတ်, သောတ်, suih, soh.

Snāk, သ္နာက်, a sword, 16; = M.T.

Sṅi, သ္ငီ, house, 66, 187, 188, etc.; = M.T.

Sṅi', သ္ငီအ်, a variant of sṅi, 264, 274.

Sḍik, သ္ဍိက်, to be pleased, take pleasure in, 278, where it is, by inadvertence, written sik; = M.T.

Smāñ, သ္မာည်, to ask, to question, inquire, 31, 41, 52, 106, etc.; သ္မာန်, smān.

Smiṅ, သ္မိင်, king, prince, 35, 37, 59, etc.; = M.T.

Syām, သ္ယာမ်, the Bodhisattva Çyāma, 83; *Sanskrit*, Çyāma.

Slop, သ္လောပ်, to enter, will enter, about to enter, 90, 189; သ္လုပ် and သ္လောပ်, slup and slop.

Swar, သွရ်, heaven, 110, 218; သွာ်, swaw; *Sanskrit*, svarga.

Han, ဟန်, in, at, on, to, 28, 224, 285, 287, 337. *Cf.* hin.

Haḍak, ဟဍက်, filth, foeces, 21. *Cf.* colloquial, ဟိဍာ်, hiḍāk, and the literary form, သ္ငီဍာက်, sṅiḍāk.

Himo', ဟိမောအ်, a name, 4, 119; ဟိမု, himu. *Cf.* variant imo'.

Hin, ဟိန်, in, at, on, to, 33, 42, 265, 369, 372, 377. *Cf.* han.

Ḅas, ဗသ်, to pluck, as flowers, fruits, 305; ဗတ်, ḅah.

Ḅār, ဗာရ်, two, 294; ဗာ, ḅā.

Ḅās, ဗာသ်, to change, 380; ဗး, ḅaḥ.

APPENDIX B.

Additional remarks on a few words.

It was but to be expected that, even with the help of the Jātakas in Pāli, Talaing and Burmese, some words and expressions in these plaques would present some difficulty either in fixing their meaning or in tracing their modern equivalents; these words have been, on the whole, few. I sent a list of them to my learned friends, the well-known Talaing scholars, Mr. C. O. Blagden and Rev. R. Halliday, asking their opinions. Their learning has proved very useful, and my thanks are due to them for their ever-ready help. A few of their suggestions have been noted in the body of the work and duly acknowledged. But others could not be so included as the book was in final proof and practically ready to be struck off; these are given and discussed below.

No. 8 (p. 4)—P ū w a k h a j j a n a w i m a ṅ s a n a; I had first written this p ū w a k h a j j a n a w i m a ṅ s a n a; but, as Blagden makes me remark, n a cannot here be taken as the Talaing preposition; the other two words would have to change places; this is true, and the whole expression must therefore be written as a compound, in one word. But the form k h a j j a n a exists neither in Pāli nor in Sanskrit. The n a between the two words is probably an error of the scribe. The reader will have remarked that errors, due perhaps to inattention of the workmen in copying, have been noted in several places. Some examples of such errors occur in the Burmese face of the Myazedī inscription pillar.[1]

No. 21 (p. 7)—H a ḍ a k. Blagden remarks:—"The modern form s ṅ i d ā k may be 'popular etymology.' It must be, if the 11th century h a ḍ a k is to be equated with the modern h i ḍ ā k, for there is no reason to suppose that s ṅ i was pronounced like h a or h i at that early date." In this case, the difficulty is to find the modern equivalent of h a ḍ a k, for there can be no doubt as to its meaning, which is exactly that of the literary s ṅ i ḍ ā k and its corresponding colloquial h i ḍ ā k.

[1] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part I.

No. 36 (p. 12)—Dindu. Blagden and Halliday confirm the equation dindu = dalo'; the change of medial *nd* to medial *l* is frequent and regular, *e.g.*, kandar = kalaw; dindiṅ = daliṅ.

No. 78 (p. 27)—Lukow. I take this word to mean "to break" and refer it to the modern kàw. Blagden says that it seems to mean "to take," and refers to a word lukow in his inscription I E, line 35.[1] But if it means "to take" then the plaques repeat themselves, for the previous plaque, No. 77, reads: Jànak ket pcun, "Janaka takes (ket) the meat." So that it is clear that, in so far at least as this plaque is concerned, lukow does not mean "to take"; as explained under No. 78, Janaka is represented in the act of breaking a long piece of meat and putting it in his almsbowl. I am not sure of the exact meaning of lukow in inscription I E, 35; but the sense of the whole phrase, spa lukow tey, is quite clear, and in this context means: "to make subordinate, bring into subjection, subdue, confiscate, etc."; lukow tey is a compound as is shown by the verb spa, "to do, to make," preceding it, and lukow therefore is a verb used substantively, as is so often the case in Môn. It may be compared with another word of similar import, skem, which means "to grasp, seize, clinch"; skem tai, "to clinch in the hand, grasp with the hand," and as a noun "grasping with the hand, hence: power, control"; and plop skem tai = to bring within one's grasp, under one's control, to confiscate; the underlying idea in lukow tey is probably somewhat cognate in sense. The several modes of the same action are most often expressed by different words, and though in spa lukow tey, lukow may mean "to take," we do not know to which mode of "taking" it refers. But our plaque does not mean "Janaka takes (lukow) the meat," for this has been said in the previous plaques: Janak ket pcun.

No. 89 (p. 31)—Pinrih. The modern form of this word has not been found as yet. Halliday proposes saṅruih (သင်္ဂြိတ်); but the reading of the plaque is clear, the first letter is *p*; saṅruih means generally: "to help, aid, give aid" spiritually and materially, and is from the Sanskrit saṅgraha. Pinrih renders the Pāli paṭijaggati in the corresponding passage = to tend, minister to, look after. As Blagden remarks, pinrih would regularly become, in modern Talaing, paruih or baruih (ပရြိတ်, ဗရြိတ်); but this word, if extant, has not yet been found in this sense. I am

[1] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 105.

inclined to think pinrih and saṅruih are not connected. Blagden refers to a word, pureḥ, found in his inscription No. VIII, line 9,[1] which means "to give to, provide things to," in the passage, blaḥgoḥ ut tarley saṅgha . . . smiṅ Ś.T. goḥ pureḥ na paccey pan = "Thereafter, all the lords of the Church . . . King Srī Tribhuvanādityadhammarājā presented with the four necessaries." Pureḥ would probably become, in modern Talaing, pareh. Pinrih and pureh may perhaps be etymologically related.

No. 106 (p. 35)—In smāñ Nemī. As it is Nemī who puts the question one should have expected the words to be reversed and the sentence to run: Nemī smāñ In. But there is another legend similarly constructed at No. 175 (p. 60), Maho smāñ smiṅ, in which we should expect Maho and smiṅ to change places. This construction may be explained in two ways. First, the verb smāñ may be taken as used in a passive sense; or, if it be active, the word before it is its object, for it is not an absolute rule for the object to come only after the verb; it is true that, when it comes before, whether it be a single word or a whole sentence, it is indicated by the word gah, which may have been left out in a pithy legend which is merely indicative of the scene depicted above it. To the people, who knew these stories perfectly, such a sentence presented no difficulty of interpretation. Or then it may be, but I do not think so, that the scribe muddled these two sentences and put the cart before the horse.

No. 169 (p. 57)—Śu-er. There is no doubt about the meaning of this word as gathered from the interconnection of the scenes and from the story itself. I have doubtfully suggested that its modern equivalent might perhaps be sṅew (p. 58); Halliday and Blagden are also very doubtful about it; the difficulty, if it be sṅew, is to explain the ṅ. Regularly, this word would become in M.T. s-'ew (ဆော်).

No. 272 (p. 103)—Passenā. On further examination of the plaque, the reading appears to me to be really passenā, which I think we must, for the present, accept as the equivalent of the modern bahsnā; the scene on the plaque and the context require this word, or one with a cognate meaning. I know of no Pāli word with a meaning approaching that of bahsnā from which passenā could be derived. Blagden refers to a note of Huber in *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1913, No. 7, p. 12, in which he derives

[1] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 157.

bahsnā from Pāli *vāsanā*, adding that, if such be the case, it seems unlikely that the same word would appear in the 11th century as passenā; this is of course not impossible. But it is remarkable that the Talaings should use the word vāsanā unchanged with its meaning of "an inclination or liking for something, produced by the impression unconsciously left on the mind by good or bad deeds performed in previous existences," and should have "Talainized" it for its meaning of "thinking of, longing for." This process is not impossible, but so far as I remember, I have not come across another example.

No. 298 (p. 113)—Jilik. The photograph seems to read jilirka, but this is due to a flake in the glaze.

No. 342 (p. 127)—Kḍañ. This in M.T. would become kḍan or tḍan, forms which have not been found. Halliday sends the following note about juk lot (Sudh. 21. 16) quoted as example under this word:—"Juk lot is commonly applied to 'drawn wire'; lot being a 'draw plate'; juklotsnām means a 'thong.' In the passage you quote from Sudh. 21. 16, the word snām is no doubt understood, and there is particular reference to its work of keeping the skin (snām) tight."

No. 293 (p. 111)—Nānār. This word is a real crux: I do not understand it I transcribe here Mr. Halliday's note:—"This is a real difficulty. I do not think that nānār can be translated 'going'; ṇā (sometimes nā, especially in composition) means 'taking, bearing or conveying' in some fashion away from the speaker. Nor do I think that nānā fits very well; ār seems to be used in the inscriptions regularly for ā, 'to go.' But there is a nār also which I think often represents ṇā. It is, however, apparently also used in another than its verbal sense, as for instance in the expression han nār. This expression seems to correspond to the han nek of the Pagan inscriptions, which I take to refer to the deference paid to the cult of the nāga or dragon in house-building. Nā very probably = ṇā as above defined and nār may be Blagden's nār of the inscriptions. Man no doubt = *manteti*."

No. 325 (p. 121)—Añca. This, Blagden tells me, is certainly from laca; *cf.* antūl = modern latū.

No. 388 (p. 141)—Balrat kinta rañ. The expression balrat here is also a crux. All I have said as to its meaning under this number is conjecture. The difficulty arises from the fact that this plaque is not in its

proper place; one is not even sure if it belong to the story of Vessantara rather than to another. The sequence of events being lost and therefore also the context, makes a crux of a word which, otherwise, might have presented no greater difficulty in fixing its meaning than a few others in these plaques. I had suggested also that balrat, read as two words, might mean, "to heap jewels or precious stones (= rat = ratana)"; bal with the meaning "to heap" has not yet been met with in old Môn documents; the modern word is baw, but this form could be derived from an old *bar as well as from bal. Kintarań, I then suggested, might mean "to bring before." All this was not very satisfactory; so far as I remember, there is no episode in these Ten Jātakas which could be referred to a woman bringing gems before some building or other. Moreover, besides there being no indication of precious stones in the plaque, the woman is depicted in the usual attitude of oriental salutation. I transcribe the notes from Mr. Blagden and Mr. Halliday; they both have given the same meaning to kinta rań, and I agree with them; but balrat is still doubtful. Blagden writes:—"I take kinta rań as two words = before (in front of) the shed or hut. Rań seems to mean any sort of shed, big or small. Kinta is quite common for gata, 'in front of.' Balrat certainly might mean 'heaping gems,' though I have not met bal in this sense in the old inscriptions, but only in the sense of bala, 'army.' In view of my interpretation of kinta rań, I do not think it can mean 'to knock,' and I feel quite sure that tinrań, 'door,' does not come into the question here at all." Halliday writes:—"I do not think kintarań can be identified with tarań (door), but I feel sure it is the same expression with variant spelling as Blagden has in inscription No. IX G, line 48.[1] I take kinta rań and kanta rań to represent modern muk rań, 'porch,' as in Haswell, but also 'hall of audience, hall of justice,' as in muk rań smiń. I take rań to be a variant of ruń[2] and ruiń, applied to a building of any kind almost (ruń pannasā is given as a translation of *pannasālā*). The clause in the inscription is clear: goḥ ma dmoń tau kanta rań = 'when they stood (or remained) at the portico (or the audience hall).' Balrat is another matter. From your description of the plaque it seems to me that words describing the woman's act of reverence are required here. As I was discussing your

[1] This inscription is in proof and will form Part I of Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*.

[2] With this *cf.* Burmese, rum, a shed, booth, godown, and rum[3], hall of justice.

phrase with the *uppajjhāai* (upajjhāya), there was a man taking leave of him. It was the action of the woman in the plate. They describe it as k a l a' a c ā. It might perhaps be b a l r a t has some such significance. I think it might be read b a w r a t, but how to give it the required meaning I do not know. Bal might be the Pāli *bali*, as in b a w s m u t, 'to make offerings to the spirits'; r a t might refer to the (three) gems."

The meaning of k i n t a r a ṅ as given in these two notes seems to be the most probable one. But b a l r a t is still obscure.

APPENDIX C-1.

Below will be found all the modern Talaing words given in the explanations of the plaques in illustrations of the Old Talaing words; I have also included the words contained in the sentences quoted from modern works. In the following list, words marked with an asterisk (*) are new words and are not in Haswell; those marked with a dagger (†) have been given by Haswell, but I have registered under them new meanings besides those given by Haswell. Those that have not any mark are the same as in Haswell. I have sometimes marked with the dagger such words as appear in Haswell under another form, but whose meaning is the same.

အကြာ, a k r ā, interval, space between, between; ၌အကြာ, between. *Cf.* Burmese, အကြား, a k r ā[3].

* အင်, A ṅ g a, name of a country in India, the present districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur in Northern Bengal.

အခိုင်, a k h i ṅ, time. *Cf.* Burmese, အချိန်, a k h y i n.

အခေါင်, a k h o ṅ, permission, leave. *Cf.* B., အခွင့်, a k h w a ṅ[1].

အစာ, a c ā, a teacher, a master. *Pāli*, ācariya.

* အဇ, a j a, manner, wise, way, illustration.

အတိက်, a t i k, past time, in time past, of yore, formerly. *Pāli*, atīta, atīte. *Cf.* Burmese, အတိတ်, a t i t.

အတိက်တေ, a t i k t e', same as အတိက်။

အတိုင်, a t u i ṅ, according to; အတိုင်ဝမ္ဗထာ, according to the usual way, to custom, Dhd. **21.** 9; အတိုင် ဒွိက်ဇထ္ထ, at one's wish or desire, at one's leisure, S.J. 20. *Cf.* Burm., အတိုင်း။

အဓိပ္ပါယ်, a d h i p p ā y, meaning, sense. *Pāli*, adhippāya.

အဓဲ, a m ā a i, the flesh of beasts, meat, game, venison, Dhd. **26.** 16, **354.** 15. *Cf.* B., အဓဲ, a m a i.

* အမိုက်, a m u i ṇ, a dry measure equal to eleven dronas (*vide* ဒ္ဓုတ်), A.V. 268; a trough for feeding cattle, S.M. 37.

* အမှု, a m h u, a case in a court of law, A.V. 192 = yutti. *Cf.* B., အမှု။

* အယောင်အထာ, a y o ṅ a l ā, appearance, likeness, S.B. 27.

* အယံဉအလာ, a y å ṅ a l ā, appearance, likeness, Dhd. 148. 9, 4; ဤဉ်သမးအယံဉ အလာကောန်ဒေဝတ်—"like in appearance unto a god."

အရှိန်, a r h u i n, the dawn, break of day. *Pāli*, aruṇa.

* အလမ္ဗဲ, a l a m b ā a i, a snake-charmer. *Pāli*, ālambayana, S. Vid. 20. *Cf.* B., အလမ္ဗဲ, a l a m b a i.

† အလုံ, a l u ṁ, whole, all, the whole, throughout, throughout the whole. *Cf.* B., အလုံး, a l u ṁ³.

* အလိုက်, a l u i k, one's own accord, of one's own accord; as according as; owing to, Sudh. 27. 18, 34. 3; Dhd. 240. 16. *Cf.* B., အလိုက်။

* အဝဲ, အွဲ, a w a i, age, any time of life. *Pāli*, vaya.

* အသင်္ကာ, a s a ṅ k ā, doubt, incertitude, misgiving; also သင်္ကာ။ *Pāli*, āsaṅkā.

* အသစ်, a s a w, wonderful, extraordinary, marvellous; a wonderful thing, a wonder, a marvel; ပအသစ်, to wonder; ပတ်အသစ်, to be wondering, to wonder, Sudh. 26. 5. *Skt.* āçcarya.

* အသး, A s a ḥ, name of a forest.

အာ, ā, to go; after another verb has often the meaning of becoming . . . , turning (into) . . " *Ex.*, ဒှအာ, d a h ā, to become; တ္လိဉ်အာ, t l i ṅ ā, to become lost; သ္ကဲအာ, s k a' ā, to turn grey (of the hair); လုၤအာ, l ṅ u ā, to become empty.

အာတ်, ā t, to ask, beg.

* အာတ်ပါန်, ā t p ā n, to ask, beg, implore. *Vide* ပါန်။

† အာဟာရ, ā h ā r a, food; from Pāli; Haswell has အဟာရ, a h ā r a.

* အိန်, 'I n, the god Indra. *Cf.* ဣန်။

အဲ, 'a i, I.

အဲဒိုက်, 'a i - ḍ i k, "I—slave," a respectful form of the pronoun I.

အောန်, 'o n, few, small in quantity, little; to be few or have little, often followed by ကို (with); အောန်ကိုအာဟာရ—"having had (but) little food."

အိုတ်, 'u i t, to be exhausted, finished, expended; hence: all, entire, whole; used also as a sign of the plural.

အိုတ်သို်, 'u i t - s u i m, all, entire, the whole. *Vide* သို်။ The Burmese ဥဿုံ, u s s u ṁ, with assimilation, is a loanword from the Talaing.

အဴ, 'a u, a respectful term of address = Sir, Madam, your Majesty, etc., and is always placed last in the sentence.

† ဣတေံ, i t e', there, yonder; "this," in this sense it is placed after the noun; you (polite and honorific); ဖွမသင်ရှိတ် ကုအဲ ဣတေံ ထွၤ—"will you please help me?", Dhd. 297. 13.

* ဣမု, i m u, name; named.

ဣဝ်ဒ်, i w w a', this.

ဣသိ i s i, a hermit. *Sanskrit*, ṛṣi. *Vide* ရိသိ။

* ဥပုတ်, u p u h, the Buddhist fast day, the sabbath. *Pāli*, uposatha.

ဥပး, u p a ḥ, a devout Buddhist layman. *Pāli*, upāsaka.

ဥပ္ပကာ, u p p a k ā, to take care of, look after. *Pāli*, upakāra.

* ဥမင်, u m a ṅ, a tunnel. *Pāli*, ummaṅga.

ဧကရာတ်, e k a r ā t, a king. *Pāli*, ekarājā.

ဥသဘ, u s a b h a, a bull, *Pāli*.

က, k a, a fish.

* ညိ, k ñ a, to invite. *Cf.* ညှ။, a very polite and reverential form of the imperative; ယံတိလဝိန်။ ညိကလင် စရင်ကုသိဝ်အဲဒိုက်—"O, Lord, be pleased to listen to my good deeds," Dhd. 160. 28.

† ကြီ၊ ထြိဝ်, k t u i w, to rise, arise, rise up; to awake some one, rouse; ထံကြီ၊ ကောန်ရ—"he did not rouse his son," S.B. 12, equivalent to the *Pāli*, pabodheti.

† ထြိဝ်ဒ်, ကြီန်, k t u i w d a h, to happen, take place; to be born, be reborn; ကောန်မြဲဒွကြီ၊ဒတ်ပုန်ရ—"a daughter again was born," S.B. 3; ကြီန်ဒွိတ်—"was reborn (as) a human being," Sudh. 9. 5.

* ကနဝ်, k a n a w, a kinnara, a kind of demi-god, half-man half-bird; there is also a form (rare), ကနရ်, k a n a r. *Pāli*, kinnara.

* ကနုင်ကြဂတ်, k a n u ṅ k r a g a t, a building with superposed roofs and a finial, a palace, a *prāsāda;* this word is found in the Nyaung-U Bell-inscription, 16th century. The modern form is တ္ဂါင်ကြကတ်, *q.v.*

† ကန်, k a n h a ṁ, to build; to do, to make; ကန်ပြကိုတ်, k a n h a ṁ p r a k u i h, to make a book, write a book; ကန်သွေက်ဒွိ၊, k a n h a ṁ s w e k j w u i w, to pick up a quarrel, to quarrel.

* ကမီ, k a m ī, roof, covering; to roof, A.V. 263 = chandana, covering, root; A.V. 94 = chādita, covered, roofed.

ကမ္ဘတ်, k a m l a t, a thief.

* ကရ်, k a r, a period or revolution of the world, a cycle, the world. *Sanskrit*, kalpa; this form, very rare, I found only in the Nyaung-U Bell-inscription (16th century), and is, I am inclined to think, not founded on false etymology, but rather shows that final *r* was at that time pronounced, or nearly pronounced, as final ဝ်; *aw* = ဝ်။ A form ကဝ်, k a l, is sometimes found, A.V. 16. 56; the modern form is ကဝ်, k a w, from ကဝ်။

† ကာ်, k a r a u, afterwards; to turn one's back on, turn round; to turn the back on in contempt. *Vide* ဩ။

ကရော်း, karau cah, to turn the back. *Vide* ကြော်း။

* ကလဝ်, kalaw, a wife; I have as yet found this word only in A.V. under: dāra. gharaṇī, jāyā, jārī, bhariyā, etc.; the Old Talaing is kindar.

† ကလေဉ်, kaleñ, to return; much used also as a verbal auxiliary in the sense of: back, backwards, behind; back, again, anew, in return; ကြံဖွံ့တုန် ကလေဉ်ချပ်—"and again, did he consider . . . ," S.V., folio *ghau;* ကြယ်ပူဂ္ဂိုလ်မြဲ။ ဟဲ့မင်မဲဝဒိတဲ့။ ဝဒိလေဝ်ထွံကလေဉ်မင်မဲပူဂ္ဂိုဂ်ကိုရ—"whosoever does not keep the Law, the Law, in return, does not keep him," Dhmd. 172. 1; ညံဉ်ပူဂ္ဂိုတူဒေါသထဲေပ်ာတ်ကိုညးတဲ့။ ရဝ်ကေတ်ခွိက်တိပက်ထာဗွဲဒဝးကျာတဲ့။ ခွိက်တိဂ်ရ် မကလေဉ်ကူဉ်ဒးမုက်ဇကုကို—"like the dust which an irascible man, angry with another, seizes and throws (in his face), it goes against the wind and comes back to himself," Dhd. 172. 26.

* ကလေဉ်ရုံဉ်, kaleñ rāñ, to look back, look backwards.

ကလော်, kalok, a demon, evil spirit.

* ကလိုက်, kaluik, to drive. *Vide* ဝလိုတ်။

* ကလိုလိဉ်, kaluiwliñ, a fire-fly.

* ကလ်, kal; *vide* under ကရ်. *Cf.* ကဝ်။

ကဝ်, kaw; *vide* under ကရ်။

* ကသာပ်, kasāp, coin, money. *Pāli*, kahāpaṇa; ဖွဲဗိကသာပ်ကိုကုအဲဦဉ်ရောဇာ—"how many coins will you give me, Sir?", Sudh. 3. 9.

ကသီ, kasī, to shake, tremble. *Cf.* ချီ။

ကသူ, kasū, to write, to paint. *Cf.* ချူ။

ကာလ, kāla, time; when. *Pāli;* ဓဲကာလ, at that time; ဓဲကာလဂ်, at that time; now, at that time.

ကု, ku, denotes the instrumental, with, by means of; the dative, to. *Cf.* ကို။

ကုသိုဝ်, kusuiw, merit, meritorious act. *Pāli*, kusala.

† ကေတ်, ket, to take; much used as an expletive implying that the action expressed by the verb is done with reference to the doer only, it is therefore the opposite of တိုန်, *q.v.*

ကော်ဏာ, ket ṇā, to take away, carry away.

† ကောန်, kon, child, children, son; young of an animal; the follower of a craft or profession; an inhabitant of; ကောန်ဗွါန်, *lit.* "son of the army" = a soldier; ကောန်ကွာန်, *lit.* "son of the village" = villager; ကောန်ဝုင်, "son of the city" = citizen; denotes anything small; ကောန်ခြံဝ်, a small rest-house; ကောန်ကြေဟ်, small gravel.

* ကောန်ဒေဝတ, kon devatau, "son of the gods" = a god; a literal translation of the *Pāli*, devaputta.

ကောန်ဗြ, kon brau, a female child, daughter.

* ကောန်ဗြသ္မိ, kon brau smiṅ; also ကောန် သ္မိ ဗြ, kon smiṅ brau (Haswell).

ကောန်သ္မိ, kon-smiṅ, son of a king, prince.

* ကောန်သ္မိဗျဲ, kon smiṅ blāai, a young prince.

ကောံကု, koṁ-ku, together, together with; the abbreviated form is ကုံ, ကုဝ်။ ကောံ, koṁ, by itself means: to gather together, collect, assemble.

ကုံ, koṁku; see above.

ကို, kuim, and; also; with.

† ကိုးကိုဝ်, kuiw, to give; as a verbal auxiliary, to cause to; ကိုအာ, caused (him) to go, sent him; ကို ဝိုက် ကို, caused (her) to mount the carriage; = let, သဝ်ဒ္ဂိကိုန္ဒိကို၎, and let it be so, S.B. 17; with; to.

* ကိုအာ, kuiw ā, to cause to go, to send.

* ကိုဒါန်, kuiw dān, to give alms.

† ကျုံ, kḍuip, the head: summit, top; ကျုံတ္ဂံ, kḍuip tma', the summit of a mountain.

ကျုံ, kḍuiṅ, an umbrella.

* ကျုံဗ္ဘာဉ်, kḍuiṅ btāṅ, the white umbrella, the ensign of royalty; hence it denotes the king himself; ယဝံဗံဒုံဖြဲ့ဖြူး အဇုံကုံမွဲကျုံဗ္ဘာဉ်သွးကျုံဖျိတ်ကျုံဝ်ကိုဒုံ ထဉ်—"if that drum was sounded, all the 101 kings had to come and bow their heads to him," Sudh. 21. 17; it is then used as a numeral suffix denoting kings as well as the countries over which they rule; သ္မိကောရုတ်ဂမ္ဘျုံဒ္ဆွံကျုံဗ္ဘာဉ်—"all the eight kings," Sudh. 38. 16; အဝ်ဇုံရး ကုံမွဲကျုံဗ္ဘာဉ်သက် ထု ဝါတ်ဂါတ်ဒ္ဂိမွဲ—"all the 101 countries were without quarrels, they were at one" (= united, ဒ္ဂိမွဲ), Sudh. 40. 10.

* ကွတ်, knat, end, extremity; last, final; ကွတ်ဘဝ, knat bhawa, the last existence, that is, the one in which one attains nirvāṇa, Dhd. 17. 16.

* ကွတ်တော့, knat tau, last, final; at last, at the end, in the end, in fine; after, afterwards; မွဲဘဝကွတ်တဲ—"in (his) last existence," Dhd. 60. 23; ကွတ်တဲတူအဲဂွံဒ္ဂိကျွဲဉီ—"may, in the end, my lord become the Buddha!", S.M. 9. 6; ဂရှင်ကျုင်တဲ့ ကွတ်တဲ မတောရောကိုဒေသရးမန်ဟောင်—"going about, came at last straight to the Môn country," Sudh. 29. 2. *Cf.* ကြတဲ။

* ကျိုဒ်, knip, the head; also: division or part of an army; မ္ဘါန်ပန်ကျိုဒ်—"an army in its fourfold division: infantry, cavalry, elephants, charioteers," S.J. (A), folio *ke*. Also ကွေဒ်, N.V.K. 3. 8.

* ကျိန်, k m i n, to govern, rule; သိုင်ကျိန် ၂၀ သွံ့တဲ့—"the king having ruled 28 years," Myazedi Inscription; government, rule; kingdom, country; ကျိန်ဂုးမန်ထံသာဝတ်ဦဲ့ဝုံင် ဗတိမုတြိထာကုဋ္ဌ "in Hanthawaddy, the Môn country, in the city called Tribakumba (Rangoon)," Sudh. 34. 24.

* ကျိန်ဝုံင်, k m i n ḍuṅ, "government or rule of the city"; hence, sovereignty, government; country, kingdom; ကျိန်ဝုံင် ကြိုင်ကျာင်—the kingdom, the country, U.O.K. 39. 5, 7. *Cf.* ကြိုင်ကျာင်။ at S.B. 1. 19 = *Pāli*, rajjaṁ = sovereignty, government; kingdom, country; ဆုတော်ထောဝ်ကျဲ့ ကျိန်ဝုံင်ဲ့—"he, having given up the sovereignty, or government, or kingdom," S.B. 24. 31; the corresponding *Pāli* (Jātaka. VI. 197. 1) is: rajjaṁ pahāya; ကျိန်ဝုံင် အယုဒ္ဓယာ ပုရိ—"the kingdom of Ayuthya"; S.T. 5 = royal state, royal power, etc.

ကျာ, k y ā, the wind; gas.

* ကျာတန်ကျာတ်, k y ā j ə m k ā t, a strong, fierce wind, or gas. *Vide* တန်ကျာတ်။

ကျင်, k y ā k, a god; a pagoda, a temple; a respectful term of address used in speaking to a superior.

* ကျင်တြဲ, k y ā k t r a i, the Blessed Buddha. *Vide* တြဲ။

* ကြိုက်, k r i k, the cotton tree = *Pāli*, simbali.

* ကြိယာဗာ, k r i y ā b ā, utensils, furniture, appendages; articles of dress or ornaments.

* ကြေတ်, k r e h, gravel.

ကြော်, k r a u, *vide* ကော်; ကြော်း = ကော်ဝ်း, *q.v.*

* ကြော်တဲ့, k r a u t a i, after, after that, then. *Cf.* ကွတ်တဲ့။

* ကြော်ဖွံ့, k r a u w w a', after this.

ကွင်, k l a ṅ, to be angular; an angle, a corner.

* ကွင်ဝဒ်, k l a ṅ d h a w, "a straight angle," that is, a right angle; ဝန်ကွင်ဝဒ်, having four right angles, square; တ္ဝံလးမြွန်ဒိုတတ်ဝန်ကွင်ဝဒ်—"a square, flat stone of ten cubits on each side," Sudh. 13. 5.

ကွတ်, k l a t, to steal. *Vide* တမ္ဗုတ်။

ကွာ်, k l a', a garden.

† ကွာ, k l ā, before; as a verbal auxiliary, often means, more, again, and in this sense corresponds to the Burmese suffix ဦး, ū[3] (pron. like the French *on* with a slight sound of the *n*); သို ဝံင်ကွာရ—"O, king, stay more (that is stay on), do not go just yet," S.B. 7. 10.

ကျိုဖွံ့, k l i g w a', to get, obtain.

ကျုင်, k l u ṅ, to come; often written ကျုင်, t l u ṅ.

† ကျဲ့, k l e', to be lost; to abandon a place to go to another, to leave; ကျဲ့ ဒဝါတဲ့—"having left Tavoy," Sudh. 35. 13; ကျဲ့ ဒုဂ္ဂါတဲ့—"having left

that place," *lit.* "having left from there," Sudh. 26. 20. As a verbal auxiliary, makes a neuter verb active; ဝဝ, g a w a, to be ashamed; ဝဝကွဲ့, to make ashamed, put to shame; ညဉ်ရ်သ်ဒ်ဒ္ဍ ကောန် ထ်ဒြ် ဝဝကွဲ့ရ—"In like manner, the princess put (the other officials) to shame," S.J. (A), folio *ke;* it is also much used after active or transitive verbs as an expletive; ဗဝက်, to cause to be destroyed, to rout; ဝဒ္ဍံ ဗဝက် ကွဲ့ပ္ပါန်မာ—"he routed Māra's army," Dhd. 35. 15.

ကွာန်, k w ā n, a village; also တွာန်, t w ā n.

ကွီ, k w ī, a chariot, carriage.

ကွဲ့, k w e h, truly, indeed; Haswell, by a slip, has entered it as ကွေအ်, k w e'.

* ကွိုုန်, k w u i n, to rise, arise, ascend; rising, a going up, ascent; from တုုန်, *q.v.* *Cf.* တွိုုန်။

* ကွိုုန်တဲ့, k w u i n t ṅ a i, the rising of the sun, sunrise.

ကွိုု, ကွိုုဝ်, k w u i w, a spade; the Old Talaing is ကိဝ်, k i r, to dig, and this would give a modern form, ကို, k u i w, which I have not found; but compare next word.

* ကွိုု, ကွိုုဝ်, k w u i w, to dig, dig into, dig out; to stir, disturb; cut, slash, *taillader*, in this last sense corresponds to Pāli, *kantati;* ဟိတ်ဆောန် ကိုအာထာရထုက်ထဒ္ဍိဝဲ့။ ချိုန်ခဏဒ္ဍိကျာဝမ္ဘာတ်ဒ္ဒဂ္ဂထိုက်ကွိုုကွိုုဝ်ကွဲ့ပ္ပုုန်ပြိတ်—"having had but little food for seven days, at that instant, fierce gases arose in her stomach and stirred *or* disturbed, *or* slashed, her heart," Dhd. 160. 2. The derivation is the same as ကွိုု, a spade. *Vide* ကွိုု။

ကွင်, k ḅ a ṅ, a boat, ship.

† ဝဝ, k h a c a, to wait upon respectfully, pay respect to, attend upon; pay court to; Haswell's entry, "to be a dependant," is not quite to the point. *Cf.* Burmese, ခဝ။

ခဏ, k h a ṇ a, a short time, a moment; ခဏဒ်, at that moment; also found written ကန်, k a n h a, as at Sudh. 17. 20, 22. 26. *Pāli.* See ချိုန်ခဏ။

ခါ, k h ā, when. *Cf.* Burmese, ခါ။ See ခါရ။

* ခါ, k h ā, if, indeed if; in this sense, is sometimes followed by ဓ္ဂ, m g a ḥ (= m a g a ḥ); ခါထွံါထွါန်ကိုသ္ဒံဝ်ဆကာသ—"if compared with the stars in the sky . . . ," Dhd. 33. 26; ဒ္ဍိတ်ဒြ်ထုုန်။ခါထ္ဒိုက်ဒ္ဒိုဒ္ဍိတ်ထြံဓ္ဂ—"now, a woman, if she wishes to become a man . . . ," Dhd. 324. 15; ခါဟဒ္ဒံကထံ ကွဲ့ဓ္ဂ—"if he do not ask pardon : . . ," Dhd. 17. 30.

* ခါရ, k h ā r a, when; if, indeed if; the ရ after is slightly emphatic; ခါရကျဒ်, ထြဲဒထိုက် ကွိုု အာဒ္ဍိ—"when the Blessed Buddha rose and went . . . ," Sudh. 13. 16.

ခုတ်, k h u t, to call, to name.

* ခုတ်ခ်, k h u t k h a u, to call, name.

* ခုတ်သင်္, k h u t l a w, to call, name; ခုတ်သင်္ထု, *ibid*. *Vide* သင်္, ထု။

* ၍, k h u i w, to rush at in anger, to assault. The Old Talaing is ၐင်, k h i l.

ခဎ္ဍင်္ဂမတ်, k h a ḍ a ṅ m a t, the eye-ball; Haswell, ဂဎ္ဍင်္ဂမတ်။

* ခ္ဓိက်, k h n i k, powder, dust.

* ခ္ဓိက်တိ, k h n i k t i, dust.

† ခ္မီ, k h m ī, a Buddhist monk; often found written ဂမ္ဘီ, g a m h ī, which is more in accordance with the Old Talaing g u ṁ - ī r (11th cent.), and the medieval, ဂန်ီ, g a m - ' ī (15th, 16th cent.).

† ချပ်, k h y a p, to reflect, consider; to intend, contrive; from a form, ကသပ်, ကျပ်, k a s a p, k s a p. *Cf*. ချီ, ချ။, ချေ။

ချီ, k h y ī, to tremble, shake; from a form, ကသီ, ကျီ, k a s ī, k s ī.

† ချ။, k h y ū, to write, to paint; from a form, ကသူ, ကျ။, k a s ū, k s ū.

ချေ, k h y e h, a horse; from a form, ကျေး, k s e ḥ.

* ချေသိန္ဓ, k h y e h s i n d h a u, a thorough-bred horse of Sindh. *Vide* သိန္ဓ။

ချုတ်, k h y u i t, to die. *Cf*. ဂဓိတ်, g a c u i t, to kill, and ဂ္ဓါတ်, g a m c u i t, death.

ချုန်ခဏ, k h y u i n k h a ṇ a, a moment, an instant; Hasw. = ချုန်ခန်။ *Vide* ခဏ။

ဂကန်, g a k a n, to instruct, give instructions, to direct. The Old Talaing is ကိုက်န်, ကိန်ကန်, k i ṅ k a n, k i n k a n. *Vide* ဗဝန်, ဗျန်။

* ဂကန်ဗျန်, g a k a n p h y a n = ဂကန်။

† ဂကော်ံ, g a k o ṁ, a collective body, community, company; an assemblage, collection, mass. *Vide* under ကော်ံကု။ ဂကော်ံသော်, g a k o ṁ s o k, "a mass of hair" = a chignon.

ဂဎဉ်, g a ṅ e ṅ, to go from place to place, itinerate, go about; ဗိသ္ဓိတ်ဂးဎဉ် ပျးဒိတ်သဝ်ညိဂးတဲ့—"(the Buddha) having said, we shall descend and go about prophesying."

ဇ်, g j a', to sit.

* ဍ, g ñ i, adorned, decorated; to adorn; an ornament.

* ဃထ, g a t a, to turn, turn round, turn towards; the Old Talaing is ကုထ, k u t a; 15th century inscriptions have ဂတ။

* ဃထမုက်, g a t a m u k, to turn the face towards; as adverb, facing, towards, in front; ဂတမုက် ကိုတောဝန်တဲ့။ ဗောဓိသတ် ဒသရ—"turning his face towards the Himalayas, the Bodhisattva went on his way," S.J. 66; ဂတန္ဒ

(= ထဲ၁) မုက်ဒွဲဖုတ်သွဝ်ကျာ—"turned his face towards the north," S.J. 40; ဂထမုက်ထွဲ—"(with) face turned towards the king, in front of the king, before the king," Sudh. 28. 12.

† ဂထက်, g a t a k, to turn over, upside down, upset; Old Talaing, ပ်က်, p k a k. *Cf.* Haswell, ဂထက်ခွဲ, to tumble. *Vide* ဗထက်။

ဂထေဝ်, g a t e w, to cry aloud.

* ဂထေဝ်ကြး, g a t e w k r a ḥ, to cry aloud, screech, scream.

* ဂထေဝ်ယံ, g a t e w y ā ṁ, to weep.

* ဂထိုး, g a t u i m, to beat, to strike (the breast).

* ဂထိုးဆြုတ်, g a t u i m s r u i h, to beat the breast.

* ဂဒူ, g a d ū, a covering made of leaves to protect the head, shoulder and back, from sun or rain; it covers the head and back, falling down to the hamstrings. *Cf.* Burmese, ကတ္တူ, k a t ū (pron. *kadū*).

* ဂမန်, g a m a n, to invite.

* ဂမာ, g a m ā, to suckle. *Cf.* ဗမာ, ဗမေထ်, ဂဖ်, မ်။

ဂဖ်, g a m a u, to suckle.

* ဂန္ဒီ, g a m -'ī, a monk; this is the medieval form, the old form = g u ṁ - ī r, and the modern form, ဂမ္ဒီ, g a m h ī, often found written ဒ္ဒီ, *q.v.*

ဂမ္ဒိုင်, g a m l u i ṅ, many; from ဒိုင်, *q.v.*, often used as a sign of the plural.

* ဂဝ်, g a w, the womb; foetus, embryo. From the *Sanskrit*, garbha; ထ္ဒိုင် ဂဝ်, "heaviness of the womb," grossesse; to be pregnant, G. pi. **II.** 3. Sometimes written ဂါဝ်. *Cf.* Haswell, ဂဝ်ဒ်, ဥဂဝ်။ Also found written ဂရ် sometimes.

* ဂဝ်ဍ, g a w g n a u, embryo, foetus; မြွန္ဒုံ ထ္ဒီဂဝ်ဍ—"a woman who has an embryo," a woman with child, A.V. 32 (āpannasattā); သတ်မတန်ဂရ်ဖွဍ —"a being in (whose) womb dwells a foetus," a woman with child, A.V. 59 (kalala); here, ဂရ်, g a r, is the old form found on the Ānanda plaques, but also found sometimes so written in manuscripts.

† ဂဟ်, ဒ်, g a h, that; also a sign of the accusative case before the verb; it is often emphatic, laying a stress on the word or phrase which precedes it; in its meaning of "that," it sometimes precedes the noun instead of following it; ဒ်ဍဒ်—that deed, S.J. (A), folio *ku*; here, the first ဒ် = that, the second is emphatic = indeed, or some such expression according to the context; ဒ်ဍသဒ်—that bull, S.M. 12; first ဒ် = that, second ဒ် = accusative case. As an emphatic

particle = the Burmese, ကား, k ā[8]; very often it is simply indicative of the subject, and is equivalent to the nominative case.

† ဂွဲ့, g a - u u i, medicine; *cf.* Haswell, ဂေ့, g á - 'u i; in both cases, the ွ, *u*, and the ဆ, *á*, are used as fulcrum.

* ဂေါ့, g o w; see ဝ့, which is the correct spelling.

* ဂေါ့ဂ္ဂ, g o w g n a u = ဝ့ဂ္ဂ။

† ဂး, g a ḥ, to say, speak; to mean.

ဂိ့, g u i ṅ, to take.

* ဂိ့နံ့, g u i ṅ n a ṅ, to bring, bring along with one.

ဂ္ဂကျ့, g n a k y ā k, a queen.

ဂ္ဂ, g n a u, the womb, abdomen. *Cf.* ဝ့, ဂေါ့။

* ဂ္ဂတ်, g n å k, the hood of a cobra; a spoon, a ladle.

* ဂွံ့, g m å ṅ, daring, brave; the being brave, courage, gallantry.

* ဂျိတ်, g l i t, to turn back and look, to look back, in the expression ငဂျိတ် (*q.v.*); the Old Talaing = ဇလိတ်, j i l i t.

† ဃွံ့, g l o ṅ, a road; Haswell, ဃံ့။

* ဃွာ့, g l o ṅ, a palace, in the Nyaung-U Bell-inscription, Dhc. 143. 24, 144. 16.

* ဃွာ့ဇွန့်, g l o ṅ j n l o k, a main road.

† ဃံ့တ်, g l å k, to pull out, tear out from. *Cf.* meaning given by Haswell.

ဃံ့, g l å ṅ, road. *Vide* ဃွာ့။

ဂျုံ့, g l u i ṅ, many, much; to be many or much. *Vide* ဝဂျုံ့။

ဂျုံ့ဂျုံ့, g l u i ṅ g l u i ṅ, a reduplication of ဂျုံ့; much, many: often abbreviated to ဂျုံ့ဥ်, g l u i ṅ ṅ.

† ဂွ, g w a', to get, to obtain, to have; as a verbal auxiliary it means, according to the context: permission, power, opportunity; with a negative, ထဂွ, ထိုဂွ, means: may not, shall not, can not. It also means: *First*—to get (to), come to, arrive; ဂိဝ်ဂိုဝ် တွံဂိပုလပဝ်ရ။နှ့ဂြိအာပူန် ဂွံတြိုဝ်ကေထုမတိရ—"they arrived at the Vipula mountain, and again going thence, came to the river Ketumatī," S.V., folio *khaḥ*; ဖြတ်ဂြိဂွံထဂြိတ္ထ အထိုဝ်ဓမ္မတာဝဒးအာဒုဝ်သရုဝ်ပါဝ်—"those females, *having arrived at* seven days (that is, after seven days), were, according to the usual way, obliged to go (to hell) to suffer for their sins," Dhd. 21. 9 (they were *pretas*, whose karma made them enjoy bliss for seven days and torments for seven days in regular succession). *Second*—to take with one, take along with one; ဇောဓိသတ်ဇေက်ခညကမ္ဘထိုန်တဲ့။ ဂွံဂ္ဂကျ့ဝဓ္ဂြိညးစါထိုန်

ထထ္တတ္ဆံတဲ့ရ—"the Bodhisattva, being startled and frightened, took Queen Maddī with him and both went up the mountain," S.V., folio *ṅaḥ*. Note the idiomatic expressions, ဒွံရ and ဒွံနှံဝ်ရ = very well! all right! very good!; ဒွံရသောဇဆ္ဆဂးတဲ့—"Somadatta said, 'Very well!'", S.B. 11.

* ဒွံရ, ဒွံနှံဝ်ရ, gwa' ra, gwa' dmåṅ ra; see under ဒွံ, in fine.

† ဂြိ, ṅī, to look, look at, look for; Haswell's entry, "to seek, seek for, only used in seeking lice," is too restricted. *Cf.* ငဂြဝ်။

* ဂြိမွှ, ṅī mwai, to look, look at, look for; see မွှ, ဝဲ။

ငဂြက်, ṅek, a tooth.

* ငဂြဝ်, ṅew, same as ဂြိ; နဝ်မွှဃထိုန်ငဂြဝ်—"a *nāgī* came up to look for food," Sudh. 34. 3.

* ငဂြဝ်ဂြိတ်, ṅew glit, to turn round to look, to look back. *Vide* ဂြိတ်။

* ငဂြဝ်စ, ṅew ca, "to search and eat," to look for food, as animals.

* ငဂြဝ်မွှဝ်မွှ, ṅew mr̄āk mwai, to look, look at. *Vide* မွှဝ်မွှ။

စ, ca, to eat.

† စဂြိုန်, caṅin, to carry on the shoulder; Haswell, ထဂြိုန်။ Old Talaing, ciṅgiṅ.

† စမတ်, camat, to discern; to place, fix, mark, settle, determine, distinguish; to examine, investigate. Also ဒွတ်။

* စမတ်မွှ, camat mwai, to examine, investigate. See ဒွတ်မွှ။

* စဒြ, camī, to look towards, look forward to. Haswell, ထဒြ။

* စဒြညာတ်, camī ñāt, to look towards and see.

* စဒြရုံဝ်, camī råṅ = စဒြ။

† စမွှ, camlaḥ, free, not in servitude, to be free. *Cf.* ထမွှ။

* စရတ်, carak, to scratch, draw a line; a mark or line so made. *Cf.* သစရတ်, colloquial = ထရက်။ *Vide* စရိဝ်, စရိတ်။

* စရုဝ်, caraṅ, deed, act; စရုဝ်စဂုသိဝ်—a meritorious act, Dhd. 37. 6. *Vide* သရုဝ်, သရုဝ်မ်။

* စရိဝ်, caric, a form of စရိတ် (*q.v.*), which, up to now, I have met with only in A.V.

* စရိတ်, carit, to scratch, draw a line; a line or mark so made, a fold, as of the skin. *Vide* စရတ်, စရိဝ်, သရက်။

* စရိတ်စရက်, carit carak = စရိတ်။

* စထုဝ်, caluṅ, the head. *Cf.* ရထဝ်, သမွှုဝ်။

* စထိတ်, caluik, to drive, a cart, etc.; the Old Talaing is ဇလိတ်, jilik; Also written ကထိက်။

* စဝ်, caw, to drive, a cart, etc.

ၹ်, cah, ten.

စံတ်, cam ḅat, to test, try.

* ဝအန်, ca-a', to vomit, spit out. *Vide* ထ, ထအန်။

* စာတ်, cāt, to bind, bind about, bind around, as the ribs of a cask; to tie, bind, fetter; တိုဝတ်ဝဲ ဒိကိုဖဒိုတ်ထမျိုရ—"caused him to be bound in irons for the whole of his life," G. pi. 6. *Vide* သိုစာတ်။

စံဂိုင်, cāmguiṅ, a fetter. See ထသိင်။

* ၸိကူး, cī klaḥ, to be clear; clear, evident, manifest; clever, learned, wise; sharp, skilful.

† ၵုတ်, cut, to put in, put into, put on, as a glove or shoe; ၵုတ်ဇၢၵ်, to put into chains, imprison, Dhd. 12; ၵုတ်, ၶါၵ်, to inflict a punishment (put a punishment on), ၶါၵ် should be written ၶတ်; as a verbal auxiliary, implies: accident, fault, carelessness, happened to, unfortunately; ထယတ်ၵုတ်, touched him accidentally, happened to touch him, S.B. 10. 21; ၼဝ်ကိတ်ၵုတ်—"the nāga happened to bite him," S.B. 22. 13; in this sense it is sometimes reduplicated, ၵုတ် ၵုတ်, and has the same force as ဘး, ဘးၵုတ်, *q.v.*

* ၵထုင်, culuṅ, the head. *Vide* ဝထုင်, သဖုုင်။

* ၸဝင်, ceṅ, to slant, incline, be on one side; to decline, as the sun, after noon is past and in the evening.

6, cau, to return.

† ၵိုၼ်, cuiw bdan, to be concealed, obscure, not clear, not apparent, not readily understood; indistinctness, unclearness; to screen from view, shut out; *cf.* Haswell under ၵိုဖၼ်။

ဝး, caḥ, the back.

† ၵိ, cuiw, to, up to, till; often followed by ထိ. *Cf.* ၼိ။

† ၷ, cna, food; forms many compounds, as ၷထရံ, cna tarem, excrement = "old food," A.V. 39 (ukkāra); ၷမ္ဘတ်, cna pmat, fuel = "food of fire," A.V. 37 (idhuma), etc. Haswell has only ဝထ, ၷဝ, but O. St. has entered ၷ by itself.

* ၷဲ, cnāai, a linch-pin, a peg, A.V. 30 (āṇi).

* ၷဲကၼ်ၼ်, cnāai kanhåṅ, an ornamental pin used to keep the hair or headdress in place; for references see under သ္ဝဲကွံ်ၼ်. Other forms are ၷဲကွံ်ၼ်, ၷဲသၼ်ၼ်, တ္ဝဲၼ်ၼ်, သ္ဝဲကွံ်ၼ်။

* ၷဲကွံ်ၼ်, cnāai knåṅ; see above.

* ဇွဲသန့်ဉ်, c n ā a i s a n h å ṅ; see above.
† ဇွောန်ထူး, c n o n t h ḅ a ḥ, to show, point out; Haswell, ဝန်ထူး။
* ဇွဲ, c m ā a i, a present, gift, bribe, tribute; also ကဲ, ထဲ, ထွဲ။
* ဇွဲမြိန်, c m ā a i c m i n = ဇွဲ. *Vide* ထွဲဝဲဖိန်။
* ဥးဝရဲ, c l a ḥ c a r ā a i, majesty, glory, magnificence; pomp; beauty; grace, charm; graceful deportment. *Cf.* ဥးဝရဲ။
† ဖ်, c w a', a part, portion; class, category, kind.
† ဆ, c h a, only; whatever, all; after a number = fold; ကုံဆထိုဆရောင်—"even a hundred fold, a thousand fold," S.B. 7. Reduplicated, ဆဆ = all, everything; ဆဆကိုဂ်ကေတ်ရ—"took all that was given," G. pi. 9.
† ဆု, c h u, wood, timber; a tree.
* ဆုဗောဓိပထိုတ်, c h u b o d h i p a l u i h, the sacred banyan tree, the Bo tree under which the Buddha attained omniscience. *Vide* ပထိုတ်။
* ဆေ, ဆေဝ်, c h e, c h e w, to find, meet with; also ဆို, c h u i w, as Haswell.
† ဆိုက်ဗ္ဒက်, c h u i k b d a k. Haswell has, "to approach, to draw near," but I have not yet met this word with this meaning, except in a translation of the gospels; though in colloquial it means, "to take refuge in," in the literature, it has always and only the meaning: to be clever, versed in; intelligent, sharp, skilful.
ဆို, c h u i w, same as ဆေ။
ဇက်, j a k, to draw, pull, drag.
* ဇက်ဝဒ်, j a k c a w, to drive.
† ဇကု, j a k u, the body, self, person; မွဲဇကု—"one body," by oneself, alone, S.B. 2.
* ဇန်, j a n, people, the people, man, a person; *Pāli*, jana. *Vide* ဗျာဇန်။
† ဇနောဝ်, j a n o k, great, large; to make big, enlarge, swell out; ဇနောဝ်ကုပ္ပးမွဲက် ဇုံဝး—"he said, 'Swell out your body, spread your hood,'" S.B. 22. *Vide* ဇွောဝ်။
* ဇမ္ဗာတ်, j a m k ā t, rough, hard, violent, severe; from ဗ္ဗာတ်, to be harsh, rough, violent, etc., with *m* infix.
ဇရေဉ်, j a r e ṅ, in the presence of, near.
* ဇရေတ်, j a r e h, a chain, an iron chain; fetters, handcuffs. *Cf.* O. St., ခရေတ်, chain.
ဇာ, j ā, a net; net-work, lace; *cf.* Burmese ျာ, j h ā.
ဇိဉ်, j i ṅ, to sew, stitch. *Vide* ခြိဉ်, သြိဉ်။
* ဇဝ်လဂဝ်, j a w l a g a w, a duct, a small canal which conveys spring or hill water into rice-fields. Also ဇဝ်လဂေါဝ် and ဇာလဂဝ်။ Haswell, ဇာသွာဝ်။

† ၡိင်, jաiṅ, the leg including the foot; the foot; base, bottom, foot.

† ၡိင်, juiṅ, to confer, grant, give. *Vide* ဖျိုင်။

ငွင်, jnok, great, big, large; a chief, head, leader; ငွင်ကွာန်—a village headman, A.V. 82 (gāmajeṭṭhaka). *Vide* ဝေန်ဝ်။

ဉ်, jñai, far; to be far, ဝဉ်။

ဉး, jnaḥ, to conquer, overcome.

ဉာဝ်, jmāp, every; ဉာဝ်အဲဉာဝ်ညး—"every I and every he" = all, every body, Dhd. 55. 8.

* ၡိင်, jmiṅ, sewing, stitching; from ၽင်။

ဇ်ဝ်, jrap, a hall on the roadside for the convenience of travellers, a rest-house. *Cf.* Burmese, ဝရပ် (pron. *sa-yat*), properly ဝရပ်။

ဇ်, jrai, the banyan tree, of which there are several species.

* ဇ်ထဝ်, jrai thaw, "the golden banyan" = the Bo tree.

* ဇ်ဗုဒ္ဓ, jrai mhā budh, "the banyan of the Great Knowledge" (mahabodhi, or, perhaps, mahabuddhi) = the Bo tree.

* ဇ်ထုံ, jrai suṁ = ဇ်။

ညာတ်, ñāt, to see, perceive.

† ညိ, ñi, a supplicatory particle, often to be translated by "please"; in conjunction with ကို (ကို . . . ညိ) = "may, let . . . ." It is also used as a sign of the future; ဝထာန်ဒိုအဲထရးကိုညိ—"I will expound this statement"; ထရးကိုညိ = *Pāli*, vittarissāmi, Dhd. 35. 27; အဲဝံစတ်ဒိအဲညိ—"I'll test my mother," S.B. 10; အဲ ကျိခါန် ညိ—"I shall give alms," Dhd. 98. 1 = *Pāli*, dassāmi.

† ညံဉ်, ñåṅ, as; so as . . . , so that . . . , in order to . . . ; in order that . . . ; has often the sense of the imperative, and may be translated by "let (me, you, us)," or "do . . . ," in which case it is often followed by ရ; ညံဉ်ဒိကိုမဝံန်သန္ဓါ—"so that his parents may have faith," Dhd. 28. 27; ညံဉ်ထိုန် ဒိုကြ်တဲ့ ဝဝ် အာရ—"do (you) get up and sit down in the carriage," S.J. 4; ယွံမင်ဗွဲညံဉ်ထုဉ် ကျုဉ်ရ—"young man, do (you) come in," Dhd. 26. 26. *Cf.* the following compound expressions:—ညံဉ်ရ—"like the manner of" = like, as S.B. 9; ညံဉ် အာကာရ—"like the manner of" = like, as A.V. 198 (under *rocana*) (အာကာရ is Pāli); ညံဉ်သး, like, see သ။ ညံဉ် အဉ်ဒ—"like the manner of" = like, as, as if, S.B. 24; S.S. 17.

† ညး, ñaḥ, he, she; often answers to the French, *on*; a person, the people; ညး . . . ရော့, ညးဌ် . . . ဇော့—who is . . . ? which or what is, are

. . .?. ညးသွတ်ဖြဴးရောဘ်—"who is this little girl, Sir?", Sudh. 9. 13; ညးအသဂ် ၁၆ သဒ်ဂျရော—"what were those sixteen wonders?", Sudh. 28. 2; ညးဂျိုညး ၄ စုံဂျရော—"what are these four classes of persons?", S.B. 8; တူအဲညးဂျရော—"who are you?", S.B. 12; ညးတံဂျရော—"who are they?", S.B. 27.

* ညးဝံဒ်, ñaḥ gmåṅ, "a person of courage," a brave, a warrior.

* ညးဝုဒ်, ñaḥ ḍuṅ, "a person of the city," citizen.

* ညှ, ñha, to invite. *Vide* ဩ။

ဝှဒ်, ḍāk, water.

* ဝှဒ်ကာလဂေါဒ်, ḍāk jālagow = ကဒ်လဂဒ်, *q.v.*

ဝုဒ်, ḍuṅ, town, city; country, kingdom.

* ဝုဒ်သွဒ်, ḍuṅ swaw, the heavenly city or country, heaven, svarga.

† ဝေံ, ḍeh, he, she, it. Not ဝေအ်, as Haswell.

ဝိုက်, ḍuik, to ride, drive.

† ဏာ, ṇā, to go, to send, away, off; for full explanations and meanings see under plaque 277. Sometimes also written နာ, nā, in composition.

* ဏာကျိဒ်, ṇā knip, to face towards, see under plaque 277.

* ဏာစွိုဒ်, ṇā bcuip, to lead to, convey to, see under plaque 277.

ဏံ, ṇa', this.

ဏိ, ṇim, yet, still; a sign of the future. See နောင်, noṅ.

* တ, ta, to vomit. *Vide* ဝအာအ်, ထအာအ်။

တက်, tak, to strike, beat; တကိံဝလှံခံဒ်—"to beat the drum and walk the gong" = to proclaim, by beat of drum and gong, G. pi. 3.

* တက်သိုတ်, tak suih, to beat one's breast, in sorrow, wonder, etc., Dhd. 12. 8.

ကွံ, tka', an island, continent.

* တင်ကျဲ, taṅklāai, molasses treacle; see next.

တင်လဲ, taṅlāai, molasses, treacle; this word is colloquial; တင်ကျဲ, literary. *Cf.* Burmese, ထင်ထဲ, taṅlai.

တငြိုန်, taṅīn; see ဝငြိုန်။

† တဏှာ, taṇhā, passion, lust; Haswell, တန်ဘာ။ *Pāli*, taṇha.

† တှ, tan, to be valid, have validity; to dwell, abide, remain; as a verbal auxiliary, it expresses: propriety, suitability, fitness; possible, may; တှံဂွံထိုး။ တှံဂွံပရတာ—is it proper to speak and to act (so)?, U.O.K. 44. 8; မတွံတှံဒ္ဒရ်—it cannot be, it may not be, S.J. 4. *Cf.* B., တှ။

* တမဝ်, တ္ဂွဒ်, tamaw, tmaw, rolling over and over, round and round.

ထမ့ဲ, t a m l a ḥ; see ဝမ့ဲ။

* ထမ့ဝ်, t a m h ā a i; see ဒွဝ်။, also ထဝ်။

* ထမ့ဝ်ကမြိန်, t a m h ā a i j a m i n, a present, gift, offering, bribe, tribute.

ထးရံ့, t a r e ṁ, old, not new.

တရ်, t a r ā u, journey, way, road.

* ထရး, t a r a ḥ, to expand, expound, give in details; to scatter, spread; strew.

* ထသိင်, t a s i ṅ, fetters, manacles; Dhd. 64. 14—သတ်မွန့် ထသိင်ဒွက် တံဒ်။ ထွေဝံမွးထိတ်ဆာ—"beings with fetters become free." *Vide* စးဒိင်။

* ထသိုက်, t a s u i k, happiness; comfortable; luxuriant; Haswell's entry, "the place or state of happiness," is not to the point. သွာ်ထသိုက်—a comfortable seat, G. pi. 10.

တ္ဒ်, ထတ်, t a h, the breast, udder.

တဲ့, t a', sign of the plural. *Cf.* Burmese, တို့, t u i[1] (pron. *do*[1]).

† တံ့, t a ṁ, the beginning; near part, presence, at; the original amount of money, capital, stock in trade; the profits accruing from it being ပရဲ, p a r a i; တံ့ဒွါ—"the place of the beginning," source, Dhd. 574. 25; တံဖြဒ်, capital, A.V. 153 (under *pābhata*); တံချတ်, capital, stock in trade, G. pi. 3; တံဂိုးဝဲရဲဂိုးတံအန်ပရဲအန်—"the capital being large, the profits are large; (if) small, the profits are small," G. pi. 13.

* တိဒ်တိဒ်, t i ṅ t i ṅ, an adverb, imitative of the sound made when striking one's breast.

* တိဒ်တိဒ်ဝတိုးဩ်, t i ṅ t i ṅ g a t u i m s r u i h, to beat one's breast in sorrow.

တိတ်, t i t, to go out. After another verb often means: away, out, off.

တိ, t i m, to know.

* တိကေတ်, t i m k e t, to know, perceive.

တီလ, t ī l a, lord, master, *seigneur;* also တီလ, ာ, တလ။

တီလပိုန်, t ī l a p u i n, "a lord of merit or glory," a monk. *Vide* ဥ။

* ထုန်, t u n, again, back, in return; to return; now . . . , and now . . . ; it is also used as an emphatic particle, not exactly translatable in English, which lays a particular stress on the word or words which precede it: ပူဂို အရိယသာဝကတံထုန်—"now, the holy disciples, . . . ," Dhd. 237. 16; သွီအရိမန္နနထုန်—"and now, the king of Arimandana (for Arimaddana = Pagan) . . . , the reference is to King Anorata, Dhc. 12. 26; ယိုက် သာသွာထုန်—"he uplifted religion again, that is, he promoted the true religion," Dhc. 13. 3; ခွံကာလ လွုတ်ဒွံထုန်—"now, at that time . . . ," Dhd. 117. 27, here it is emphatic, လွုတ် = now.

† ထုပ်, t u p, like, resembling; to be like, be similar, to resemble.

* ထုယ်, t u y, the ancient and medieval way of writing တဲ့; ◌ (ai) is the modern symbol of ယ်, *y*.

† တဲ့, t u a i, the sign of the past tense; it is also a connective particle, connecting two sentences, and is thus similar in use to the Pāli gerundive *tvā*; at the beginning of a sentence, it means: then, after this *or* that, *lit.* "this being finished," and is probably an abbreviation for တဲ့တဲ့, "having finished"; it has sometimes to be translated as a conditional: ထိုက်တိ ဒွိတရုတဲ့အဋ္ဌကထာ ထောသို့ ဝရ—"if you wish to know (the story) *in extenso*, look up that commentary," Dhd. **235**. 4. The original meaning of the word is: to be finished, be over, be elapsed, be past; ကာလ မတဲ့ထော်—in times past, Sudh. **10**. 9; ထေဝ ပုံကာလ မတဲ့ထော်—the thera, in times past, Dhd. **108**. 13; ထိမ္မာဇနက်မတဲ့ထော်ဝ်—the king Mahājanaka of that time, *lit.* = who is past, S.J. 88; မတဲ့ထော်—formerly, of yore, in olden times; ယံကးထဝ် မတဲ့ထော်တူအဲဟိုတ်ညဲလဝ် သရုဝ်ပါဝ်—"O, demon! because, in the past, you have committed evil deeds . . .," Dhd. **27**. 21; the following expression is much used at the end of sections and chapters: တဲ့ဆုံရ—"this (ုံ) so much (ဆ) is finished (တဲ့)" = this section, *or* chapter, is finished, finis. See ရ။

ထော်, t e', that.

တဲ, t a i, the hand; finger.

တဲအြံ, t a i s t u ṁ, the right hand.

* ထောရော, t o r o, straight in front, straight ahead, right opposite; also တူရူ, with which *cf.* Burmese, တူရူးတောရောကို, *ibid.*

ထော်, t o ṁ, to cook, to boil.

* တ်, t a u, to dwell, reside, live; to be (in a place), remain; after another verb, it is not only euphonic, as says Haswell, but it shows also that what is expressed by the verb is going on; it is always easy to judge from the context whether it is merely euphonic or a continuative auxiliary, thus: ကေဝ်တ် does not mean only "he called," but "he was calling." နဝ်မတ်ဒိုင်ထိ နုရောတ်—"the nāgas who dwelt at the foot of Mount Sineru," S.B. 7; ဒွိဟ်ဒွံတ်ထတူတွံထာ ရောဝ်—"this man is on the palm tree," S.M. 18; ဟ်ဗုဒ္ဓါတ်ရော—"in what place (where) are the flowers?", Dhd. **93**. 27.

† တုံန်, t u i n, to ascend, go up; used as an expletive it shows that whatever the verb denotes, refers to another person or object; သွားန်တုံန်ဖြ—he asked the woman.

တဲ့, t ṅ a i, the sun; a day.

တွံ့, t n a ṁ, a tree; a plant.

* တွတ်, t n a h, other, different.

† တွံ့နှ, တွတ်နှ, t n a h n a, for; for the purpose of; for the sake of; to, in order to = the infinitive.

* တွဲ, t n ā a i, linch-pin. *Vide* ဖွဲ, သွဲ။

* တွဲခွံင်, t n ā a i k h n å ṅ = ဖွဲကန့်ဝ်, *q.v.*

တ္ဂိ, t n i m, to sink, sink down. Haswell, ထဆိ။

* တွေတ်, t n e h, a trough, for animals to feed in; in the East, it is most often made in the shape of a boat; a grain measure; also written ကွေတ်။ *Vide* နွိတ်။

* တွေတ်အမိုန်, t n e h a m u i n, same as precedent. *Vide* အမိုဆ်။

* တွုင်, t n u ṅ, sprout of a plant or tree; top, summit, pinnacle, finial; also ကွုင်; *Cf.* Haswell, ထဆွင်; see next word.

* တွုင်ကြကတ်, t n u ṅ k r a k a t, a building with superposed roofs and a finial; a palace; ထိုဂတ်ပြာသာတ်ရတ်။တွုင်ကြကတ်ဒွိသွဝ်—magnificent houses, magnificent pavilions, decorated heavenly palaces, Dhd. II. 30 = Dhd. 269. 4; it is sometimes preceded by ထို, ထိုတွုင်ကြကတ်, Dhd. 204. 8; the bell-inscription (16th cent.) at Nyaung-U has ထိုကွင်ကြဝတ်။

† တ္ဂံ, t m a, a stone, rock; a rocky hill.

* တ္ဂံထး, t m a' l a ḥ, a flat stone.

* တွဲခွိန်, t m ā a i j m i n; see ဖွဲဖွိန်, တဖွဲ, etc.

* တွုတ်, t m u t, weaving, from ထုတ်, t u t, to weave. *Vide* တွုတ်။

ထြဲ, t r u h, a male, a man; used as the sign of the masculine.

ထြဲ, t r a i, excellent; blessed; lord.

တူ, ထလ, t l a, t a l a, owner, lord, master. *Vide* ဝိထ. Old Talaing, t i r l a. ဘူအဲ, you, Sir.

* တူညး, t l a ñ a ḥ, "the lord of the people" = a king.

* တူဒေါသ, t l a d o s a, "a lord of anger" = an irascible, choleric person.

* တူပညာ, t l a p a ññ ā, "a master of knowledge" = a learned man, scholar, pandit.

ထွိင်, t l i ṅ, to err, miss the way, get lost, be lost. Haswell, ကိုင်။

* တူး, t l a ḥ, free, not in bondage. *Vide* ဝတူး။

* တူးဝရဲာ, t l a ḥ c a r ā a i; see ဍးဝရဲာ။

* တွီ, တဝီ, t w ī, t a w ī, to surround, Dhd. 224. 24.

* တွီဗွိုင်, t w ī b w u i ṅ, to surround; also တဝီဗွိုင်, တွီဗဒိုင်။

* တွုတ်, t w u t, weaving, to weave. *Vide* တွုတ်။
* တွိုန်, t w u i n, the going up, rising, rise; from တိုန်။ *Vide* k w u i n.
* တွိုဝ်, t w u i w = တိုဝ်, *q.v.*
* တွိုဝ်, t w u i w, giving; from တိုဝ်; also တွိုဝ်။
* တွံ, t w a h, to say, speak; preach.
* တွံဂး, t w a h g a ḥ, to mean; to term, call; be termed, be called.
* တွံပွိင်, t w a h p m i ṅ, to preach.
  ထဒှ်, t h a p a h, seven.
  ထဝ်, t h a w, gold; golden.
* ထဝါ, t h a w ā a i, to sit in a cross-legged posture, on the hams, in oriental fashion; statues of the Buddha are so seated; also = the lap when seated in oriental fashion; ပဲ့ထဝါ သန္ဓာ စိုက်ုပ်တဲ့ထြိက်သိုင်ဆာရ—"placing his head on his wife's lap, he went to sleep," Dhd. 298. 13; also written ထွဲ, ထဝါ။
* ထဒေအ်, t h a - a', to vomit. *Vide* ထအအ်, ဝအအ်။
* ဒ္ဍာင်, t h - 'ā ṅ, a site, for building.
* ထေ, t h e, a monk, of at least ten years' standing, *Pāli*, thera.
* ထေဝ်, t h e w = ထေ။
  ထဲ, t h e a i, angry; to be angry; anger.
  ထဲပ္ဓတ်, t h e a i p n a t = ထဲ. *Vide* ပ္ဓတ်။
† ထော်, t h o', to cast away, forsake; give up, reject.
  ထွး, t h b a ḥ, to show, point out; ထဗး။
  ဒက်, d a k, to tie, bind.
  ဒကာ, d a k ā, a layman. *Pāli*, dāyaka.
† ဒကုတ်, d a k u t, a piece, fragment; part, portion; half (of time or distance); တၚ်ဒကုတ်, part or half, of the way.
  ဒ္ဍတ်, d g e t, to observe, to do, to perform; observance, deed.
  ဒဂိုန်, d a g u i n, to observe the fast-day (ဥပုတ်), to observe the Buddhist virtues.
  ဒစော်, d a c ā ṁ, eight.
  ဒၞုန်, d a c u n, a stick, a staff to lean upon. Haswell, ဝၞုန်။
* ဒဂး, d a c a ḥ, to oppose, go against, as the wind, the tide, etc. *Cf.* ဝး, *ibid.*
* ဒညကမ္ဠ, d a ñ ñ a k a m l a, to be afraid, be anxious.
* ဒတွဲ, d a t u a i, benefit, advantage, profit; end, conclusion; to doze, nod.
* ဒတွဲမြမောဝ်, d a t u a i m r a m o w, benefit, advantage, profit.

* ဒဝဲ, d a t a i, to take along with one, by holding the hand, as a child, or the end of the stick of a blind man, or the chain of a dog, etc.

† ဒတ်, d a t a u, to stand; an abode, dwelling; ဝဒတ်, to dwell, S.B. 1, Sudh. 3. 21. See တ်။

† ဒဒတ်, ဒဒှ်, d a d a h, being, the being born or reborn; state; circumstance· to be, to become.

† ဒဒိုက်, d a d u i k, misery, suffering; poor, miserable.
ဒမြိုတ်, d a m r u i h, violent, harsh, wicked.
ဒမ္ဍ, d a m l a, a robber, dacoit; ဝမ္ဍ။

* ဒရိဟတ်, ဒရှတ်, d a r h a t, strength. *Cf.* ဗြဟတ် = ဗြဟ်တ်။

† ဒလာဉ်, d a l ā ṅ, a tray, on which offerings are placed for monks or the Buddha.

† ဒဝ်, d a w, to shut; the centre, middle.
ဒဝါ, D a w ā a i, the town of Tavoy; also written ထဝါ။

† ဒတ်, d a h, to be, to become; to be reborn; used as a verbal auxiliary implies: feasibility, possibility, that can be done, of which there is a possibility, may be translated by "can"; ဥဒ် တန္ဒိဆုဒ်။ ပုင် ထွံန္ဒိစ —could not drink water, could not eat rice, Dhd. 12. 9; in this sense is equivalent to the Burmese, ဖြစ်, p h r a c, when used as an auxiliary. န္ဒိ and န္ဒိရ, used at the beginning of a sentence, or phrase, gives it a conditional force = if, if it be that, if it happens or turns out that, it being . . . , etc., according to the context; ဝိုဟ်ကိုဉးတ္ဂတ်ဂ်လွိကသာဝ်ကိုထဝ်ဓဝိုဝ်း၇။န္ဒိရတ္ဂအဲကောတ်ဂ်ထဝ်ကသာဝ်ဝိုကောတ်ရ—"we told other persons it (a fish) was (worth) 1,000 rupees and seven. annas; if you take it, we shall take (only) seven rupees," Dhd. 173. 30; ကဒွံဂ်ဒ္ဂိဉးဩာင် လွိကသာဝ်ခေံသွံ—"if they sold that fish to others one thousand rupees," Dhd. 174. 3.

* ဒ္ဂိမ္ဟိတ်, d a h m n i h, "to become a man," to be born, reborn.

* ဒ္ဂိမွဲ, d a h m w a i, "to be one with (ကို)," to agree, tally; ပါဒ်သွတ်မြ်ကိုဒဂါခပါ ထဂ်ဒ္ဂိမွဲ—"the girl's word, or statement, tallied with Godapāla's," S.M. 9.

* ဒ္ဂိယဲ, d a h y a i, to be unwell, sick.

* ဒ္ဂိအာ, d a h ā, to become.

† ဒး, d a h, a verbal auxiliary; placed *before* the verb, implies necessity, and may be translated by *must;* but when placed *after* the verb, it implies: inadvertence, carelessness, fault, mistake, unexpectedness,

accident, etc.; ဩာ ဆေးထွာသွဖွဲ—"they went, and unexpectedly came upon a lake," S.B. 14; ဆိုးတွံ့ ဒိဿဝိ ဖွဲတွံ့—"he came (*lit.* he found) by chance across a fig tree," S.M. 19; ဒေဝတာတံ့ဖွေ့ဝဒိဃာကဒ်လုဝ်ဒးဂၢဒ်ရ—"the devas caused the fish to enter the net inadvertently," Dhd. 173. 24. *Vide* ရတ်။

ဒါန်, d ā n, alms-giving. *Pāli*, dāna.

* ဒိဝ်, d i p, heavenly, celestial. *Pāli*, dibba.

ဒုစရိုတ်, d u c a r u i t, an evil deed, bad action. *Pāli*, duccarita.

ဒုန်, d u n, bamboo.

ဒုတ်, d u h, sin, evil, offence.

ဒေဝတ်, d e v a t a u, a god, a deva, devatā.

ဒေသ, d e s a, a place. *Pāli.*

* ဒေသရး, d e s a r a ḥ, country. *Vide* ရး။

ဒေသနာ, ဒေသွာ, d e s a n ā, d e s n ā, religious discourse, preaching, sermon. *Pāli.*

* ဒေသနာဝရ်, d e s a n ā d h a r = ဒေသနာ. *Vide* ဝဝ်။

ဒဲ့, d e', younger brother or sister.

ဒေါ်, d a u, to flee, run away; ဒေါဩ, *ibid.*

† ဒုံ, d u i w, to, up to, till; ဒုံဒွံ, up to this, this much; တူပညာထံတိဒုံဒွံ—"the wise, knowing this much . . .," G. pi. 3.

† ဒိုတ်, d u i h, a point of the compass, region, place; direction; a side; ဖွဲဒိုတ်—one side, Dhd. 378; မတ်ဖါဒိုတ်—"eyes two sides," both eyes, A.V. 17 (andha); မုက်ဖွဲဒိုတ်—"face one side," one face, one side; မုတ်ဖါဒိုတ်—the two faces or sides, A.V. 68 (under kuttaka, written—d u i s); ပွးဖါဒိုတ်—both shoulders, Dhd. 17. 21. *Pāli*, desa.

* ဒိုတ်သွဝ်ကျာ, d u i h s m a w k y ā, the north.

† ဒွါ, d n ā a i, place; office, place; hence in some contexts = inheritance; it is also used in the sense of: whatever, whoever; ဒွါဒွိုက် ပုင်ဝုဒ် ထဝ်ထြံ—whatever you desire: rice, water, gold, silver, S.B. 14; ဒွါဒွိုက်ဆိုထြိ—all that you wish, S.B. 15; see ဆိုတ်သိ။ ဒွါဒွါ ဂိုင်ကေတ်ရ—whatever they took, Dhd. 299. 4; ဒွါဩး—whatever person, whoever, S.J. (A), folio *ke.*

* ဒွတ်, d n i h = တွေတ်, *q.v.*

† ဒုံဝ်, d m å ṅ, to remain, dwell, live; also used as an auxiliary denoting that the action is being done, is going on.

ဖြင်, d r a ṅ, a tusk; a horn. *Cf.* Haswell, ဖြင်။

ဒြဝ်, d r a p, property, wealth, substance. *Sanskrit*, dravya.

ဒြေဝ်, d r e p, to run.

* ဒြေဝ်ဒေါ်, d r e p d a u, to run away, flee. See ဒေါ်.

ဒွော်, d l o', to instruct, teach; ဘဒော်.

ဒွော်ဗွာန်, d l o' b t o n = ဒွော်.

ဒွိ, d w i, the left side; ဒွိ.

ဓမ္မတာ, d h a m m a t ā, the usual way, the usual order of things, custom, usage, habit; nature. *Pāli.*

† ဓဝ်, d h a w, the Law, the Buddhist Law, doctrine, religion; written ဓရ် in old and medieval Talaing. *Sanskrit*, dharma.

ဓဝ်, d h a w, to be straight, direct from one point to another; straight, direct, right.

ဓာတ်, d h ā t, a relic. *Pāli*, dhātu.

နာ, n a, by, by means of, with; နာဂို, *ibid.*

† နဉ်, n a ṅ, to bring; is used also like the Burmese verbal particle ခဲ့, k h a·i¹, that is, it implies that the action which the verb expresses is followed by going away from the place where the action has taken place; it also, I think, refers to an action just past; it is also sometimes merely expletive.

* နမောဝ်, n a m o w, to bend, bend towards, bend down, incline to in mind; also နမဝ်, ငွေဝ်.

* နရောအ်, n a r o', to cry, cry out, bawl, howl, scream; also နရီအ်, လရီအ်.

နာ, n ā, sometimes found so written instead of ထာ, *q.v.*, mostly in composition.

နာဂ်, n ā k, a serpent, the cobra; a nāga or dragon, a species of demi-god. *Pāli*, nāga. နာဂြီ, a nāgī or female nāga.

* နာဂို, n ā g u i w, a town, city. *Pāli*, nagara.

နာဓိ, N ā a i m i, King Nimi or Nemi.

နိဓိ, n i d h i, treasure, *Pāli.* Wrongly given as နိတိ by Haswell.

နိဗ္ဗာန်, n i b b ā n, nirvāṇa.

* နိမန်, n i m a n, to invite.

* နိမိတ်, n i m i t, to create, make. *Cf.* Pāli, nimitta. *Vide* ဗိမိတ်. Most often used in the following couplet:

* နိမိတ်ဗ္ဒာ်, n i m i t b d a h, to create, make.

နူ, n ū, from; than; နူဂ်, from there, from that place, thence.

* ဏဝ်, ထောဝ်, n o ṅ, ṇ o ṅ, a particle indicative of the future. *Cf.* Haswell under ဏောဝ်.

ံ, n w a ṁ, to be, to have; also ှံ, n u m, mostly after prefixes ∞ and ဝ။

† ပ, p a, to do, make; to cause, in this sense it is widely used as a causal prefix in the forms: *pa*, *p*, *ba* and *b*. It is an interrogative = why? how?; ပဿေကဗုဒ္ဓါပညိန္ဒြေရော—"how are the Paccekabuddhas?", S.J. 40. It is also a prohibitive = do not, and probably an abbreviation of ဗျာ, မွးတံပသွာန်ရ—do not ask!, S.J. (A), folio *ke*; ပရိတ်—don't forget, G. pi. 7.

* ပက်, p a k, to throw, fling (water, dust, etc.). *Cf.* Burm., ပက်။

† ကြင်ရန်, p k a ṅ r a ṅ, to bear, carry, wear; to carry out, perform, fulfil; to rule, govern; in word for word translations, it very often translates Pāli *dhāreti*; ဓကြင်ရင်ထဝ် လက်သန် ငွေဒ ၃၂—"who wears the 32 great characteristics," Dhd. 30. 25; ကြင်ရင်ထဝ်ရ ဂန္ဓုရော—"fulfilled the two gandhuras," L.B. 2. 1; ဓကြင်ရင်လဒ်ဗွတ်—carrying a spear.

* ကြ်, p k a u, a flower. Haswell enters this word only as "ကြ်ပေါန်, garland," but has the entry တ် (colloquial). To open, as a flower, to blossom, to flower; ဆဓတ်—a flowering tree, A.V. 164 (phulla).

* ကြ်သ, p k a u s a u, a flower. Haswell's entry, "တ်သ, a carver in wood," I have not met with, the usual expression is ဉးနှတ်ကြ်။

* ကြ်ဿြ, p k a u s r a u = last, with *r* infix.

† ပကောံ, p a k o ṁ, to bring together, collect, gather, hoard, amass; ဒြဝ်ပကောံ လဝ်ကျိဝေဝ်ဉးဟာ—"having amassed property, shall I give it for nothing to them?", G. pi. 14.

ပန်မိန်, p a ṅ m i ṅ, to hear, listen to: Haswell, ပန်မြန်။

† ပညတ်, p a ñ ñ a p, a name, appellation, term; to name, call, term; to prepare; *Pāli*, paññapeti.

ပညာ, p a ñ ñ ā, wisdom, intelligence, knowledge. *Pāli.*

ပတ်, p a t, to press with the hand, squeeze. *Vide* သပေါတ်။

† ကြန်, ပတန်, p t a n, p a t a n, to build; to raise, exalt; to make firm, stable, unwavering; to restrain, control (of the mind, feelings, etc.); to establish; to appoint to an office; ဒဒြွကျဝ်ဓမ္မေဝ်ကောင်ဆဲ ပတန်လဝ်တွဲအဲရ—"I will exalt you to the state of chief queen," Sudh. 24. 22; ဍွကျဝ် . . . တွံနကြန်လဝ်ဆဲမှုန်ကွံ သွယ်ရထဲ—"the queen, being unable to control her grief," S.J. 66.

† ထံ, p t a ṁ, to begin, begin with; et cetera, and so forth, and the like. *Vide* ထံ။

* ထံ, p t a ṁ, to fulfil, practise.

† ပြတ်, p t i t, to take out, put out, put forth; ပြတ်ဒြဿတ်—"to put forth strength," to endeavour, strive, A.V. 47 (ussuka); ပြတ်ပါဒ်—"to put forth words," to utter, express, say, S.B. 9, S.J. 7.

ပတိသန္ဓိ, p a t i s a n t i, conception, rebirth. *Pāli*, paṭisandhi.

* ပတုန်ပဿာ, p a t u n p a - ā, friendly greeting, exchange of friendly greetings, agreeable conversation; in translations, always renders the Pāli *paṭi santhāra*; ဗြဂ္ဂလာန် ပတုန်ပဿာ ပဒိသန္တာရ—exchanged friendly greetings, Dhd. 226. 27.

ပတုံ, p a t u ṁ, to let fall, drop, throw down.

ပတိုက်, p a t u i k, generally written ပတိုက်, *q.v.*

† ပြုန်, ပထိုန်, p t u i n, p a t u i n, to raise up, put up, lift up; "to put up," present, offer, from an inferior to a superior; ကုံထောံပထိုန်ပုင်, "let ye cook and put up rice," S.M. 13; ရိုတ်တွဲဒး ပြုန်ကိုထွဲ—"every day, he had to present (flowers) to the king," Dhd. 92. 21.

ပန်, p a n, four.

* ပန်ကွင်, p a n k l a ṅ, having four angles, square.

* ပန္နသာ, p a n n a s ā, the hut of a hermit, made of branches and leaves, a hermitage. *Pāli*, paṇṇasālā.

* ပဒတ်, p a d a t a u, to dwell, sojourn, live. *Vide* ဒတ် and တ်။

* ပပူဇ, p a p ū j a u, to offer, present, in a religious sense. *Vide* ပူဇ။

* ပဗြီ, p a b u i w, generally written ပြီ, *q.v.*

* ပဗွက်ကရ်, p a b w a k k a r a u, "to make a follower," that is, to become or be, someone's follower, Dhd. 28. 12. *Vide* ဗွက်ကရ်။

ပမတ်, ပွတ်, p a m a t, p m a t, fire, also ထွတ်, ကွေဘတ်။

* ပွတ်ဒိဓ, sacred fire; sacrificial fire, A.V. 36 (āhavanīya).

* ပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်, p ā r i n i b b ā n, parinirvāṇa. *Pāli*, parinibbāna.

* ပရဲ, p a r a i, excellence; profit, benefit, advantage; before a number = more than, over, above. From ဇ္ဈ, to gain; to be excellent, noble.

† ပရိုင်, p a r u i ṅ, tidings, news; from this meaning it has also come to mean: what pertains to, what is connected with, and may be translated by, "about, concerning, as regards"; တုပညာသောတုနှင်ဂမ္ဘီရ။ထိကောတ် ပရိုင်ရဟ်ကွတ်ကောန်သမ္ဘာညးသင်္ဂိတ်—"the wise, thus knowing about (that is, the evil consequences of) the sin of stealing another's wife . . .," Dhd. 357. 8; ပရိုင်ကကုပဒ္ဒေတ်ဓဝိသီလဒဒိဆုံဂြိုတရုးတွံကိုထွဲရ—"he told the king, in detail, all about his practising the *sīlas*," S.B. 28.

* ပလေဒ်, p a l e h, to make dance, as marionettes, snakes, monkeys, etc.

ပထိတ်, p a l u i t, to put out, extinguish.

ပထိ, p a l u i m, to destroy.

* ပထိတ်, p a l u i h, the circle around the Bo tree, in the centre of Jambudīpa.

* ပဝ်, p a w, a mountain; used only after the names of mountains. *Sanskrit*, parvata.

† ပဝ, p a w a, a deed, act, action; work; vocation; from ပ, by infix *w*. It is often used followed by ဓ, to form abstract nouns. Also ဗ။

* ပသေက်, p a s e k, to pour water in the act of consecrating king, to anoint. *Pāli*, abhiseka. Sometimes written ပသိက်။

* ပသေက်ပသဝ်, p a s e k p a s a w, same as ပသေက်; the meaning given by Haswell, "happiness," is wrong, I think.

* ပသိုက်, p a s u i k, same as ပသေက်။

* ပသိုဒ်, p a s u i n, to make over, hand over, deliver, commit. *Cf.* ဗြိုဒ်, ဗိုဒ်။

* ပသ္မိ, p a s m i ṅ, "to make king," that is, to become king; to rule.

† ပါင်, p ā ṅ, the mouth; word, statement, speech, discourse; ညးမွဲမွဲဗြိဆမွဲမွဲပါင်ဓ ဝ့်ထို—"and each spoke only one word," Dhd. 357. 7.

* ပါဒ်, p ā n, to ask respectfully, to beg, entreat. *Cf.* Burmese, ပန်, p a n.

* ပါဒ်အခေါင်, p ā n a k h o ṅ, to beg leave, ask permission.

† ပါ, p ā a i, to reject, put aside. *Cf.* Burmese, ပယ်, p a y (pron. *pè*); to leave, go from, depart from; ပါဒ်ဗြိပွဒ်တဲ့—"having again departed from thence . . .," Schmidt, 88. 2.

ပိဏ္ဍပါတ်, p i ṇ ḍ a p ā t, food given in alms to monks. *Pāli*, p i ṇ ḍ a p ā t a.

ပုဒ်, p u ṅ, cooked rice.

ပုန်, p u n, to rebel. *Cf.* Burmese, ပုန်။

* ပုဂ္ဂိ, p ū g u i w, a person, individual. *Pāli*, puggala.

ပူဇ, p ū j a u, an offering, to the Buddha, the monks, or a temple; to make such an offering. *Pāli*, pūjā.

* ပေက်, p e k, to be destroyed, done for, ruined, routed. *Cf.* Burmese, ပျက်, p y a k (pron. *pyèt*).

† ဗိုဒ်, p u i n, property, wealth, possession; glory, dignity, in the expression ဏိဃဗိုဒ်, *q.v.* *Cf.* the same meaning of the Burmese," ဘုန်း, b h u n^{3} (pron. *phon*^{3}), in the expression, ဘုန်းကြီး, b h u n^{3} k r ī^{3} = ဏိဃဗိုဒ်, both from the Pāli *puñña*, whose meaning, as is the case also with some other words, has been extended.

ဗိုဒ်ဟာန်, p u i n h ā n, same as ဗိုဒ်။

† ပံက်, p å k, to open; expound, explain.

† ပျော်, p-'ow, to send, despatch, order; to cause to, incite to, urge; persuade, induce. For full explanations see under Old Talaing or, plaque 50. Often also written ပျောဝ်။

* ပျောဝ်ဗတိုက်, p-'ow batuik, to incite to, urge, persuade, induce.

* ပျောဝ်လဝ်, p-'ow lau, to incite, urge, persuade; to cause to.

ပိ, puiai, we; ပိုင်, we (respectful).

ပဲ, pḍai, in, at, into; anciently written, ပွယ်, pḍay, and ပွေယ်, pḍey.

ပဲတ္တိ။, pḍai ltū, on, upon; ပဲလတ္တု။

ပွတ်, pnat, anger, angry, to be angry. Haswell, ပကောတ်။ *Vide* ကဲ။

ပွး, pnaḥ, the shoulder.

† ပိုက်, pmik, wish, desire; sense, meaning of a word or passage; opinion, view; ပိုက်ဆတိယဂါထာ—"this (is) the meaning of the third verse," Dhd. 355. 25.

† ပျးဒိုတ်, pyaḥ duih, to foretell, declare beforehand, prophesy; a prophecy; နဝလုၚ်သဒ်ဒံသဗ္ဗညျးဒိုတ်ဃဝဏ္ဏ်ုဝ်ဘုံတံသဒိုရိ—"with such words did the Omniscient one prophesy on the summit of Mount Hamsagiri," Sudh. 28. 23. Haswell, "ပယ်းဒိုတ်, revelation." *Cf.* Sanskrit, vyādiç.

* ပြာသာတ်, prāsāt, a building with superposed roofs, a terraced tower, palace. *Sanskrit*, prāsāda.

† ပွန်, plan, to turn, turn back, turn over; and; ဝန်တံဝဒို့ဉ်ပွန်ဝဒိုတ်ဝရက်ဆိုဒ်ဒွက်ဒျပ လိုကေ့တဲ့ရခုံဝးဘဲ—"and the people, saying, 'the queen has obliterated the king's line . . . ,'" S.J. 66; again, anew. *Cf.* Burmese, လန်, lan, and ပြန်, pran (pron. *pyan*).

† ပွဲန်ဂတး, plan gataḥ, to turn round; to change, alter, change from bad to worse, go wrong; to oppose, retaliate; to speak in return, as in conversation; ဃဝ်ပွဲန်ဂတးန်—"he is subject to change (his mind, dispositions, etc.)," Dhd. 40. 19.

ပလေဝ်, pleṅ, to destroy, ruin, blot out.

ပွံဝ်, plåṅ, to convey or conduct, to take to (a person or a place); ပလံဝ်။

ပွး, plaḥ, to spread, spread out

ပွ, pwa, same as ပဝ, *q.v.*

ပုန်, phun, a mattress.

* ပုန်ဆီ, phun sḍī, a mattress, S.V., folio *kham*, Dhd. 30. 4

* ပေက်, phek, to fear. *Vide* ပကောက်, of which ပေက် is a contracted form.

* ဖ, phau, with, together with. *Cf.* Haswell, ပါ။

ံ, p h a ṁ, a drum.

ဖျော်, p h - 'o w, same as ဖျေါ, *q.v.*

* ဖဆိုတ်, p h a - 'u i t, "to cause to end, make an end of," to put an end to, to end; to spend, waste, squander; to be ended, spent, finished; တုံ့ဖဆိုတ်ဒေသကိ်—"in order to put an end to his doubts," Sudh. 24. 19; ညိုင်တုံ့ ဖဖဆိုတ် ကို ထူးကလိုဝိုင်—"like the sun putting an end to the brightness of the firefly," S.M. 1; ပွမဆာမိုသတင်လွှေ့ိုးဖဆိုတ် ကေ့ဆဝိုင်ကာသ —"the going to look at dances, wasting (one's) time," Dhd. 238. 26.

* ျ, p h y; this combination is often the result of the assimilation of a labial, ပ, ဖ, with a following sibilant သ or palatal ဇ. *Cf.* the words below.

* ျှန်, p h y a n, to instruct, give instructions, direct (how to act, etc.); to send or leave a message; it is used generally in the couplet, ဝကန် ျှန်, from ပဇန်, Old Talaing, ှန်, p c a n. In the following, it is used alone: တုံ့ဗေါဓိသတ် ပြာဝဒေသာ ဇနေဒ်ဗဇကတ္တုံ့။ လဇေဒ် ဝလာန်ျှန်ဒ် ဆွိမဇကထုတုံ့—"then, the future Buddha went unto his father's presence and told him according to his instructions," S. Vidh. 292.

* ျှပ်, p h y a p, to think, reflect, design, intend; from ကသပ်, k a s a p; here the ျ is the result of the assimilation of the guttural က with the sibilant သ.

* ျှပ်, p h y a p, to put together, join, connect, unite, from ပဇပ်; ဝပ် = to adjoin, be adjoining.

* ျှာက်, p h y ā k, to break, tear; hence, it means: "to cause the day to break," that is, to wait for the dawn or until dawn; ထျဝ်ဗျာက်အန်ျှန်ဓဆို ဗဒိတ်—"the Buddha used to go back and wait for the dawn, in the Middle Country (majjhimadesa)," Sudh. 13. 10; from ဗဝဒ်; ဝဒ်, c ā k = to tear, to rend; there is a colloquial expression, အန်ျှန် ဝဒ်, "the day breaks."

* ျှိန်, p h y i n, to cook; from ပဒိန်; ဒိန် = to be cooked.

* ျှိတ်, p h y i h, "to cause to come down," to put down, throw down; form ပဒိတ်: ဒိတ် = to come down, descend.

ျှုဉ်, p h y u ṅ, "to cause to drink," give to drink; from ပသုဉ်; သုဉ်, to drink.

ျှုန်, p h y u n, flesh, meat; from ှုန် (Old Talaing).

* ျှုန်ဂြိတ်, p h y u n g r u i h, the heart.

† ဖျေ၌, p h y e ṅ, to turn aside, turn away; to set on one side, or obliquely, or on the slant, to slant something towards; ဆဖတ် မွဲ၌ဖျေ၌ ရုံး—"he looked obliquely, with only one eye," S. J. 82; from ပဖေ၌, ဖွေ၌; ဖေ၌, to be slanting or oblique, incline or be on one side; may also be from ဂဖေ၌; see ဖျ၌ = ကဆ၌, above.

* ဖျိုက်, p h y u i k, to render or make happy; from ပသိုက်; see သိုက်။

* ဖျိုန်, p h y u i n, to make over, hand over, deliver; from ပသိုန် (A. V. 134, under *nyāsa*).

ဗက်, b a k, to follow.

ဗကပ်, b a k a p, to turn over, upside down.

* ဗစန်, b a c a n, to instruct, direct, commission; to send or leave a message. *Vide* ဖျိုန်။

* ဗစန်ဂကန်, b a c a n g a k a n, same as ဗစန်။

ဗွိုင်, b c u i p, to cause to arrive, to conduct, convey to. *Vide* ကာဗိုင်။

ဗတက်, b a t a k, same as ဂတက်; *q.v.*

* ဗွိုက်, b t u i k, to incite, instigate, induce to; to urge, stimulate; request to; to attack; to fight, contend. *Cf.* Burmese, ထိုက်, t u i k.

* ဗွိုက်ဖျော်, b t u i k p - 'o w, same as ဗွိုက်, first meanings. *Vide* ဖျော်, ဖျောဝ်။

ဗျောန်, b t o n, to teach, instruct. *Vide* ဗျောံ။

† ဗွတ်, b d a h, to cause to be, to make, to create; Haswell, ပဒ္ဓ။ ဗွတ်, is more common.

† ဗွုင်, b d u ṅ, to cause to receive, to hand, to pass; to give, bestow.

* ဗပေက်, b a p e k, to cause to be destroyed, to ruin, destroy; to rout, put to flight. *Vide* ပေက်။

* ဗဗဲ, b a b a i, same as ဗွဲ, *q.v.*

* ဗမြီ, b a b u i w, "to cause to look at," to show.

ဗဗွိုက်, b a b n i k, to trade. *Vide* ဗွိုက်။

* ဗဗွဲ, b a b w a i, same as ဗွဲ, *q.v.*

* ဗဗွဲလွေ၌, b a b w a i l w e ṅ, in due course, in regular course, in regular order, successively. *Vide* ဗွဲဗွဲလွေ၌။

* ဗဓာ, b a m ā, to suckle. *Cf.* ဂဓာ, ဗဖေယ်, ဖ်, ဗဖ်။

* ဗဓာတ်, b a m ā t a h, same as ဗဓာ။

* ဗဖေယ်, b a m e y, to suckle.

* ဗဖ်, b a m a u, to suckle.

* ဗဖ်တ်, b a m a u t a h, to suckle.

ဗမ္ဘး, b a m n a ḥ, a brahmin, probably from *Sanskrit*, brahmaṇa. *Vide* မ္ဘး။

* ဗဝိဒ်, ဗွိုင်, b a w u i ṅ, b w u i ṅ, to surround; *cf.* Haswell in ဗွိ ဗွိုင်။ *Cf.* Burmese, ဝိုင်း, w ú i ṅ^{3} (pron. *waïn*^{3}).

* ဗထေက်, b a h e k, fear; to fear; to frighten; ဘဖေါ်, ဘထေက်။

* ဗတ်, b a ḅ a t, a measure; to measure. *Cf.* Haswell in သွောက် ဗတ်, a measure; ဖ္ဒသွိတ် . . . ဗဟွံကျိဗတ်—"the great ocean . . . which is measureless," S.J. (A), folio *ku*. *Vide* တ်။

ဗုဒ္ဓ, B u d d h a, the Buddha; in some compounds, abbreviated to ဗုဒ်, b u d h.

* ဗေဒ်, b o k, a companion, companions; follower, partisan; tribe, clan; class, kind; ကန် ထွိုမန် ဗေဒ် ဒိဿာဒိဒ္ဓိတံဒ္ဓ—"some persons, who were followers of the heretics," Dhd. 159. 18; ဗုဒ္ဓဗ္ဗးဒ်ဒ္ဓိပန်ဗေဒ်ရ—"(of) what is termed 'Buddha,' there are four classes," Dhd. 34. 12. *Cf.* ဗွက်။

* ဗောဓိယပထိတ်, b o d h i y a p a l u i h, the spot around the Bo tree. *Vide* ပထိတ်။

† ဗ္ဘတ်, b n a t, measure, scale, standard; size, extent, quantity, the exact quantity; the derived meanings are: about (so much, so big, etc.); so (much, long, etc.); it is equivalent to the Pāli, *matta* and *mattaṁ*, at the end of compounds; ထ္ကာ်ဗ္ဘတ်ဓါဒိတ္ဓ—"during the measure of two or three days, to the extent of two or three days" = for two or three days, Sudh. 4. 21; တိဗ္ဘတ်ဂုန်ဥး—"knowing the measure *or* extent *or* standard, of others' virtues," Dhd. 59. 7; ဗ္ဘတ် ဥး ထွီ—"the quantity of 1,000 persons," one thousand persons, S.B. 16; ဗ္ဘတ်ဝ ထိုင်ဒံ—"the extent *or* measure, of so much," this much, so much, about so much, Dhd. 299. 11, equivalent to Pāli *ettaka* (Dhammapadaaṭṭhakathā, 293); ဗ္ဘတ်ဒ္ဒ်—"the measure of that," that much, so much, about so much," Dhd. 48. 5; နှ‖ဗ္ဘတ်တရေံ—"more than (နှ‖) the old measure," more than before, much more, S.J. (A) 37. The form ဗ္ဘတ်, c n a t, is also found at Sudh. 28. 15.

ဗ္ဘုတ်, b n u h, a spear. ဇွောတ်။

ဗ္ဘိတ်, b n i k, merchandise, goods.

ဗ္ဘး, b n a ḥ, a brahmin. ဗ္ဘးမြှ, a brahminī, brahmin woman. *Cf.* ဗမ္ဘး။

* ဗြထ်, b r a y, rain; this is a 16th century form; the modern form is ဗြဲ။

† ဗြဲ, b r u, to make a noise, to sound; to resound, be sounded, etc.

မြှ, b r a u, a woman.

* မြှညးဝုင်, b r a u ñ a ḥ ḍ u ṅ, "a woman of the city," a citizeness.

* မြှဓဓန်, b r a u m i m i n, a nurse. *Vide* ဓဓန်။

ဗ္ဘာ်, b l ā a i, young; a young man.

† ဖျိုက်, bluik, to sink; to destroy; be destroyed.

† ဗွတ်, bwak, a follower, the follower of a person of rank; from ဘတ်, by *w* infix. Haswell, ဘဝတ်။

* ဗွက်ကရ်, bwak karau, same as ဗွတ်။

† ဗွဲ, bwai; for full explanations see plaque 199. *Cf.* ဗဲ, ဗွဲ, ဖွဲဖွဲ။

* ဗွိုတရး, bwai tarah, in detail, in full, *in extenso*.

* ဗွဲဒဂး; bwai dacah, against (the wind, water, etc.).

* ဗွဲဒဂးကျာ, bwai dacah kyā, against the wind.

ဗွဲဒိုတ်, bwai duih, toward, towards (the east, north, etc.).

* ဗွဲဓဝ်, bwai dhaw, "according to the Law," justly, righteously.

* ဗွဲဗွဲ, bwai bwai, same as ဗွဲ။

* ဗွဲဗွဲလွေဝ်, bwai bwai lweñ, same as ဗဲဗဲသွေဝ်။

* ဗွဲဖျိုက်, bwai bwuik, in circumference; ဖျိုက်, a circumference. *Cf.* Haswell, ဘဝိုက်, circumference.

* ဗွဲမ္ဂး, bwai mñah, outside, without (direction).

* ဗွဲဃထိုက်, bwai aluik, accordingly, owing to, of one's own accord. *Vide* ဘဃထိုက်။

ဘဝ, bhava, a state of existence, existence.

ဘဝတ်, bhawak, follower. *Vide* ဗွတ်။

ဘာ, bhā, monastery. *Pāli*, vihāra.

* ဘဝ်, bhau, existence, state of existence; dwelling, world. *Pāli*, bhāva.

† မ, ma, *first*—a verbal assertive particle corresponding to the Burmese, သည်; in this sense the sentence is generally ended by ၎ or ရောင်, two emphatic assertive particles; but it is also often used by itself; သဒ္ဓိဋီကာမပ်ထဝ်—"thus (as shown above) the sub-commentary explains (it)," Dhd. 32. 2; ကျဝ်ဘြဲ . . . ပတ်တ်ကိုဥပဒးတံညးဂမ္ဘိုင်ဗဒဂိုန်သီ ဥပုတ်ဒ်ဂ္ဂ၊ဆုတ်ဓာတ် ဘူရိဒတ်ကျဝ်ဘြဲမတွံ—"the Blessed Buddha . . . with reference to the laymen who observed the commandments and the sabbath, told the Bhūridatta-jātaka," S.B. 1; the first မ before ဓဂိုန် = "who." ပဲဒုံဣသက်ဆနဒ ဒ် မွဲတောင်။ ကျဝ်ဘြဲဂမ္ဘိုင် မင်္ဂေန္ဒ။သွဝ်—"only in the city of Sañkassa, do the Blessed Buddhas come down from Tāvatiṁsa," Dhd. 63. 6; နကို ပညမဘြဝါဒကထာပံ့။ ပတိုဒ္ဒေံသ္ကောန် ဒ္ဆောန်ထွး မွဲဂလာန်—"in this fifth instruction, he taught (this) one statement," U.O.K. 23. 9. In interrogative sentences, the sentence ends with ရော, the interrogative particle, and မ remains equivalent to the Burmese, သည်, in its abbreviated form before the interrogative particles လော and နည်း; that is, မ . . . ရော = Burmese, . . . သလော, . . . သနည်း; မွတိုတ်မွး ထံမ ဖြဲဝ်ဒ်ရော—"why are

you fleeing?", Sudh. 14. 14; မူန္‌တုအဲမကျင်ရောအ်—"where, Sir, do you come from?", Sudh. 9. 3. ဝ, as an assertive, is most often used with ရ and ရောင်, two emphatic assertive particles closing sentences, which are the equivalents of the Burmese, ထည်း and ထတ်, so that ဝ . . . ရ, ဝ . . . ရောင် = Burmese, . . . သထည်း, . . . သတတ်; ထိဉာတ်တဲ့လသင်သကာဗွဲမဂ်ခိုင် ထောင်ထိုမကိုကုသရခဲပန်ဂိုရ—"the king, seeing (this), gave many gifts to those four warriors," Sudh. 23. 4; ယ်ံမရုတ် သွတ်ဖြံဉ်မန်ဒိမ်အဲရ—"O, king, this little girl was my mother," Sudh. 9. 14; ဝဝိလအောင်ခန်ဉာညးမထိုင်သးရောင် —"people praise patience," U:O.K. 44. 6; ထိုတ်ဂိုအဲဝဒးကျင် ရောင်—"for this reason I had to come," Sudh. 9. 6. *Second*—it is a participial particle; it forms participial nouns; ဝဿး, the purifying, purification = *Pāli*, vodanaṁ, P.T.; ဝဩဝ်ထျ, the being righteous, righteousness, O. St.; ဝတွေတ်ထက်, the reviling, abusing, P.T.; ဝဖြင် ဉ်, the making known, informing, P.T.; ခါဝထိတ်, at the time of going out, when he or I went out; ဉဲဝအော, in the going, while going; နူကျဒ် ဩဲမကျင်ဖိုဉ် —"from Buddha's arriving," Sudh. 19. 7. It is also much used as a connective particle, and is nearly equivalent to a relative: who, which, that; ခါတ်မတ်ဝေတီထမဟိထဒ်ထ—"the relic resting in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa cetīya," Sudh. 9. 4; ထိုင်ဝထိုတ္ဂဂိုဝထို—"according to the words which our lord (Gavaṁpati) spoke," Sudh. 9. 11; ထိန္ဒါဩြတ်ဝစဂ်—"earth of the place which the rhinoceros ate," that is, earth from the place *where* the rhinoceros ate, Sudh. 10. 16; ညးဝ ဝကဉ်ညး—"a person who eats the debts of others," that is, one who lives by borrowing, A.V. 12 (adhamaṇṇa); ကောန် ဒေဝတ် ဝစဒ် ကိုထွန်—"the deva who drives Indra's chariot," A.V. 184 (Mātali); အာဒိုဝ်အွဲဝစီကွး—"having reached the age which is clever," or, of cleverness = the age of reason, Dhd. 145. 17; သဗ္ဗညုတ္တညာဏ် မဂြင်တိကေတ်မသတ္ထုဒိုဗ္ဗန်—"Omniscience, which grasps (everything) without indistinctness (= thoroughly)," Dhd. 30. 24. From some of the above examples it will be seen that ဝ may also often be translated by a present participle. From its quasi-relative use, ဝ is also used to form adjectives; words such as the following are often met with in the dictionaries:—ဝကွေတ်, wet; ဝဖြ, excellent; ဝဂိုင်, many; ဝဇွဒ်, great, large; ဝဗိုန်, firm, steady.

ဝ, m a, father.

* ဝ, m a, you, your, Sir; also: fellow, "chap"; ဂုအဲပကုတ်ထာရော—"why, Sir, do you steal my cattle?", S.M. 4; တုဂုဂး ဂုအဲဝိုက်ဂိုဝတော် ကုဘ်ထာ—"the owner of the bullocks said, 'that fellow has stolen away my

bullocks,'" S.M. 4; ၄မဲ့—"this cattle of yours," S.M. 4; ယို့မ။ စင်္ဂဲ့ . . . . —"you, fellow! this hen . . . ," S.M. 8. *Cf.* ဓ။

† ဓး, m g a ḥ, properly: m a g a ḥ, if, used by itself at the end of the clause, and also in conjunction with ထဒ် or ထဒိရ့, ထဒ် being placed at the beginning and ဓး at the end of the clause (*vide* ထဒ်); it means also literally: called, named; hence = to wit, namely; ထုဓမ္မဝတီဓး သဒ္ဒိ—"Sudhammavatī, to wit: Sadhuim (Thatôn)," Sudh. **12.** 16; မူယိုတ် မင်္ဂဒုဒ် ယွဓး ကျဝ်ရော—"why did he receive the name, to wit, 'Buddha?'", Dhd. **30.** 7; it is also used emphatically, to lay a stress on the preceding word; ယို့တူအဲကျင်ဘြဲ ဗုာရဝေါထမဓးသွိုဝ် ဝုဉ်ဗိုညီ ကိုထာ —"Sir, will the Buddha Mahā-Gotama come to our city?", Sudh. **12.** 25.

* ဓးဓ့်, m g a ḥ w w a', what is termed . . . , what is called, in regard to . . . , is often strongly emphatic and need not be actually translated; အဝါဓးဓ့်။ဒထိုဝေတ်အာမွဲဝါဓး။ထွေဝံဗူးကလေဝ်ပူန်သွိုဉ်းလာန်ရ—"in regard to hell, if once one fall (into it), very difficult it is to get free again," U.O.K. **14.** 12.

ဓးဗ္ဂိ, m g a ḥ g a h, same as ဓးဓ့်။ These two expressions are equivalent to the Burmese, ထုသညာကား, h ū s a ñ k ā[8].

* မဇ္ဈိမဒိတ်, M a j j h i m a d u i h, Majjhimadesa, or the Central Region, the region in India where the Buddha's mission was accomplished.

မင်, m a ṅ, to wait; to watch over, take care of; to observe.

မင်, m a ṅ, the red deer. *Cf.* Burmese, သမင်, s a m a ṅ; Old Talaing, ရမင်, r a m a ṅ.

မင်ပျော်, m a ṅ b l ā a i, a young man. *Vide* ပျော်

* မင်မဲ, m a ṅ m a i, to watch over, take care of. *Vide* မဲ။

မင်မွဲ, m a ṅ m w a i, same as မင်မဲ။

မတ်, m a t, the eye.

* မဏာတ်, m a ṇ a t, to be angry; see m ḍ a c, plaque No. 180.

† မတ္ဂဳး, m a t w a h g a ḥ, literally = "said," that is to say, to wit, as follows; corresponds to the Burmese, ဟူသဆည်း။ ဟူသော။ ပွါ်နှာမသုန်ပြာကာ မတ္ဂဳး ဒေဝပုတ္တမာ။ ထိလေ့သမာ, etc.—"the hosts of Māra are five-fold, as follows: Māra the god, passions, etc."

* မတ္ဂိုး, m a t w a h p g a ḥ, same as မတ္ဂဳး; this expression is found in inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.

မန်, m a n, Môn, the Môn or Talaings; also found written မည် and မောန်။

မရာတ်, m a r ā t = မရာဇ် = mahārājā, great king, king, your Majesty. *Cf.* Haswell, မရှာတ်။

ဗထုန်, masun, five.

* ဗထာဇန်, mahājan, the people. *Pāli*, mahājana.

ဗာ, mā, Māra.

ဗာ, mā, to suckle. *Vide* ဗဗာ, ဇေယျ, ၆။

* ဗာ, mā, a particle meaning: as to . . , as to . . . it is as follows, with regard to . . . , as regards . . . , concerning . . . ; this is probably a loanword from the Burmese, မှာ, mhā, and is often found so written; အဓိပ္ပါယ်မှာ—"as to the meaning it is as follows," Dhd. 10. 9; အဓိပ္ပါယ်မာ, Dhd. 302. 28; အဓိပ္ပါယ်ဂါထာဒွံမာ—"the meaning of this stanza is as follows," S.J. 15. It also shows a present contingency with reference to the future, and is conditional and emphatic; it corresponds to the Burmese, လျှင်ကား, မူကား, lhyaṅ kā[3], mū kā[3]; တူတံသွိက်တိမာ—"if you wish to know," Sudh. 27. 8.

† ၆, mi, mother; it is also used as a term of address to women: madam, ladies, miss.

၆၎, miṅ, to hear.

၆၎, miṅ, harpoon. *Cf.* Burmese, မှဉ်း, mhin[3].

† ၆ဆာဒိဋ္ဌိ, micchādiṭṭhi, having false views, heretical, a heretic.

* ၆တ်, mit, a friend. *Pāli*, mittaṁ.

* ၆တ်ဍ်, mitah, a nurse.

* ၆နီ, minī, a nurse; a maid.

* ၆၆်, mimin, a nurse; an ayah.

* ၆၆်ဗဖတ်ဍ်, mimin bamau tah, a nurse.

* ၆ဗာတ်ဍ်, mi bamā tah, a nurse

* ၆ဗော်တ်ဍ်, mi bamau tah, a nurse.

† ၆က်, muk, the face; hence: in front, before, at; also, one side (of a flat thing). *Cf.* Pāli, mukna.

* ၆က်ကေဝ်, muk kew, to have a bright, pleasant, happy face.

၆ကွာ, mukkhawā, the face, countenance. *Cf.* Pāli, mukha.

† ၆တ်, the end, of anything; nose; also ဓောတ်။

၆, mū, an interrogative, what?, the sentence ending with ဇော; ၆ . . . ဇော, wherefrom . . . ?; ၆ . . . ဇော, in what place . . . ?; ၆ . . . ဇော, how much . . . ?, also written ဝ၆ and ၆၆။

* ၆, mai, to look, look at, behold; the more common form now is ၆; it is not generally used as a verb by itself, but as the second member of compounds, after verbs of "looking, considering, thinking, watching, taking care of, etc.," very much like the Burmese, ကြည့်, kraṅ[1].

* ဓ, m a i, to have, possess; generally not used by itself, but with the negative တ = တွဲ (*q.v.*); *vide* မွဲ။

* ဓ, m a i, one; the common form is မွဲ; ညိုင်ကြုံမွဲကိုးခွါဒဓတိဓ—"like a man with (only) one eye," Dhd. 54. 2.

မံင်, m å ṅ, a gong; *cf.* Burmese, မောင်, m o ṅ.

မ္ဍး, m ṅ a ḥ, without, outside.

မွိတ်, m n i h, a man, sometimes found written မွိတ်, m n i s. *Pāli*, mānussa.

* မွိတ်ကမ္ဘတ်, m n i h k a m l a t, "man-thief," a thief.

မွုံ, m n u ṁ, who has, which has, having; an abbreviation of ဓန္ဒ။မွုံတံဓုံ, et cetera, and so forth, and other . . . ; ဝတ္ထု မွုံတံဓုံတ္ထ ဗက ဝဒ်ပူဇ—flowers, fried grain (ဗက) and other things proper (ဝဒ် = ဝဓဝ်) for oblation, A.V. 6 (aggha).

မ္ဍး, m n a ḥ, thou, you.

မြဓဝ်, m r a m a w, fragrance, perfume.

* မြဓဝ်, m r a m a w, benefit, profit, advantage; မြဓောဝ်. *Vide* ဓတဲ့။

* မ္ဍာ်မွဲ, m l ā k m w a i, to look, look at. *Cf.* Haswell, မ္ဍာ်ဓတ်။

† မွဲ, m w a i, to look, look at; one, 1. See under ဓ; only, alone; ဗောဓိသတ်မွဲဓ ဂုံသ်ကျော်သွာန်တံဂြိရ—"only the Bodhisattva could answer their questions," S.B. 11; ထဇကမွဲ—he alone, S.B. 12; as for . . . ; အဲမွဲဂြိ—as for me, S.B. 12.

* မွဲ, m w a i, to have, possess; not used by itself in this sense; but only in the negative: ထမွဲ, ဟုံမွဲ။ *Vide* ဓ, တွဲ။

* မှာ, m h ā, same as ဓာ, third, *q.v.*

မှာသ်မြတ်, m h ā s m i t, the great ocean the sea. *Pāli*, mahāsamudda.

* ယဝ်, y a w, if; stands at the beginning of the clause; it is often followed by the slightly emphatic ရ, ပုဝ်ရ; and in this form, has been registered by Haswell; it is often reinforced by the other conditional, မွး, which comes at the end of the clause, thus giving ထဝ် . . . မွး or ထဝ်ရ . . . မွး; ယဝ်ဒြိသဂြိ—very well, *lit.* "if it be like that," equivalent to the *Pāli* tena hi, Dhd. 160. 23; this expression is very frequent.

* ယဿပတ်, y a s s a p a t, fame, renown, honour, enjoyment, bliss. Probably from *Pāli*, yassa, patti.

* ယံ, y ā m, if; its uses are like those of ယဝ်, so that we have ယံရ, ယံ . . . မွး, ယံရ . . . မွး.

ယ, y a i, illness, sickness; to be ill. Generally prefixed to names of sicknesses, as ယဂန္တဲ, inflammation; ယဂုတ်, a swelling, etc.

* ယဲ့ပူန်, y a i - p ū m a h, grief; sorrow.

† ယောက်, y o k, to raise, lift up, promote, exalt; the more common form is ထိုက်။

† ယောက်ခေါ်, y o k d o k, same as ယောက်; သာသနာတော်ထဝိုန်ယောက်ခေါ်—"he promoted the Lord's religion," Dhc. **151.** 26; the more common form is ထိုက်ဒိုက်။

† ယဲ, y a ḥ, to shine, give light; to-morrow, at dawn; ယဲဒိုအစောပန်းသို့ ညဲပန်—"at dawn, all the four pandits," S.M. 30.

* ယဲ, y a ḥ, an emphatic closing particle; ဓိုတ်အောသတိယဲ—she swooned, S.J. 15; ထွီဝိုဝဂ္ဂီတဲ့ရထဲ—"our king has become a monk," S.J. (A) 61; it is somewhat akin to ရ and ရောဲ (*q.v.*), but is more emphatic.

ယဲဝတ, y a ḥ g a t a, the morrow. *Vide* ဝတ။

ယိုက် and ယိုက်ဒိုက်, y u i k and y u i k d u i k, same as ယေဲ, ယေဲခေါ်, *q.v.*

ယ္မု, y m u, a name.—

* ယ္မုယ္မော, y m u y m ā, a name.

ယြော, y r a u, any, whatever, who or what . . . soever.

ယ္ဝံ, y w a', yes; sign of the vocative = O! as used in addressing persons, "O, king, etc."

† ရ, r a, an assertive closing particle; it often stands instead of the verb "to be"; အဲဒိထွီရ—"I *am* the king"; ယ္ဝံတီထတံဒွီတ်ဒွံအဲဒိုက်ရ—"Sirs, this jewel *is* my (jewel)," Sudh. **19.** 3; it is a sign of the imperative; it is also slightly emphatic, and is often used in the middle of a sentence, laying a stress on what precedes, but not closing the sense of the whole sentence as it does when used as an assertive closing particle; ယ္ဝံကောန်။ ဒွီက်ရတ်ဒို ထူရိဒတ်ကိုဒိုဒို့ရ။ တ သေဲ တာ—"my son Bhūridatta gave us this jewel, is it not?", S.B. 23; ထိုတ်မန်ဒွီမ်ကွဲဩြင် သာဂရဒို့ရ။သာဂရဩြုမဒ္ဓထွမကို ယ္ဝုရ—"because he was born on the shore of the sea, they gave him the name of Sāgara-Brahmādatta," S.B. 4; the same slightly emphatic stress is found in such frequent expressions as ယဝ်ရ, if; ယဒံရ, if; ခါရ, if; when; စတ်ရ, if, indeed if, although, etc.

† ရဘ်, r a t, a precious thing, a precious stone, a jewel; as an adjective, magnificent, splendid.

* ရာဇာဂြိုတ်, R ā j ā g r u i h, the city of Rājagaha (Pāli); from the *Sanskrit*, Rājagṛha.

* ရိသိ, r i s i, an anchorite. *Sanskrit*, ṛṣi.

† ရုင်, r u ṅ, shed, booth, any building; *cf.* Burm., ရုံ, r u ṁ, shed, booth, godown; ရုံး, r u ṁ³, court-house.

* ရေ၌, r e ṅ, to carry, convey; wear.

* ရေ၌တူ၌, r e ṅ t l u ṅ, to bring, *lit.* "to carry and come."

ရော, r o, the sign of the indirect question, requiring an answer other than "yes" or "no." *Vide* တား

† ရော၌, r o ṅ, a sign of the future; it is used also in all the senses of ရ (*q.v.*), except, perhaps, the last.

* ရ်, r a u, way, manner, fashion, wise; ရ်ဒဲ့, in this manner, thus; like, as; ရ်ထိထူန္ဒရိ—like the earth, Dhd. 54. 25; ရ်တာဝတိဉ်—like Tāvatiṁsa, Dhd. 16. 7; at U.O.K. 35. 10, it translates the *Pāli*, yathā.

ရံ၌, r å ṅ, to look, look at, behold.

* ရံ၌ဖွဲ့, r å ṅ m w a i, to take care of; to look, look at, behold.

† ရး, r a ḥ, the country; a country; kingdom.

* ရွိုင်, r u i ṅ = ရုင်။

ရွိတ်, r u i h, every; ရွိတ်ရွိတ်, *ibid.*

လတ်ပွဲ့, l a k p l u a i, hitting with the fists, boxing.

လတ်ဗတက်, l a k b a t a k, upside down.

* လက္ခဏ်, l a k y a n (pron. *laksan*), a mark, sign, characteristic. *Sanskrit*, lakṣana.

* လင်္ကာ, l a g ā m, to step, go, walk.

လ္ဆ, လစ, l c a, l a c a, a lake.

လတူ, လ္တူ, l a t ū, l t ū, above, over, upon.

* လဒံ့, လဒန်, l a d a ṁ, l a d a m, to pacify, calm, quiet; subdue; နံ့ကာလတွဲတဲ့ရး ပုန်အားအမာတ်အာသံဒံရးတဲ့စိုင်ဝူင်—"one day, the districts rebelled; the minister went, pacified them and returned to the capital," Dhd. 159. 5.

* လန်, l a n, to go about, wander, itinerate; တိုလန်ဓံင်ရ—"he caused the gong to go about," he proclaimed by beat of gong, S.B. 10 = Jā VI, 167. 23, bherim carāpesi.

လ္ပ, l p a, do not, don't; often abbreviated to ပ။

လဍ်, l a p a h, a wave.

* လ္ပာ်, l p ā k, to divide lengthwise, to halve; to tear or cut open.

* လပိုက်, l a p u i k, to be torn out, uprooted; to tear out, tear off, root out.

* လဗိတ်, l a b u i t, to cast, throw, fling. *Cf.* Haswell = "a stone's throw."

* လမန်, l a m a n, to invite. *Cf.* ဝန်။

* လမိတ်, လ္မိတ်, l a m i t, l m i t, to create. *Vide* နိမိတ်။

* ထဗိတ်မွတ်, l a m i t b d a h, to create. *Vide* နိဗိတ်မွတ်။
* ထမ္ဇင်, l a m n a ṅ, breadth, width; across, crosswise, athwart.
* ထထတ်, l a y a t, to touch; strike.
ထရိုအ်, l a r u i', to cry, screech, scream. *Vide* နရိုအ်, နရောအ်။
* ထလံ, ထလမ်, l a l a ṁ, l a l a m, to be appeased, soothed, quiet, settled; to cease. *Vide* ထံ။
* ထဝ်, l a w, to put, to place, keep, settle; it is not altogether, as Haswell has it, "a euphonic suffix"; it is very often used as an auxiliary after an active verb, though it is very difficult to make its exact meaning perfectly understood; this will, however, become clear to persons acquainted with Burmese, when I say that it corresponds exactly to the Burmese verb ထား, t h ā[3], when similarly used. It seems to imply that the action expressed by the preceding verb has been done, and that, in so far, it is settled; the following literal translations may perhaps help in catching the idea: သန္ဓိထဝ်, "he noted (in his mind) *and kept*"; ဓိဉ်ထဝ်—"we heard *and kept*"; သွာန် ထဝ်—"he asked (about something) *and kept*"; စရိဏ ထုထိဝ် တုဓမ္မဲ့ ထဝ်—"the good deeds which you have done *and kept*."
* ထဝ်ကျိ, l a w k u i w, let; ထဝ်ကျိုဒ်ရ—let it be!; ထဝ်ကျိထယးစံကျာ—let him first go back to-morrow, G. pi. 9; ချိုတ်အာတဲ့မွးတ္တိုးဒ်ုံအဝါဝန်ဂ်ုထဝ်ကျိုရ—having died, let him be reborn in the four hells!, Dhd. 18. 2. Let alone, don't mention; ကွံဇမ္ဗုဒိတ်ဝံ ထဝ်ကျိုရ—let alone this continent of Jambudīpa (implying: not only in this continent of Jambudīpa, but even also in the other three), S.J. 25.
* ထအောင်, l a - 'e ṅ, patience, long-suffering; ထအောင်ဓန္တိ, *ibid.* Khantī, *Pāli.*
* ထာဝ်, l ā p, gain, receipts; gift. *Pāli*, lābha.
ထာဝ်သကာ, l ā p s a k ā, a present, gift. *Pāli*, lābha, sakhāra.
လီထး, l ī y a ḥ, the morrow.
ထုတ်, l u k a u, during.
ထုဝ်, l u p, to enter, go in. *Cf.* ထောဝ်။
ထေ, l e, also, and. *Cf.* Burmese, ထည်း, l a ñ[3] (pron. *li*[3], and in colloquial, l è[8]). *Vide* ထေဝ်။
* ထေဝ်, l e ṅ, to be destroyed, lost; effaced.
* ထေဝ်ဗျိုက်, l e ṅ b l u i k, to be destroyed, lost, obliterated.
ထေဝ်, l e p, to be skilled in, know, understand; to be accustomed to.
* ထေဗျ, l e w, also, and; ထော။

လေး, လေ, l e', a stick, staff. .

လော, l o, to roll over and over.

† လောက, l o k a, the world; the people; pertaining to the world, worldly. *Pāli.*

* လောကဝေါဟာရ, l o k a w o h ā r a, a common or colloquial expression, as used by the people at large. *Pāli.*

လောတ်, l o t, to fall down.

* လောထမင်, to roll over and over, round and round. *Vide* ထခင်, ထွင်။

† လော်န်, l o n, to go beyond; to exceed; hence: very, very much, extremely. *Cf.* Burmese, လွန်, l w a n; 11th century Burmese also wrote လော်န်။

† လောင်, l o p, to enter, go in. *Vide* ဝင်။

လး, l a ḥ, flat.

† လိုက်, l u i k, to come up, rise, arise, appear.

* လိုက်ကြွိုင်, l u i k k t u i w, to come up, arise, appear, originate.

* လိုက်လ်။, l u i k l a u, same as လိုက်။

လျှိ, l ṅ i m, one thousand.

† လျု, l ṅ u, to be lonely, solitary; to have nothing, be empty-handed, be empty; be deprived of, be without; ဇာတ လျုအာနဉ်ကြုင်—"a body become *lonely* of its head," deprived of its head, A.V. 57 (kabandha); ဗဲလျု—empty-handed, L.B.C. 28. 14; ဒုံဆွင်ပေင်ဥက်နှ ရက်လျုအာရ—"Tāvatiṁsa was full, and hell became empty," S.M. 2; G. pi. 4 has the couplet, လျုလျှိ, with the same meanings.

လျှိုး, l ṅ u i w, some.

လွ, l m a, a hunter.

* လိုတ်, l m i t, to create. *Cf.* နိဗိတ်။

* လိုတ်ဗ္ဗတ်, l m i t b d a h, to create. *Cf.* နိဗိတ်ဗ္ဗတ်။

* လွု, l m u, a crest, diadem.

* လွောင်, l m o w, to incline, bend, stoop; to incline in mind, feel inclined to. *Cf.* နဓောင်။

† လျှး, လယး, l y a ḥ, l a y a ḥ, light; ray; sunbeam; from လး, to shine.

* လွေင်, l w e ṅ, regular, successive, in succession; order, sequence, regular order. *Cf.* Haswell, လွေင်, ဖွဲလွေင်။

ဝါ, w ā, time; one time, three times, etc.; ဓဂျိုင်ဝါ, many times, repeatedly.

† ဝါတ်ဝါတ်, w ā t g ā t, very difficult; a quarrel; to quarrel; dispute; ပတ်ဝါတ် ဝါတ်ကိုသမ္မည်—"picked up a quarrel with the Buddha," Sudh. 66. 14.

* ဓဆ္ဆဒ်, wiskaw, the fig tree. *Cf.* Haswell, 8.

ဝဒ်, weṅ, to play; to gamble.

* ဝဒ်, weṅ, to avoid, eschew; hence: to except; ပ္ပဓ်ဝဒ်ကဲ့ ပ္ပဇဝရိတ်—"the avoiding of evil deeds," Dhd. 54. 3.

* ဝဒ်, weṅ, to go about, wander, roam; to ramble, go for a walk; to go to; to visit; အဲဒိုက်ဆာဝေဒ်ထိုအဲဒိုက်ညီကွာ—"I will first go home," Sudh. 3. 18; ကျုံဝဒ်ထွံခဲ့—"come and visit us, it is not far," S.B. 25.

* ဝဒ်, weṅ, in vain, to no purpose, for nothing; ဒြဝ်ဓကေဒ်ဃဒ် ကိုဝေဒ်ညးဟာ—"having amassed property, shall I give it for nothing to them?", G. pi. 14.

* ဝေဆန္တဒ်, Wesantaw, King Vessantara.

† ဓိတ်, wuit, to forget; to swoon.

† ဓ္ဍ, wwa', this; can often be translated by "the"; is often simply a sign of the nominative case.

* သ, sa, as a verbal prefix, very often denotes, *first*, the future, for examples see under plaques 64 and 85; it seems to be an attenuation of the old prefix ဆ; *s(a)* is also used on the Ānanda plaques and Pagan inscriptions with a future sense, and is very common in the modern literary language, in which we find also the form သီ, sī. *Second*—It has also sometimes a causal sense (O.T. ဿ), for instance, သွိတ်, "cause to sleep," to put asleep; သွီ, "to cause to know," to make known, tell, inform; သွ, "to cause to do or make"; သ္ဍေဒ်, "to cause to return," to send back, etc. *Third*—Very often, it does not appear, from the context, to have any particular force or sense; ကဲ့, keṁ, to hold, or ဖဲ့; ဝး, to say, or သွး; ဓဝ်, to descend, or သွိဟ်; ဓဒ်, to sew, or သွိဒ်; တိတ်, to sleep, or သွိတ်; ဝး, must, or သွး; ပတ်, to press, squeeze, shampoo, or သွတ်, also သပေါတ်, etc. It is the context alone, therefore, which reveals the future, causal or mere accretion; in word for word translations from the Pāli, this prefix, သ, သီ, is most frequently used to render a Pāli future, and သ (= ဿ) often a causative verb. *Fourth*—In many words, it is not a prefix, but an integral part of the word, in which cases the သ has, in colloquial, become တ, *h*, or been dropped altogether: ဢ္ဍ, house (collq. တိ), with the further loss of ဍ; သွိဒ်, to

take pleasure in, be happy, sleep (collq. ဍိင်); သို့, copper (collq. လို့); သူ, a leaf (collq. လှ).[1]

သက်, s a k, to be without, be destitute of, almost always followed by ထံ (with) = သက်ထံ, ထဏ်။

† ဆွေလေင်, s k a l e ṅ, to cause to return or go back.

*ဆွဲ, s k a', grey (of the hair); used only in the compound; သေဆွဲ, grey hair.

† ဆွိတ်, s k i t, to bite, will bite. *Cf.* Burmese, ကိုက်, k u i k (pron. *kaït*).

† ဆွေတ်, s k e t, to take, will take.

†† ဆွဲ, s k e ṁ, to grasp, take in the hand, clinch; *colloquial*, ကေ၌, k e m.

†† ဆွဲတဲ, s k e ṁ t a i, to grasp; grasp, grip; power, influence, control; နိုင်ကောန်ထုပ်အာဆွဲတဲထိုဂရိတ်ဂို—"although the son had gone into the power of death," Dhd. 12. 8.

†† ထွုတ်, s g u t, to be cut, cut off; to cease, come to an end; to be scarce; what is cut, cut off = an interval; to judge, sentence, condemn to, pass a verdict.

†† ထွုတ်သွာတ်, s g u t s w ā t, to be cut; to cut; be scarce; to decide or settle a question, a doubt, a case at law.

ထား, s g a ḥ, to say.

† သွံ, s a g w a', to get, obtain. See under ဂံး ထွော်။

သင်, s a ṅ, a monk; the monks as a body, the clergy; an abbreviation of next.

* ဆင်, s a ṅ g h a, the clergy. *Pāli.*

* သင်ရိုတ်, s a ṅ r u i h, to help, aid, assist, as a king a subject; or a monk a layman, in accepting an offering of food, etc., so that he (the layman) may acquire merit thereby; သို့ . . . အဲသင်ရိုတ်ဗမ္ဗးဂံညဂးတဲ့—"the king, saying, 'I will assist this brahmin,'" Dhd. 96. 13; ထေသာရိုတိ . . . မှာ(ပုဂ်ိုလ်)ဲတဲ့ဂံမဂဝ်ဂဝ်သင်ရိုတ် ညိရော—"the thera Sāriputra (saying), 'what person shall I assist to-day?'", Dhd. 96. 24. From the *Sanskrit*, saṅgraha. *Cf.* Burmese, သင်္ဂြိတ်, s a ṅ g r u i h.

† သွ, s c a, to eat, will eat.

† သွိတ်, s c i h, to descend, go down; will descend.

† သွေတ်, s c e h, same as သွိတ်။

† သွိင်, s j i ṅ, to sew.

[1] Under this letter, သ, words which, in Haswell, do not appear with the prefix သ, but under the simple form only, are marked with a dagger (†); those that are not registered at all are marked as before with an asterisk (*); and those that appear in Haswell with the prefix, or under which I have registered new meanings, are marked with two daggers.

သတိ, s a t, a fruit; to bear fruit.

သတ်, s a t, a living being. *Pāli*, satta.

* သတ်ဆု, s a t c h u, a fruit; also, သစ္ဆု, s a c c h u.

†† ဓိန်, s t a n, to dwell, abide, remain; to be worth, to cost; a worm, caterpillar.

ဆ္ဒိုက်, s t i k, to lie down, sleep; put to sleep.

ဓိုံ, s t u ṁ, the right, as opposed to the left; sometimes also, တုံ, t u ṁ.

* ဆ္ဒိုတ်, s t u i t, very, very much, exceeding, exceedingly.

သ္ဒး, s d a ḥ, must, obliged to; will have to.

† သဒ္ဓါ, s a d d h ā, faith; kindly feeling; to have faith; to have a kindly feeling, *Pāli*.

သန်ထာန်, s a n t h ā n, form, the human form, body, person. *Pāli*, saṇṭhana.

† ထ္ဒ, s p a, to do, make; will do; cause to do.

* ဆပဒ်, s a p a w, a garuḍa. *Sanskrit*, suparṇa; Old Talaing, s u p a r.

†† သပေါတ်, s a p o t, to press gently with the hand; to press; squeeze; shampoo, massage. *Vide* ပတ်။

† သပိုက်, s a p u i k, to pull out, tear out; will pull out.

* သပ္ပရိုတ်, s a p p a r u i h, a good, virtuous man. *Pāli*, sappurisa.

* သပ္ဍိုတ်, s a p r u i h (15th century) = သပ္ပရိုတ်။

* သဘဒ်, s a b h a ṅ, a festival; *cf.* Burmese, သဘင်။

* သဘင်လေ့, s a b h a ṅ l e h, a nautch.

သမ္ဘာ, s a m b h ā, consort, husband or wife.

†† သမတ်ရထ, s a m a h r a t h a, to be able, be capable of, competent to. "to can." *Sanskrit*, samartha. I have not yet met with the meaning given by Haswell, "to consult together, to reason together."

* သမး, သ္မး, s a m a ḥ, s m a ḥ, like, the same, as, as if.

* သမ္ဍုဒ်, s a m l u ṅ, high; something high; ထိုးတိုန်လတူသမ္ဍုဒ်ထော်ပတုံဇကုပ္ပမိုင်သွဲ့ဒ်— "some went up on something high and threw themselves down on harpoons and swords," Dhc. 150. 23; နုဍ္ဍိသမ္ဘည္ဍုအာဓိဝ် တွံသမ္ဍုဒ်ဖွဲ— "thence, the Buddha arrived at a high hill," Sudh. 47. 19.

* သမ္ဍုဒ်, s a m l u ṅ, the head. *Vide* ဝဍုဒ်, စုထုဒ်။

* သရိ, s a r, medicine; physician. *Vide* သဒိ။

* သရက်, s a r a k, to scratch, as a match; to scratch, with a style, stick, etc., to draw a line. Haswell, ခရက်. *Cf.* စရက်။

* သရဒ်, s a r a ṅ, a deed, act, work. *Vide* စရဒ်, သရာဒ်။, the Old Talaing is s i n r a ṅ.

* သရင်ပါဒ်, s a r a ṅ p ā p, an evil deed, an act of demerit. *Vide* သရာဒ်ပါဒ်။ *Pāli*, pāpa, evil, bad.

* သရာဒ်, s a r ā m, same as သရင်။

†† သရာဒ်ပါဒ်, s a r ā m p ā p, same as သရင်ပါဒ်။

* သရဲ, s a r ā a i, a soldier, warrior, A.V. 192 (yodha); သရဲတိုက်, a warrior fighting from a chariot, A.V. 194 (rathanīka). *Cf.* Burmese, သူရဲ, s ū r a i.

* သရိုဟ်, s a r u i h, to fall, fall off, fall down, as fruits or leaves from trees.
သဒ်, s a w, low; to be low, not high.

* သဒ်, s a w, medicine, drug; physician, doctor; ဆေးသရဲ, "a master of medicine," a physician, A.V. 106 (tikicchaka); သဒ်ဗျူဒ်, an old (ဗျို) physician, Dhd. 172. 6; ကျောန်သဒ်, to practise as a doctor; to doctor; to physic, Dhd. 172. 7.

†† သျှ်, သဟ်, s a h, to untie; to answer.
သဟာဲ, s a h ā a i, a companion, friend. *Pāli*, sahāya.
သွား, s - ā, to go; will go.

†† သွး, s - ə ḥ, to be clear, be clean; to cleanse; to purify.

* သာ, s ā, to lay, put, place.

†† သဒ်, s ā k, colour; form, appearance; kind, category.
သဒ်ဂှ်, s ā k g a h, "that kind," like that, thus.
သဒ်ဍ်, s ā k w w a', "this kind," like this, thus.

* သိက်, s i k, why? for what reason? how? what? generally followed by ဝ, ဒ္ဍ or ဝး; သိက်ဝဍ္ဍိ မကသျှ်ရော—how doing (= how) did we get this (king)?, S.J. 61.

* သိက်, s i k, to stuff, cram, compress, make compact. *Cf.* Burmese, သိပ်, s i p (pron. *the'k*).

* သိဂ္ဂး, s i g g a ḥ, what do you say? how do you say? သိတ် + ဝး, with assimilation

* သိန္ဓု, s i n d h a u, belonging to Sind, of Sind; a horse of Sindh; these horses were very much prized in ancient India. *Pāli*, sindhava; ချော်သိန္ဓု, a horse of Sindh.

* သိဒ်ဂျိဒ်, s i p g l i p, to attend respectfully on.

* သီ, s ī, a prefix denoting the future; see under သ။

* သုဇ္ဇာတ်, s u j j ā t, a jātaka story; an assimilation of သုတ်ဇာတ် = *Pāli*, sutta, discourse, and jātaka.

* သုတ်ဇာတ်, s u t j ā t, see last.

* သေၼ်, s e ṅ, true; to be true, Dhd. 362. 10, L.B. 28. 14.

သော်, s o k, the hair of the head.

* ထောက်ကျ်, s o k s k a', grey hair; သော်က်။

* သောတ်, s o h, to pour; the more common form is သိုတ်; 15th century inscriptions have ၵြောတ်, s r o h, and the modern colloquial is very near it: ဝရှိတ်, c a r u i h, both with *r* infix.

†† သိုက်, s u i k, happiness, well-being; to be easy, happy, comfortable; ဗိတ်သ ဟဲသိုက်သွတ်ဒိုက် သွတ်—"a friend who is the same in happiness, the same in trouble," a friend in need, a friend indeed. *Cf.* Haswell under သိုက်. *Vide* ဗျိုက်။တသိုက်, is the same word with တ (Old Talaing probably ဒိ or တိ), prefix; သိုက် = *Pāli*, sukha.

* သိုင်, s u i ṅ, to build; also with *r* infix, သြိုင်; also written ၵြောင်, Dhc. 149. 13.

* သိုန်, s u i n, the pandit Senaka.

†† သို, s u i m, with; often joined to a verb by ဝ, when it forms adverbs which may often be translated by "while . . . , *tout en* . . . ," သို့ သို ကိုမၠံ့ထထူ ကိုတ်ဗိင်ဒွ်။ဟောင်—"the king even (ထောင်) while sitting on the elephant's back . . . ," S.J. 37.

သို, s u i m, all, whole.

* သိုတ်, s u i h, to pour. *Vide* သောတ်။

* သိုတ်, s u i h, the chest, breast. Haswell, သြိုတ်, s r u i h, with *r* infix.

* သိုတ်ပထိတ်, s u i h p a l u i t, to extinguish, put out by pouring water; this expression is often used metaphorically.

သ္ဂိ, s ṅ i, house; colloquial, ဟိ။

* သ္ဂိတ္ဂၚ်ကြာကတ်, s ṅ i t n u ṅ k r a k a t, a house with superposed roofs surmounted by a spire, palace; also the harem, seraglio. The Shwezigôn Bell-inscription (16th cent.) reads: သ္ဂိကၚ်ကြာဂတ်။

* သ္ဂိစာတ်, s ṅ i c ā t, a place of confinement, jail; collq. ဟိစာက်; see စာတ်။

†† သ္ဂိဒုဒ်, s ṅ i ḍ ā k, water-closet, privy; foeces, excrement; collq. ဟိဒုဒ်။

†† ဥ, s ṅ ī, to look, look at; look for; to look askance, sideways; collq. ဦ, ṅ ī; the form ဝဦ is also found. *Vide* သ္ဂေါ်, ၵေါ်။

* သ္ဂီမဲ, s ṅ ī m a i, to look, look at. *Vide* မဲ။

* သ္ဂီမွဲ, s ṅ ī m w a i, same as သ္ဂီမဲ. *Vide* မွဲ။

* သ္ဂေါ်, s ṅ e w, same as သ္ဂီ; collq. ၵေါ်။

* သ္ဂ, s n a, the French-horn; a squirrel.

* သ္ဂကြိုက်, s n a k r i k, cotton. *Vide* ကြိုက်။

သွာ, s n ā, the small square piece of leather or mat which the monks used to carry with them to sit upon, a seat.

* သွာ, s n ā, the prefix သ + ဒ, more commonly written ဏာ (*q.v.*).

သွဉ်, s n āk, a sword.

သွံ, s n ām, a year; ခွံ

* သွဲ, s n āai, a linchpin *Vide* ခွဲ, တွဲ။

* သွဲကန်ဉ်, s n āai k a n hāṅ; သွဲကွင်, သွဲခန်ဉ်, သွဲခွင်, for all these see ခွဲကန်ဉ်။

* သွဲမုတိရိကွီ, s n āai m u h ri k w ī, "the linchpin at the end of the axle of a cart," simply, a linchpin.

သွတ်, သမတ်, s m a t, s a m a t, small, young; a child.

သွတ်ပြော်, s m a t b r a u, a young woman, a girl.

* သွတ်, s m a h, to be the same, be equal to, be the same as.

သွဝ်, s m a w, under.

သွဝ်ကျာ, s m a w k y ā, the north.

* သွာ, s m ā, a craftsman, a worker in, one skilful in any craft or art; not used alone, but placed before the word descriptive of the craft; also written ခွာ. *Cf.* Burmese, သမား, s a m ā[3].

* သွာဇိုင်, s m ā j m iṅ, "one skilful in stitching," a tailor.

သွာန်, s m ān, to ask (about something), enquire; a question, enquiry.

သွာန်သွုက်, s m ān s m u k, same as သွာန်။

† သွိတ်, s m i k, to wish, desire; *colloquial*, ဓိက်, m i k.

သွိတ်ဂွ်, s m i k g w a', "to desire to obtain," to wish, desire; also used for the infinitive: to, in order to; *colloquial*, ဓိတ်ဂွ်, m i k g w a'.

* သွိတ်, s m i t, to dedicate; to stroke, touch.

သွီ, s m iṅ, a king; prince; governor.

* သွီအိန်, s m iṅ 'I n, "King Indra," the god Indra.

သြင်, s r aṅ, shore, bank. Also သင် and ပြိုင်။

သြန်, s r a n, silver; money. သန်။

သြဲတ်, s r i t, a rhinoceros. သိတ်။

* ဇြောတ်, s r o h, to pour. *Vide* သောတ်, သိုင်း။

ဇြိုဟ်, s r u i h, the chest, breast. သိုဟ်။

† သွိင်, s l iṅ, to delight in, be happy; sleep; collq. လွိင်။

သွုင်, s l uṅ, high, exalted; to be high; သွုင်ကာ, to raise.

* သွး, s l aḥ, "to make free, cause to be free," to free; be free, vacant, unoccupied; to bring forth; to be born.

* သုးဂဒ်ဒ္ဂ်, s l a ḥ g a w g n a u, to bring forth.
ဆွတ်, s w a t, small; to be small. *Cf.* သွတ်။
ထွဒ်, s w a w, Indra's heaven, Tāvatiṁsa. *Skt.* svarga.
* သွေက်ဒ္ဂြုဒ်, s w e k j w u i w, quarrel; to quarrel; = သေတ်ဒ္ဂုဒ် with *w* infix.
ထ, h a, negative particle, no, not. ဟ်။
ထတ်, h a t, a cubit, 18 inches.
* ဟ့ဲ, h m a i (properly h a m a i), there is no, there is not; h a + m a i, *q.v.* ဟဲ့ is also met with; see ဲ့။
ဟာ, h ā, sign of the direct question, requiring a "yes" or a "no" for answer.
* ဟိဒုဒ်, h i ḍ ā k, see ဆို and ဆိုဒုဒ်။
* ဟိမု, h i m u, named, called; to name, call; ကောန်ဖြဲ့ဒဲမဟိမုဥ္ဇုဆုရဒ်—"a daughter called Uttāra," Dhd. 296. 10; ဝုင်ဒဲ့မဟိမုဒ်ဘြို—"a city named Mithila."
†† ဟေဒ်, h e ṅ, an emphatic particle laying stress on the word, or clause, preceding it; အဲဟေဒ်, even I, I myself.
†† ဟိုတ်, h u i t, cause, reason; because; matter; circumstances; result = fruit, benefit; old and medieval language, ဟေတ်, *Pāli*, hetu; မူဟိုတ် . . . ရော—for what reason? why? ဟိုတ်ဒွံ—for this reason; ပဟိုတ်ကို—with reference to.
* ဟိုန်, h u i n, often abbreviated to န်, *n*; this word denotes the accusative case, or object. It is frequently used in word for word translations from the Pāli, being placed before the Talaing word which translates a Pāli accusative. But it is used also in current Talaing, where it denotes the object, especially when it comes before the verb, being similar in this to ဒ်; ဟိုန်ဒးဟာတ်ဓဏ္ဍုတ်ဆွာတ်—"the minister who decided cases" = the judge, S.J. (a), folio *kha*; ဓိုဉ်ကိုဝါ ဟိုန်ဂဆာန်အာဟာတ်ဒ်ဆို ဖိုင်တဲ့—"the king, repeatedly hearing the statement of the minister," S.J. (a), folio *ka*.
ဟိုံ, h u i m, to speak, say.
ဟိုံး, h u i m g a ḥ, to say.
ဟိုံန်, h u i m j u i m, to say, speak, tell.
ဟွဳ, h w a', negative particle, no, not. ဟ, h a.
†† ဗတ်, ḅ a t, a measure; to measure; try, test.
* ဗတ်ဗ္ဒတ်, ḅ a t b n a t, measure, extent, dimension; to measure.
* ဗဘ်ကွာတ်, ḅ a t k n ā t, to measure, estimate, compute; also ကွဉ်ကွာတ်။
* ဗတ်ပြုဒ်, ḅ a t p r u i ṅ, to measure, measure strength with, vie.
† ဗန်, ḅ a n, to braid.

၀၁, ḅā, two.

၀ဲ, ḅai, one anna, one-sixteenth of a rupee. *Cf.* Burmese, ဝဲ, pai.

* ံတ်, ḅåk, to hoe; to spin, as a top; to peck, as a bird. *Cf.* Burmese, ပေါက်, pok.

†† ိုန်, ḅuin, though, although; it begins the clause; often တိုး is used in conjunction with it; ိုန် . . . တိုး။

ိုတ်, ḅuih, cool, cold; to be cool, cold.

†† ဍ, b̲a, you (disrespectful); it; fellow; ဍဏံ, b̲a ṉa', this fellow.

ဍဲ, b̲ai, an elder sister.

† ဍဂဝ၁, b̲ai gamā, a nurse. *Vide* ဝဝ၁။

APPENDIX C-2.

Under the words which follow, is, in the vocabulary, given grammatical information for the most part not in Haswell's "Grammatical Notes." The words are arranged alphabetically for easy reference.

ဆာ, used as a verbal auxiliary.
ဆွတော်, adverb, pronoun.
ဆိုး, a polite form of the imperative.
တဆေး, verbal auxiliary.
တော်, expletive.
ထိ, verbal auxiliary.
ဒုံးဆယ်, as a numeral suffix.
ထုပ်, verbal auxiliary.
ထုံ, verbal auxiliary.
ပါ, ပါရဲ့, conjunction.
၌, demonstrative pronoun; accusative case before the verb; an emphatic article; nominative case.
၌, verbal auxiliary.
ရတဲ့, verbal auxiliary.
၌, numeral suffix.
ဦး, used as an imperative.
ဦး, as an interrogative.
ဟာ, verbal auxiliary.
တုန်, emphatic particle.
တဲ့, the past tense; a connective = Pāli, tvā; a conjunction; conditional.
တတ်, verbal auxiliary.
တိုန်, verbal auxiliary.
ထုံး, infinitive.
နှိုး, verbal auxiliary.
ဘး, verbal auxiliary; first, before the verb; second, after the verb.
နဲ့, verbal auxiliary.
နဲ့, verbal auxiliary.
နေဦး, future.
ပ (ဗ), causal verbal auxiliary; interrogative; prohibitory.
ပရိုး, preposition.
ပပ, ပ, abstract nouns.
ပ, forms adverbs.
ပ, assertive particle; participial particle; quasi-relative particle; forms adjectives.
ပ, pronoun; you; Sir.
ပြီး, conjunction; to wit; emphatic.
ပြီးပြီ, conjunction; emphatic.
ပြီးရှိ, same as ပြီးပြီ။
ပတ္ထိဝး, adverb.
ပတ္ထိပြီး (15th century) = ပတ္ထိဝ။
ပဘ, explanatory particle.
ဗ, verbal auxiliary.
ဖွဲ့, verbal auxiliary; adjective; adverb.
ဖျာ = ပဘ။
ထဝ်, ထဝ်ရဲ့, ထဝ် . . . ပြီး, conjunction.
ထဝး, emphatic terminal particle.
ရဲ့, assertive particle; imperative; slightly emphatic in the middle of a sentence, and after conjunctions and adverbs.
ဝရောင် = ရဲ့
ရှိ, adjective; adverb.

ထိ, verbal auxiliary.
ထော, ထောဝ်, conjunction, adverb.
ဒ္ဍ, article, "the"; nominative case.
သ, verbal prefix, future; causative; without special force.
သိဟ်, what? why? how?
သီ = သ။
သို, forms adverbs.
သောင်, emphatic after a noun or a clause.
သို$, $, accusative.

ံ, n w a ṁ, to be, to have; also ုံ, n u m, mostly after prefixes ∞ and ဝ။

† ပ, p a, to do, make; to cause, in this sense it is widely used as a causal prefix in the forms: *pa*, *p*, *ba* and *b*. It is an interrogative = why? how?; ပရေကရတ်ာညိဉ်ဒုံရော—"how are the Paccekabuddhas?", S.J. 40. It is also a prohibitive = do not, and probably an abbreviation of ထွာ, မွးတံဃာန်ရ—do not ask!, S.J. (A), folio *ke*; ပစိတ်—don't forget, G. pi. 7.

* ပက်, p a k, to throw, fling (water, dust, etc.). *Cf.* Burm., ပက်။

† ကျင်ရန်, p k a ṅ r a ṅ, to bear, carry, wear; to carry out, perform, fulfil; to rule, govern; in word for word translations, it very often translates Pāli *dhāreti*; ပကျင်ရင်ဆဒ် လက်သန် ဇွန် ၃၂—"who wears the 32 great characteristics," Dhd. 30. 25; ကျင်ရင်ဆဒ်ရ ဂန္ဓုရစာ—"fulfilled the two gandhuras," L.B. 2. 1; ပကျင်ရင်ဆဒ်ဗွတ်—carrying a spear.

* ကျော်, p k a u, a flower. Haswell enters this word only as "ကျောပေါန်, garland," but has the entry ဝ် (colloquial). To open, as a flower, to blossom, to flower; ဆုပတ်—a flowering tree, A.V. 164 (phulla).

* ကျော်, p k a u s a u, a flower. Haswell's entry, "ပတ်သ, a carver in wood," I have not met with, the usual expression is ညးုတိကျော်။

* ကျော်ဩ, p k a u s r a u = last, with *r* infix.

† ပကောံ, p a k o ṁ, to bring together, collect, gather, hoard, amass; ဖြဝ်ပကောံ လဒ်ကိုဆဝ်ညးဟာ—"having amassed property, shall I give it for nothing to them?", G. pi. 14.

ပဒ်ဒိဉ်, p a ṅ m i ṅ, to hear, listen to: Haswell, ပဒ်ဒုဉ်။

† ပညတ်, p a ñ ñ a p, a name, appellation, term; to name, call, term; to prepare; *Pāli*, paññapeti.

ပညာ, p a ñ ñ ā, wisdom, intelligence, knowledge. *Pāli*.

ပတ်, p a t, to press with the hand, squeeze. *Vide* သဒေါတ်။

† ကျန်, ပတန်, p t a n, p a t a n, to build; to raise, exalt; to make firm, stable, unwavering; to restrain, control (of the mind, feelings, etc.); to establish; to appoint to an office; ခဒ်ဂွကျာ်ဇးမွာ်ဝဲတေင်းအဲ ပတန်လဒ်ဘူးအဲရ—"I will exalt you to the state of chief queen," Sudh. 24. 22; ဂွကျာ် . . . တွံနဉ်လဒ်ဃဲပူမ်ဂွံသွတ်ရထဲ—"the queen, being unable to control her grief," S.J. 66.

† ထံ, p t a ṁ, to begin, begin with; et cetera, and so forth, and the like. *Vide* ထံ။

* ထံ, p t a ṁ, to fulfil, practise.

† ဗျိုက်, bluik, to sink; to destroy; be destroyed.

† ဗွက်, bwak, a follower, the follower of a person of rank; from ဗတ်, by *w* infix. Haswell, ဘဝက်။

* ဗွက်ကရှု, bwak karau, same as ဗွက်။

† ဗွဲ, bwai; for full explanations see plaque 199. *Cf.* ဗဲ, ဗဲ့, ဗွဲ့။

* ဗွိုတရုး, bwai tarah, in detail, in full, *in extenso*.

* ဗွဲဒေး; bwai dacah, against (the wind, water, etc.).

* ဗွဲဒေးကျော, bwai dacah kyā, against the wind.

ဗွဲဒိုဝ်, bwai duih, toward, towards (the east, north, etc.).

* ဗွဲဓဝ်, bwai dhaw, "according to the Law," justly, righteously.

* ဗွဲဗွဲ, bwai bwai, same as ဗွဲ။

* ဗွဲဗွဲလွေဝ်, bwai bwai lweñ, same as ဗဲ့ဲလွေဝ်။

* ဗွဲဗျိုက်, bwai bwuik, in circumference; ဗျိုက်, a circumference. *Cf.* Haswell, ဘဗိုက်, circumference.

* ဗွဲမ္ဂုး, bwai mñah, outside, without (direction).

* ဗွဲဃဳထိုက်, bwai aluik, accordingly, owing to, of one's own accord. *Vide* ဃဳထိုက်။

ဘဝ, bhava, a state of existence, existence.

ဘဝက်, bhawak, follower. *Vide* ဗွက်။

ဘာ, bhā, monastery. *Pāli*, vihāra.

* ဘဝ်, bhau, existence, state of existence; dwelling, world. *Pāli*, bhāva.

† ဓ, ma, *first*—a verbal assertive particle corresponding to the Burmese, သည်; in this sense the sentence is generally ended by ၎ or ရောင်, two emphatic assertive particles; but it is also often used by itself; သဒ္ဒါဋီကာဓပ်ဃဝ်—"thus (as shown above) the sub-commentary explains (it)," Dhd. 32. 2; ကျဝ်ဘြဲ့ . . . ပဟ်တိကိုဥပဒးတံညးဂမ်ဖြင်ဓဒိုန်သိ ဥပုတ်ဂ်ါ၎ဃုတ်ဇာတ် ကူဂိဒတ်ကျဝ်ဘြဲ့ဓတွံ—"the Blessed Buddha . . . with reference to the laymen who observed the commandments and the sabbath, told the Bhūridatta-jātaka," S.B. 1; the first ဓ before ဒဂိုန် = "who." ပွံဝုင်သက်ဃာန္ဓာ ဂ် မွဲဟောင်။ ကျဝ်ဘြဲ့ဂမ်ဖြင် ဓဒ္ဒေါန္ဓသွဝ်—"only in the city of Sañkassa, do the Blessed Buddhas come down from Tāvatiṁsa," Dhd. 63. 6; နကို ပဥ္စမဘြဲ့ဝါဒကထဃ်။ ဓဟိုဒ္ဒေါ်ဟ္သောန် ဇွောန်ထွး မွဲဂလာန်—"in this fifth instruction, he taught (this) one statement," U.O.K. 23. 9. In interrogative sentences, the sentence ends with ရော, the interrogative particle, and ဓ remains equivalent to the Burmese, သည်, in its abbreviated form before the interrogative particles လော and နည်း; that is, ဓ . . . ရော = Burmese, . . . သလော, . . . သနည်း; မ္ဗဟိုတ်မ္ဗး ထံဓ ဖြဲဝ်ဒ်ရော—"why are

VOLUME II PART II

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA

Epigraphia Birmanica

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

Edited by

CHAS. DUROISELLE

Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma Circle

The Talaing Plaques on the Ananda Plates

By CHAS. DUROISELLE

(REPRINT—1962)

1962

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

PREFACE

FOR greater ease of reference and study, these plates have been published in a separate volume; this plan was preferable to that of having them interspersed in the text, where it would have been impossible, in most cases, to make them face the legends referring to them. Fronting each plate are short explanations, the first part of which is merely indicative of the episodes illustrated in the photographs; then follows a brief description, or rather indication, of the personages or objects in the photographs whenever necessary, for many of these scenes are quite clear by themselves. These explanations and those in Part I are complementary to one another.

Neither in Part I nor here have I touched on the technique of these plaques; this subject will be discussed, together with the history of the introduction of glaze into Burma, in the preface to the "Terra-cotta Plaques on the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan," which illustrate the 550 Jātakas, and the letterpress of which is now in hand. I would here merely observe that even a cursory examination of all the sculptures and plaques of the Ānanda reveals the fact that they all have been done by Indian artists, mostly Indians from the south: the cast of countenance, the dresses—especially of gods, kings and queens—the headdresses, ornaments, etc., etc., as well as the technique, are Indian. The epigraphs of that period make it clear that Indians were then numerous at Pagan. Evidences are not lacking, however, to show that these artists, especially in so far as the cast of the scenes was concerned, were guided and supervised by Talaings, no doubt monks: the clearest of these evidences consists of the short legends in Talaing at the bottom of the plaques. So that, in these plaques we behold combined the cultural influence of two distinct nations at the Burmese capital; nations whose civilization was much older than that of the Burmese, and to whom the latter almost entirely owe their culture.[1]

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

MANDALAY, 16*th January* 1921.

[1] In this connection, see my paper, "Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma," in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report for 1912-13, pp. 87-89.

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

VOL. II—PART II

TALAING PLAQUES ON THE ĀNANDA

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1. We are in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven; in the middle, on the seat, is the Bodhisattva, the future Temiya; on his right, Sakka, begging of him to be reborn as a man in the bosom of queen Candādevī. On his left, kneeling in the attitude of adoration, is a deva; he represents the hosts of Tāvatiṁsa; in the Pagan plaques, one or two devas generally stand for the throngs of the gods.

2. Queen Candādevī is lying on a couch on her right side; the small figure near the couch is the Bodhisattva who, having acceded to Sakka's prayer, comes down from the Tāvatiṁsa to incarnate himself.

3. This plaque is missing.

4. The king gives the baby a name. Sitting on the throne is the king, holding the Bodhisattva on his lap; on the left are brahmans, who were called in to read the different marks on the child's body. The young prince is named Temiya.

5. The king is on his throne, with Temiya, one month old, on his lap. Four thieves are brought in and condemned to dreadful punishments. The person nearest to the throne, in the lower row, is the officer who brought them in.



1.—Indra invites Temiya (to be re-born as a man).



2.—Conception of Temiya.



4.—(His father) gives (him) the name of Temiya.



5.—When they bring the thieves.

6. On the couch, the Bodhisattva is thinking deeply; the sentences inflicted by his father startle him, for when he himself is king, similar sentences will open to him the gates of hell; over him is spread the white umbrella, symbol of royalty. The goddess, whose care is to watch over the umbrella, appears to him, half her body only being visible, and gives him advice as to how to avoid becoming king. The lotus bud symbolizes divine birth. Near the couch are two perfume vases.

7. The goddess has advised him to simulate deafness, and to make it appear he is a cripple. A long series of tests follow, through all which he remains impassible. This is the test of the milk. It will be seen this plaque has been repaired by very unskilful hands. Temiya is lying down; his head and shoulders on the lap of a nurse who is trying to make him drink. At his feet, another woman urges him to take nourishment.

8. They now try to rouse him from his apathy with tempting cakes; but in vain. Same position; the child is alone; the cakes cannot be seen.

9 The sight of luscious fruits may perhaps make him move and ask for them; but this test is also unsuccessful. Same position. Near the cot, four women present Temiya with different kinds of fruits. The plaque is badly spoiled.



6.—The goddess instructs Temiya.



7.—The trial with milk.



8.—The trial with cakes.



9.—They try (Temiya) with fruits.

10. They now try to move him with beautiful toys, but with the same result. Temiya is lying as in the foregoing plaques. Four nurses try to tempt him out of his resolve with toys.

11. They then try to tempt him with dainty food, but he does not so much as look at it. The plaque has been spoiled by whitewash. The Bodhisattva appears to be lying down quite alone. The dainty food, which originally must have been seen near the couch, cannot now be made out.

12. This plaque is missing.

13. He is six years old ; at this age, children are afraid of furious elephants ; they test him with one well trained. On the right sits the king in an attitude of discouragement at the failure of the trial ; sitting placid and unmoved before him is Temiya ; close to the latter the elephant is striking the ground. Temiya's companions are seen running away panic-stricken.

14. They then try to frighten him out of his composure with snakes, but in vain. On the right, the Bodhisattva seated ; the head of the snake with mouth wide open can be seen above him, while a coil passes under his left arm and across his lap. On the left, his companions are seen fleeing.



10.—The trial with toys.



11.—The trial with food.



13.—They try (Temiya) with an elephant.



14.—They try (Temiya) with snakes.

15. They thought that dancing would elicit from him some glimpse of interest, and they test him with mimes. On the right, the king, and Temiya in front of him, are seated; in front of Temiya, a dancer. The Bodhisattva's companions—here two represent the whole five hundred—are enjoying themselves looking on.

16. He goes on steadfastly simulating helplessness; swords will perhaps make him give up the pretence, and dreadful men menace him with gleaming swords. The king and Temiya are seated as before; the latter appears quite unmoved, while a man, on the left, is brandishing a sword over him as if to cut off his head.

17. Perhaps a sudden noice will startle him into speaking; so, when he is ten years old, they try him with conches to make sure whether he is deaf. Temiya is on his couch; near it, three persons are seen blowing conches.

18. Then they try him with drums with the same intention, but in vain. The faces of two drums may be seen in the foreground near the couch.



15.—The test of the mime.



16.—They try (Temiya) with a sword.



17.—They try (Temiya) with conches.



18.—They try (Temiya) with drums.

19. To see whether he does move when alone at night and in darkness, they hide lamps in jars which they take out suddenly, watching him. Two nurses are seen holding lamps near the bed.

20. This does not succeed; they now try him with molasses; they besmear him and place him in a spot alive with flies. He remains undisturbed on his couch. The two dots, one over his wrist and the other over his leg, are not defects in the glaze; they very probably represent flies.

21. He is now fourteen; they want to see if filth will move him. They leave him several days without bathing him, bedaubed with his own filth. On the couch, the Bodhisattva; near by, two nurses watching him.

22. Now they test him by placing fire in pans under his bed. He remains unmoved. Under the bed, a fire-pan.



19.—They try (Temiya) with lamps.



20.—They try (Temiya) with molasses.



21.—They try (Temiya) with filth.



22.—The test with fire-pans.

23. His parents' hearts are full of sorrow; they feel sure he is not a cripple. So many tests having failed, they come and remonstrate with him on his attitude, imploring him to put an end to it. On the left, the king; on the right, the queen.

24. They then try him with beautiful nautch-dancers. Temiya always on his bed; on the right, a girl dancing; near the bed two men playing, one the flute, and the other the drum.

25. As another test, Temiya is made king for a period of seven days. He is placed on an elephant and led in great pomp round the city. On the left, a house; in front of it, the elephant. On the elephant, in front, the mahout; in the middle, Temiya, and behind him the white umbrella-bearer.

26. Temiya gives no sign of intelligence. The king orders his removal to the cemetery. On the left, the charioteer, who has come to take the young prince, carries him away in his arms; behind him, the queen, lamenting and beating her breast.



23.—(Temiya's) mother and father come and remonstrate (with him).



24.—The trial with nautches.



25.—Accession of Temiya.



26.—The charioteer comes to take away (Temiya).

27. Outside the palace, the charioteer places Temiya on a chariot and conveys him to the cemetery for burial. One of the horses can be seen; the other, alongside of him, being invisible On the chariot, in front, the charioteer, and behind him Temiya.

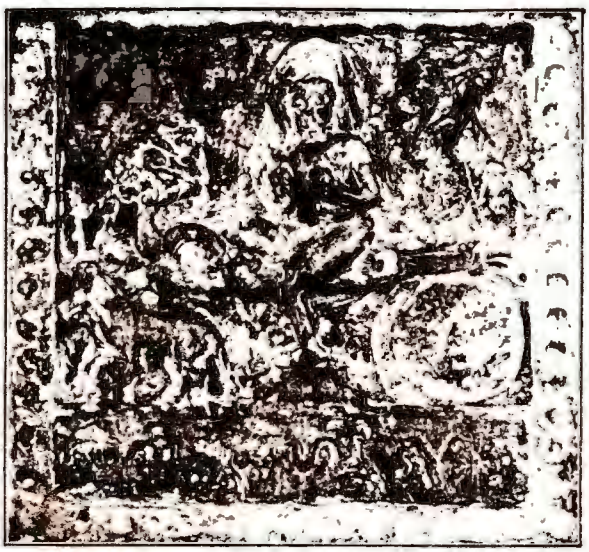
28. The charioteer has gone to dig a grave near by. Temiya, having been still for so long, wonders if he has any strength left; to ascertain, he gets down from the chariot. He is in the act of descending; his left leg is already outside, his foot resting on a stone. In front, a horse, quite diminutive.

29. When on the ground, he tries his strength; to do so, he seizes the chariot by its hinder part and lifts it up as if it were a toy. The horse may be seen under the chariot.

30. At the orders of Sakka, Vissakamma, the celestial architect and artist, adorns the Bodhisattva. On the left, standing, Vissakamma; he is arranging Temiya's turban.



27.—(The charioteer) conveys Temiya.



28.—(Temiya) descending on to the ground.



29.—He tries his strength.



30.—Temiya is being adorned.

31. When adorned in a regal manner, Temiya goes up to the charioteer, who is digging the grave that was to receive him. On the left, under a tree, the charioteer, digging; near him, Temiya puts him some questions.

32. Delight of the charioteer on seeing the prince well and strong; he is kneeling before him, inviting him to return home.

33. Temiya wants to leave the world; he does not go back to the palace; but wishing to see his parents, he sends the charioteer to them with a message. The charioteer receives the message kneeling.

34. The charioteer having gone, Sakka builds a hermitage near by; Temiya puts on the ascetic garb, and goes to the hermitage. His hair is now arranged into two knots, looking like horns; this is the distinctive coiffure of hermits. On the pole he carries, at the front end, a gourd for water, encased in wicker work; at the other is what appears to be a large fruit.



31.—He questions the charioteer.



32.—The charioteer invites (Temiya) to return home.



33.—The king (Temiya) sends a message to his mother and father.



34.—When the king leaves the world.

35. Then the king comes to see him, followed by the queen. The ascetic Temiya is seated in his small leaf-hut. The king is in front of him, seated on his royal seat; this is against the text which particularly mentions that he refused to sit on anything, and sat on the ground. The queen is behind him. The king draws the queen's attention to the leaves which will henceforth form part of the food of Temiya; he takes them and hands them over to the queen and the palace ladies (who are not seen) to examine them. These are the leaves both are holding over their heads. The king, queen, and a vast retinue become all ascetics.

36. Henceforth he goes the round instructing his disciples, travelling through the air. He is seen poised in the air which is represented by the scrolls under him; in the hut, one of his disciples under instruction.

37. The city is practically empty, the citizens having become ascetics. Three kings, in succession, come to conquer it. But Temiya converts them. He is sitting in the air, represented this time as a threefold jagged cloud, and not on leaves, as might be thought. Below him the three converted kings.

38. Mahājanaka descends from heaven to enter his mother's bosom. Compare plaque No. 2.



35.—He converses with the king (his father).



36.—The hermit instructs his disciples.



37.—(Temiya) preaches the law to the (three) kings.



38.—Janaka is conceived.

39. Birth of Mahājanaka; he is seen on the couch near his mother, in exactly the same position as she. Near the bed, one of the lady attendants.

40. Before his birth, his father the king had been killed in battle; the mother had fled and been received at the house of a brahman. In his games with other children, owing to his abnormal strength, he handles them rather roughly at times, and in revenge they call him "the widow's son." Janaka is on the right, handling roughly one of the boys, who is seen falling down; immediately behind him, another boy, lifting his index upwards, is calling him "widow's son"; note his sharp Indian features. The last boy, on the left, is evidently begging not to be treated like the other.

41. The expression "widow's son" puzzles him. He wants to know who his father was. He asks his mother, and she tells him. On the left is the mother; in front of her, Janaka respectfully sitting in the oriental fashion.

42. He then makes up his mind to regain his father's kingdom; for this he must have a large sum of money; to get it he resolves to go trading to foreign parts, and he comes and informs her of his intention. The mother is on the left.



39.—Janaka comes out from the womb.



40.—Janaka plays with the children.



41.—Janaka questions his mother.



42.—Janaka informs his mother (he will go trading).

43. He embarks for Suvaṇṇabhūmi. On the seventh day the ship founders in mid-ocean. The ship must have been a large one, for the text says that it carried seven caravans with their beasts; in the plaque it looks like a small river craft, such as are still seen, and called *dinghy*. Janaka is standing, preparing to take the jump which will carry him far beyond the monsters which are hastening to the ship. Five of these monsters are seen with wrecked passengers in their jaws; three on Janaka's left, one on his right, and one in the foreground in the left corner.

44. The devas have appointed the fairy Maṇimekhalā to watch over the ocean and rescue virtuous persons from drowning. She sees Janaka swimming in the sea; she enters into a conversation with him; he expatiates on the benefits of manly efforts. The head of Janaka is broken off; Maṇimekhalā is following him in the air.

45. At last she asks him where he desires to go; he tells her. She takes him in her arms and carries him to Mithilā The scroll represents the air through which they are flying. Three sea-monsters are devouring shipwrecked persons.

46. She lays him down on the ceremonial stone slab in the mango grove near Mithila. The royal chaplain is examining the marks on the soles of the Bodhisattva's feet.



43.—When (the boat) founders.



44.—Manimekhala, the goddess, listens to Janaka.



45.—The goddress carries (Janaka) in her arms.



46.—The chaplain examines Janaka's marks.

47. The marks on his person being those of a great man, they at once make him king. Janaka is seated on the stone slab. The royal chaplain and another brahman are holding conches containing the consecrated water.

48. Then, with great pomp, they convey him to the palace. A chariot and pair; in front, the charioteer, and behind, Janaka.

49. Arrived at the palace, he assigns their respective places to the general and the officers of state, and then mounts the dais; He is on the dais; before him are the ministers of state.

50. The daughter of the defunct king is curious to see how Janaka will behave on seeing her, and she sends a servant to call him. The servant, crouching, is delivering his message to Janaka.



47.—The anointment (as king) of Janaka.



48.—Janaka enters the (capital) city.



49.—(Janaka) assigns their places to the officials of state.



50.—The queen sends (a man) to call (Janaka), *or* The queen causes (Janaka) to be called.

51. Janaka, to assert his authority, makes no hurry to answer the summons, although called three times. At last he goes to meet the princess quite leisurely. Struck by his dignified deportment, she hastens towards him, giving him her hand to lean on, and he goes into the palace with her. The princess stands within a door, holding out her hand, which Janaka takes. He is ascending a diminutive stairs.

52. He then sits himself and enquires of the ministers what instructions have been left by the late king. Above Janaka is the white umbrella · in front of him, the ministers.

53. The late king had given orders that, whosoever could tell the head of the square bed (on which Janaka is seated) from the foot, was to be given the kingdom. On being asked the question, he employs a ruse. He hands over his ornamental hairpin to the princess, knowing well that, out of respect, she would not place it at the foot of the bed. She deposits it, of course, at the head, and Janaka is able to answer the question. The princess, standing, is receiving the gold pin.

54–57. These plaques are missing.

58. This plaque is badly spoiled; the legend has flaked off; it is not easy to decide which scene it is intended to represent, as, between the last and the one following, there are several scenes in which he is seated. But it is probably that in which the gardener brings him beautiful fruits. Only the first two letters, *ud*, remain, being probably the beginning of the word *udyān*, garden.



51.—Janaka (holding the princess's hand) ascends the palace.



52.—When Janaka enquires.



53.—(Janaka) gives his (gold) pin to the queen.



58.—

59. On seeing the products of the garden, Janaka wishes to see it, and he sets out on the royal elephant. Janaka is in the middle; in front, the mahout; behind, the umbrella-bearer.

60. Janaka is looking at the two mango trees at the gate of the garden. In his right hand he is holding the fruit he has plucked. The artist, hard pressed for room, has suppressed the mahout.

61. The king having eaten the fruit, his retinue eat all that remains, breaking the branches; on his return he beholds the battered tree. In front of the elephant an official, kneeling, explains what has happened; the upper part of the body is broken off from the waist. The umbrella-bearer also is badly spoiled. The king is raising his hands in surprise.

62. He has resolved to become a recluse in the palace. He is instructing the general-in-chief, kneeling before him, as to how the affairs of the kingdom should be carried on.



59.—The king goes out to his pleasaunce.



60.—Janaka looks at the mango (trees).



61.—Janaka sees the mango (tree).



62.—King Janaka instructs (the generalissimo).

63. He then lives as a monk at the top of the palace. Nobody is to see him, except two servants, one to bring water and the other to bring food. Janaka has done away with his regal ornaments. The two servants are before him. The first, with his left hand, presents him the toothbrush, holding a vase with water in the right. The other is holding some food.

64. After four months he reflects that the proper place for an ascetic is, not a palace, but the wilderness. So he resolves upon leaving the palace, and bids the two servants bring him yellow robes and an almsbowl. In the casket held by the first servant are the robes. The other is holding the bowl.

65. He has sent for a barber to cut his hair and beard; Janaka is holding his hair to facilitate the operation.

66. Having donned his robes, he slings his almsbowl on one shoulder, takes his staff and goes down. Queen Sīvali and the lesser queens are just going to see him, not having met him for four months. They meet him as he is coming down but fail to recognize him in his new garb. Queen Sīvali and a lesser queen are saluting the royal monk.

67–70. These plaques are missing.



63.—King Janaka lives in retirement.



64.—They (the two attendants) bring the almsbowl (and) give it (to Mahājanaka).



65.—Janaka shaves (his hair and beard).



66.—Janaka descends from his house.

71. Janaka passes the queen and continues on his way down. He is represented getting out of the palace.

72. Queen Sīvali, on entering his room, immediately finds out her mistake, and she follows him, accompanied by the lesser queens. Janaka, in front, is pursuing his way. The queen and the others—one standing for the whole of them—are unloosing their hair and beating their breasts in sorrow.

73. In vain does the queen beg of him to abandon his purpose. As an expedient, she gets some houses to be burnt to make him believe the capital is in flames. On the right Janaka, somewhat annoyed, raises up his hands; the queen shows him the conflagration behind. The queen's face is broken off. The upper part of Janaka's body, which was also broken, has been restored very unskilfully.

74. To prevent them following on, he draws with his staff a line on the ground, which nobody must pass. Sīvali throws herself down and rolls on the ground. The line is obliterated and the pursuit continues. The queen's face and breasts are broken; Janaka is going on his way after drawing the line.



71.—King Janaka leaving the world.



72.—The queens beat (their breasts).



73.—The queen shows (Janaka) the (town) burning.



74.—Janaka draws a line on the ground.

75. The hermit Nārada, seeing the plight of Janaka, wishes to help him. He comes through the air and strengthens Janaka's resolve in a few stanzas. On the left, Nārada on a cloud. His peculiar headdress shows he is an ascetic; the king, being a monk, has his head shaved.

76. Of this plaque the legend only remains.

77. A dog, through fright, drops a piece of meat he has stolen. Janaka is picking it up for his meal; behind him, queen Sīvali.

78. Janaka is putting the dog's leavings in his almsbowl. Sīvali raises her right hand in disgust at the thought of his eating it.

79. Janaka is eating the meat; Sīvali expresses her disgust in words and the king rebukes her. It will be noticed how beautifully the two faces are modelled—and how thoroughly Indian.



75.—(Janaka) receives the instruction of Nārada.



77.—Janaka takes the meat.



78.—Janaka breaks the (piece of) meat (and puts it in his bowl).



79.—The blessed Janaka eats the meat.

80. Further on, a little girl makes it clear by means of those on her arms that one bangle cannot jingle, but two always jingle and jar, on account of being in contact; therefore, says she, it is better to live alone. But this lesson again is lost on the queen. On the left, sitting, the child; her left forearm and right hand have been restored.

81. They meet with a fletcher. He looks at an arrow with one eye closed; Janaka asks him why he does so; he is answered it is because, when looking with both eyes at an arrow to see if it is straight, one spoils the straight path of vision; so also when a monk drags after him a female. The queen understands, but still follows on.

82. She cannot persuade him to turn back. Near a great forest she swoons, and the Bodhisattva escapes in the forest. Sīvali returns to the capital and becomes a recluse.

83. Sāma comes down from his heavenly mansion to enter his mother's womb.



80.—(Janaka) converses with the child.



81.—Janaka sees the arrow.



82.—Janaka enters the forest.



83.—Conception of Syāma.

84. Sāma is born; he was conceived miraculously, both his parents being anchorites in the wilderness. The father is seated at the foot of the bed. Above is the roof of the small leaf-hut.

85. The parents bathe the infant, lay it down on a small bed in the hut and go in the forest to collect fruits as usual.

86. On a mountain there lived *kinnarīs* or nymphs; when the parents are gone, they come, take the child to their cave, bathe and adorn him with flowers, and put him back in his parents' hut. All the heads are broken. The *kinnarī*, that is, the female, is on the right, holding Sāma; the *kinnara*, her husband, on the left, is holding what appears to be a lotus bud with a long stalk.

87. Sāma is now sixteen. One day his parents go out for fruits; they are caught in a shower and take refuge among the roots of a large tree; a snake dwelling there puffs out his breath; they become blind. The boy, anxious, goes in search of them, and, having found them, gives them the end of a long pole; he, holding the other end, brings them home. On the right is the tree, which seems to be a cactus.



84.—Birth of Syāma.



85.—They (his parents) bathe and put Syāma to sleep.



86.—The suparṇas bathe Syāma.



87.—Syāma leads (his parents) out (of their shelter).

88. Thenceforth Sāma looks after his parents, doing all what is necessary for them. During the day he goes to the mountain with a band of nymphs to gather fruits. Above the *kinnaras*, some rocks, intended to indicate the mountain.

89. The two blind parents are seated in the hut; Sāma ministers to them: after his excursion in the mountain, he brings back fruits for them.

90. One day, having brought back fruits, he informs his parents that he intends going to the forest to bathe and bring back water.

91. Sāma is beloved by all the beasts of the forest; some deer generally follow him wherever he goes. He is seen here leaving his parents and entering the forest—indicated by one tree—followed by the deer.



88.—As Syāma goes up the mountain.



89.—Syāma ministers to his parents.



90.—Syāma informs (his parents) he is going to enter the forest.



91.—Syāma enters the forest.

92. After bathing, he takes water in his pot, which he places on the back of a deer, and starts on his way home,

93. himself carrying a pot of water. At that time, Piliyakkha, king of Benares and very fond of hunting, arrives near the hermitage. He has remarked the footprints of many deer; he lies in ambush. The king sees Sāma, and is astonished at his appearance; is he a man? is he a fairy? Anyway, he does not want to go back without bringing proof of his having been in those mysterious regions of the Himālayas; so he resolves to wound what he takes to be a wonderful creature, so that he may take him alive. The king is shooting an arrow at Sāma.

94. The arrow enters the right side and goes out at the left. Sāma, recovering consciousness, wonders who may have shot him, since he cannot think of any personal enemy. The water-pot is near Sāma, and at his feet stands Piliyakkha. The feathered end of the arrow is seen jutting out from the *left* side; this is wrong, since the arrow went in at the right side.

95. Sāma perceives the king at his feet, and asks him why he shot him. A long conversation ensues. Piliyakkha understands now the enormity of his act. He promises to a goddess, who, unseen, whispers in his ear, that he will renounce his kingdom and devote his life to looking after his blind parents. Then speech fails Sāma and he becomes rigid. The king, thinking him dead, weeps bitterly.



92.—As Syāma is drawing water.



93.—The king shooting Syāma.



94.—The king converses with Syamā.



95.—Piliyakkha weeps.

96. Thinking Sāma to be dead, Piliyakkha does homage to him, by offerings of flowers and sprinkling of water. The king is holding flowers in both his hands.

97. He then picks up the jar of water and goes to the hermitage, and, after some desultory conversation, informs the parents of their boy's fate. They with difficulty control their sorrow, and the king takes them to the spot where Sāma is lying. The Bodhisattva is now lying in the parinirvāṇa attitude; his parents are behind the king. The object seen under the king's right hand is the water-jar, mostly broken. The arrow is no more there.

98. His father places his boy's head on his lap, caressing him with his left hand; his right is on his breast to express his sorrow. The mother is at the feet, her right hand on her head in her despair. The king is kneeling near the boy.

99. Then the mother, the father, and the goddess who, a while before, spoke to the king, make each in turn a solemn act of asseveration, testifying to the virtues of Sāma. And Sāma gives signs of life. On the left is Sāma's mother; and in front of her, her husband; near the father is the king, and behind the latter, the goddess.



96.—Piliyakkha does homage (to Syāma).



97.—When the king brings (the parents) and shows (them) Syāma.



98.—The mother and father of Syāma weep.



99.—(They) make an act of asseveration.

100. Sāma, through the power of the asseveration, is completely healed, and well and bright again. He is seated in the middle near the king, who is on his left; his father and mother are on his right. The goddess has departed.

101. The king is released of his promise to look after the two blind persons. Sāma preaches the Law unto him, and the king, reverentially saluting him, returns to Benares. The Bodhisattva, seated, is receiving the king's salutation.

102 and 103—the Conception and the Birth of Nimi—are missing.

104. Nimi having been born, the soothsayers come to examine the marks on his body. They tell the king that the child shall be the last of his long line. On that account, the king calls him "Nimi." The plaque is spoiled. On the right, seated on a high seat, is the king holding his child. The two personages on the left are soothsayers.

105. All the kings of this dynasty had, on seeing their first grey hair, become hermits. One day his barber showed Nimi's father his first grey hair. Then the king, becoming a hermit, made over the kingdom to his son. Nimi is seated under the white umbrella; three brahmans bring the coronation water in conches.



100.—Then Syāma (rises) bright (again).



101.—The king reverentially salutes Syāma.



104.—(The fortune-tellers) look at Nimi's (bodily) signs.



105.—When Nimi is ruling.

106. Sakka, coming down from the Tāvatiṁsa heaven, stands in mid-air and answers Nimi's queries; the latter wanted to know which was better: almsgiving or the holy life of the recluse? Sakka opines for the latter.

107. Sakka goes back to Tāvatiṁsa, and the gods ask him where he has been to. He sings the praises of Nimi. The gods become anxious to behold so holy a king, and Sakka sends Mātali, his charioteer, in his own car to fetch king Nimi to Tāvatiṁsa. Mātali, seated on the heavenly car, invites Nimi to take a trip to heaven.

108. As they are about to start, Mātali, who drives, turns round and asks the king which he should like to visit first: the hells or Tāvatiṁsa? And Nimi, knowing well he would go to heaven in any case, chooses to visit hell first.

109. Mātali takes him to the several hells and explains to him the torments suffered in each and the sins which send men there. Mātali, half turned towards the king, answers his questions about the hells. On the left, an inhabitant of hell is being thrashed by a guardian of those dreadful abodes.



106.—Indra is questioned by Nimi.



107.—Mātali invites Nimi (to get into the chariot).



108.—Mātali asks which way (Nimi wishes to go).



109.—Nimi looks at hell.

110. Having gone round the hells, Mātali drives towards heaven ; as they approach, the king beholds, in the air, the heavenly mansion of the goddess Bīraṇī, who is attired with great magnificence. She had been a slave, and this was the reward of her entertaining hospitably a guest. Bīranī is seated in her five-roof mansion. These elegant structures with many receding roofs are still exactly the same now.

111. Many other mansions, each more beautiful than the last, are visited. At last they arrive at the Sudhamma Hall, which is the place of assemblage of the gods. The gods receive him magnificently ; he takes his place near Sakka, and they converse together. Nimi is on the left, in regal attire ; inasmuch as he is the Bodhisattva he is greater than Sakka.

112. Nimi at last takes his leave, and Mātali brings him back to his capital. The king, preaching the Law to his people and instructing them, tells them of the horrors of hell and of the bliss of heaven.

113. Then, after a long time, the barber plucks Nimi's first white hair; he is kneeling, showing the king the harbinger of old age.



110.—Nimi looks at the heavenly mansion.



111.—Nimi converses with Indra.



112.—Nimi instructs (his) people (in the practice of the Law).



(113.—Nimi sees (his) grey hair.

114. Following the example of all his ancestors, Nimi now leaves the world. The scene no doubt represents king Nimi, on the right, speaking in the mango grove to his son, who is to succeed him, and to his barber, by whose instrumentality the king is about to enter the path of perfection. (In ancient India, the post of barber to the king was a high one.)

115. King Vedeha reigns in Mithilā; at his court are four wise men, wise only in their own estimation. The king has a dream to the effect that a fifth one—a wonderfully wise man, this one—is about to appear. He enquires where he is, and is told he is just about to be born. On that very day the Bodhisattva, coming down from the Tāvatiṁsa heaven, is conceived in the womb of Sumanādevī, the wife of a rich man. One thousand other gods were also reborn on the same day; they were to be throughout his playfellows and companions.

116. The birth of Mahosadha. His mother is lying on her bed. On the left, near the bed, two female attendants; in front of them is a brasier with fire, according to the custom, still obtaining in Burma and some other parts of Indo-China, of drying the humours of the mother by exposing her to fire for some days. On the right, the midwife is holding up the child.

117. As he was being born, Sakka, to show to the world that the child was a great and uncommon one, places in his hand a wonderful medicinal herb. The child is held by the nurse. An awkward attempt at restoring Sakka's left hand has been made.



114.—King Nimi leaving the world.



115.—Conception of Mahosadha.



116.—Birth of Mahosadha.



117.—When Indra gives the medicinal herb (to Mahosadha).

118. The mother, perceiving the medicine in the child's hand, enquires about it ; the baby tells her, and advises her to give it to all who suffer from any sickness. His father had suffered from headache for years. He uses the medicine and his pains disappear. A nurse is holding the babe, who is giving his mother the medicine ; the father, on the left, is holding it in his hand, about to use it.

119. On his naming day the child is given the name of Mahosadha, because he was born with a powerful medicine in his hand. The father is holding his son ; in front, two brahman soothsayers.

120. It is discovered that one thousand boys were born on the same day as Mahosadha ; the father sends, in his son's name, a nurse and ornaments to each, and has them brought daily to attend upon his son. On the left, the father ; facing him, Mahosadha ; on the right, one of the thousand children with his nurse behind.

121. The sage is now seven years. His games with his companions were often spoiled by rain, sometimes by elephants and other animals. Two children are frightened by an elephant ; a little fellow has fallen down, half his face is seen between the animal's legs.



118.—Mahosadha gives the medicine (to his mother).



119.—The naming of Mahosadha.



120.—Mahosadha gives ornaments (to the thousand children).



121.—Mahosadha plays with (his) companions.

122. One day the boys are caught in an unseasonable rainstorm; Mahosadha, who was strong and powerful, escaped it by running into a rest-house; but his companions, in their hurry, fell one over the other, bruising their limbs. The Bodhisattva is in the rest-house, the boys are running into shelter.

123. Mahosadha reflects that, had they a large hall to play in, their games would not be disturbed in so many ways. So he resolves to build one; he tells the boys to bring each a piece of money. He calls a master-carpenter, hands over the money to him and asks him to build a hall. On the left, kneeling, the master-carpenter receiving the thousand pieces from Mahosadha; behind, the latter's companions.

124. The carpenter has not grasped Mahosadha's idea; so the latter draws out the plan, and the carpenter, astonished and delighted, works under his orders. It was a beautiful structure, containing a place for travellers, one for the poor, one for Buddhist monks, one for brahmans, etc., etc.

125. But this is not yet enough; a tank is necessary; he calls an architect and gets him to build a tank with a thousand bends and one hundred bathing places. The Bodhisattva and the architect are discussing the plan; behind the architect, either a workman or one of Mahosadha's companions. The zigzag figure represents the tank.



122.—(Mahosadha's companions) run to enter the rest-house.



123.—Mahosadha gives the gold (to a carpenter to build a hall).



124.—Mahosadha builds (plans and superintends the building of) the rest-house.



125.—Mahosadha constructs a tank.

126. His fame begins to spread far and wide. People come to him from everywhere to submit their disputes to him, and they abide by his decisions. Mahosadha is seated in the hall; near by are three litigants.

127. Mahosadha is now eight years of age. The king sends messengers all round to try and get news of the wise man who was born eight years ago. One of them sees the magnificent hall, tank, etc., and hears of the wisdom of Mahosadha He reports to the king, who desires to call the boy to the court. His four wise men, however, dissuade him from doing so: everybody can build a hall or a tank; no, the king should not call him without further tests. Then follows a series of tests or cases for examination, represented in the following plaques. In each case, the jealous four wise men put off his being called to the palace. A hawk carries off a piece of meat: Mahosadha sees it and follows by treading on the hawk's shadow. Then he gives a great shout, the hawk lets the meat fall and the boy catches it up. In the left-hand corner, on the top, the hawk; Mahosadha is catching up the meat; behind him, his companions; in front, one of the big people clapping hands.

128. Mahosadha is deciding the cattle theft; he is in the hall; outside the two disputants with their cattle.

All the tests which follow are shortly described in the explanations of the corresponding Talaing inscriptions, to which the reader may refer.

129. Mahosadha unravels the case of the thread necklace. Below him, the two women who claim each to be the owner; near them, the vase of water by means of which the case was decided.



126.—Mahosadha decides cases.



127.—Mahosadha causes the (piece of) meat to fall.



128.—The case of the cattle.



129.—The case of the necklace of thread.

130. Mahosadha decides the case of the ball of thread. On the left, the two women who have come to have their dispute settled. One of Mahosadha's companions is untwisting the thread ball held by one of the women, to discover what kind of seed has been placed inside it.

131. The Indian Solomon: Mahosadha, in the same manner as Solomon, decides which is the true mother of a child. The two women holding the child, are explaining their case to the Bodhisattva.

132. Mahosadha is deciding whose wife—the dwarf's or the poor man's—is the woman. Below, on the left, the woman; the man in front of her is probably her husband, the other being the poor man.

133. The Bodhisattva decides the case of the cart against Sakka, who has stolen it in order to make manifest his—Mahosadha's—wisdom. Sakka is still on the cart, beside which the true owner, standing, explains his case.



130.—The case of the cotton thread.



131.—The case of the child.



132.—Deciding the case of the wife.



133.—Mahosadha decides (the case of) the cart.

134. There now follows a series of riddles by means of which Mahosadha's enemies hope to undo him. Most of these riddles are put to the villagers, knowing they would go straight to the wise boy. This is the riddle of the stick. Mahosadha is holding the string, one end of which is tied round the middle of the stick; below is the basin of water which helped to solve the riddle. A villager is looking on.

135. A villager is holding a skull in each hand. Which is the woman's, which is the man's? The sutures in the skull answer the puzzle: a man's are straight; a woman's crooked.

136. A villager has brought two snakes: which is the male? which is the female? Their tails will solve the problem. The male's tail is thick; the female's is thin.

137. The riddle of the wonderful bull with horns on his legs and a hump on his head, which crows thrice a day. Mahosadha easily demonstrates that it is a cock, and gets a cock sent to the king, who is lost in admiration. One of the villagers is holding the cock.



134.—The riddle of the pole.



135.—Deciding the case of the head.



136.—The riddle of the snake.



137.—The riddle of the cock.

138. The riddle of the contorted gem. Two villagers are holding it; at each of its ends is seen the new thread which Mahosadha ingeniously got inserted by ants lured with honey.

139. Mahosadha solves the puzzle of the "bull in calf," which the villagers are to deliver. A villager is sent to the king with the information that his father is in labour and cannot be delivered. The king understands this counter-riddle and is delighted.

140. The villagers are asked to cook a pot of rice under conditions apparently impossible; but the Bodhisattva easily solves this very clever riddle. A villager is cooking the rice.

141. The villagers must, under heavy penalty if they fail, make a rope of sand. Mahosadha tells them to go to the king and ask him a piece of his old sand-rope as a model. The lotuses in this and the two previous plaques are devices to fill up empty spaces.



138.—The riddle of the gem.



139.—Mahosadha decides the case of the bull.



140.—The puzzle of the rice



141.—The puzzle of the sand (rope).

142. The king orders the villagers to catch, in the forest, a new tank covered with lilies. Mahosadha answers the riddle with a counter one. The villagers, under his instructions, are preparing to deliver the counter-puzzle in the palace; they are holding staves, ropes and clods; they are to tell the king the new tank, frightened, has got loose and run away. They are holding the clods in their right hands.

143. Again, the king wants a new park with trees, etc. Mahosadha counter-puzzled the king in the same manner as in the tank-riddle. The villagers are holding ropes to tie the park.

144. The king, delighted with Mahosadha's wit and wisdom in his solutions of the riddles, at last summons him to the palace to assume office. There will now be bouts of wit between the four jealous so-called wise men and Mahosadha, in which they will always be the losers. He himself originates the question of the ass; he had sat in his father's place, which was a gross breach of etiquette but he is greater than his father and proves the offspring of an ass may be better than the ass himself. The ass, very badly modelled, is seen between the king and the sage.

145. Mahosadha salutes his father and instructs him how to act before the king, so that he may bring about the question of the ass.[1]

[1] This plaque should come before the previous one.



142.—The puzzle of the tank.



143.—The puzzle of the park.



144.—The question of the ass.



145.—Mahosadha salutes his father.

146. The finding of the mysterious jewel, which was thought to be in the lake. The four wise men cannot get at it, but Mahosadha experiences no difficulty. He is holding the jewel, which he has rescued from the palm-tree by the lake, in his hand.

147. The sage is explaining to the king the reason of the chameleon's strange behaviour. The chameleon is on the top of the gateway, behind Mahosadha. The king is on his elephant.

148. Mahosadha, standing before the king's chariot, explains how naturally it came to pass that the unlucky man (who is hiding behind him) could not possess the lucky girl, who has become queen, and is seated behind Vedeha.

149. The king, on the dais, is explaining to Mahosadha, and the four wiseacres behind him, that he has seen a ram and a dog who had struck up a great friendship, and asks them the cause of it.



146.—Taking the jewel.



147.—The case of the chameleon.



148.—The case of good and bad luck.



149.—The question of the ram.

150. The four wise men are very much puzzled by that question of the ram ; they had been threatened with banishment if they did not answer. Mahosadha calls them, makes them sit before him like pupils, and teaches to each an answer. But the perfectly right one he keeps for himself.

151. The king wants to know which is better: riches or wisdom? Whenever Mahosadha and the four wise men are represented together, the former always sits first in the first row below.

152. The four opine that wealth is better, but the sage proves with irrefutable arguments that wisdom is preferable, and the king agrees with him.

153. On the right, Mahosadha by clenching his fist asks Amarā, his future wife, whether she is married ; the girl opens her hand, meaning: No. Her left hand is steadying the pot of rice on her head.



150.—(He) instructs the four pandits.



151.—(The king putting to the five) the question of the rich and the wise.



152.—Mahosadha answers the question (of the rich and the wise).



153.—Mahosadha asks (Amarā whether she is married, etc.).

154. Mahosadha was disguised as a tailor, so that the wife he was looking for should take him on his own merits and not on account of his position. Having understood she was free, he made up his mind to marry her, for she was very clever, but he would first test her. They have a conversation sparkling with wit and wisdom. Then she offers him some of the gruel she was taking to her father. He accepts. The small table on which he is eating is one of the details which show the lack of thought sometimes manifested by the artists; it was not, and is not, the custom for men in the fields to eat on such tables. They ate on palm or cocoanut leaves.

155. He asks her the way to her home; she tells him. Amarā's mother is on the left; he is mending the villagers' old clothes, and makes in one day one thousand rupees, which he intends giving her.

156. Amarā comes back from the fields in the evening and, according to custom, she washes her parents' feet; then those of the Bodhisattva. She is holding a vase full of water, preparing to pour it on his feet.

157. He is testing her temper, submission and patience, by daubing her hair and body with the food she has prepared for him.



154.—Mahosadha eats the rice-gruel.



155.—Mahosadha stitches clothes.



156.—(Amarā) washes Mahosadha's feet.



157.—Mahosadha smears the boiled rice (on Amarā's head and body).

158. He has made up his mind to take her to wife; he gives the thousand rupees to the parents. To Amarā, he presents a loin-cloth and asks her to follow him to town.

159. Having settled everything, Mahosadha takes leave of the girl's parents. He is on the right, with his hands uplifted in the oriental salute; the father is in the middle, the mother on the left.

160. Amarā knows him only in the disguise of a tailor. He wishes to test her chastity; he puts on his court costume, has her dragged by force before him and tempts her. But she steadfastly refuses. The girl is in front of him; behind her, one of the men who dragged her in.

161. The morrow he marries; it was a great gala day at the palace and in the city. Numerous presents were sent to them. Amarā is seating behind the Bodhisattva; on the left, a female servant brings in presents in a (probably lacquered) vase.



158.—Mahosadha gives (Amarā) a loin-cloth.



159.—Mahosadha informs (that he is about) to return (home).



160.—Mahosadha tests (Amarā's chastity).



161.—Mahosadha marries.

162. Mahosadha is hiding at the potter's, whither he has been obliged to flee, owing to the false charges brought against him by the four wiseacres, his enemies. Mahosadha is on the right, in the act of moulding a pot.

163. The goddess of the white umbrella, by asking difficult riddles to the king, and threatening something dreadful if they were not answered induces the king to recall Mahosadha. The king sends four courtiers, with many presents, in different directions, to look for him. One of the courtiers has found him, and is offering him the king's presents.

164. The courtier explains his mission; immediately the sage mounts the chariot and repairs to the palace at full speed. The king, on his throne and delighted, receives him. Explanations follow, and Mahosadha proves to the king he has been calumniated.

165. Mahosadha agrees to answer the goddess's riddles; as he thus becomes the teacher, the king places him on his throne, as is meet, and himself sits below. Mahosadha solves the riddles. The goddess, half of whose body appears on the white umbrella, offers the sage a casket full of heavenly flowers and perfumes. Mahosadha is holding the casket.



162.—Mahosadha lives as a potter.



163.—(The courtiers) go about (looking for) Mahosadha.



164.—Coming from the potter's.



165.—(Mahosadha) answers the (king's) questions.

166. His four enemies are vexed at his return. To entrap him they go to see him and ask him : "To whom is it right to tell a secret?" "To no one," answers Mahosadha.

167. The four go to the king and repeat to him what has passed, adding that surely the sage is a traitor, since he holds that not even the king is to be told secrets. The king calls him and asks him to explain before the four wise men; he is displeased with his answer that a secret should not be reported until it is no more a secret. Mahosadha knows he has been trapped. Meanwhile, the king gives his sword to the four, ordering them to kill him at the door in the morning.

168. Mahosadha, anxious, resolves to discover the secrets of his four enemies. Every day they used to sit on a trough at the palace door, and discuss their plans. The sage hides himself under the trough, and there learns his intended murder and all the secrets of his enemies.

169. In the morning, the four, armed with swords, are waiting for him at the door; but he comes with a strong retinue, and their plan fails. He is telling the king his enemies' secrets. The king, furious, wants to impale them.



166.—The four come to ask (questions to Mahosadha to entrap him).



167.—The king asks (Mahosadha) concerning secrets.



168.—(Mahosadha) is under the trough.



169.—The (four) pandits look for Mahosadha.

170. But Mahosadha pleads for them and gets them reinstated in their respective positions. The sage, rehabilitated, is honoured by being made to sit on a seat as high as that of the king.

171. Mahosadha's power is now paramount; he practically governs the country. To be ready for any eventuality, he strongly fortifies the capital. Then he sends men with presents to the 101 kings of India, bidding them to take service at their courts and report on their plans and doings. He is giving his instructions to his men, who are holding the presents.

172. Mahosadha had a very clever and wise parrot. He receives news that Saṅkhapāla, king of Ekabala, is assembling a large army; wherefore it is not known. He sends his parrot to ascertain, and tells him to go all round India for news. The parrot is on his right hand. The men are those who brought the news from Ekabala.

173. The parrot goes and ascertains what is going on at Ekabala; then he goes the round of the capitals in India. Thus he arrives at Uttara-pañcāla; there, the king, Cūḷani-Brahmadatta, and his chaplain Kevaṭṭa are planning the conquest of India. The parrot hears everything, comes back to Mithilā, and, perching himself on the sage's shoulder, tells him all the news.

174. This plaque is missing.



170.—Mahosadha sets free the four persons.



171.—Mahosadha sends presents (to the 101 kings).



172.—Mahosadha sends the parrot.



173.—The parrot brings news.

175. King Vedeha, aware that his capital is being invested by Cūḷanī's vast army, is greatly troubled. The four cannot advise him; so he calls Mahosadha and asks him how Mithilā is to be rid of so powerful an enemy.

176. Cūḷanī, thinking the city has no water, wants to cut its supply from outside. To discourage him, the sage plants lilies at the top of bamboo poles sixty cubits long; these poles' are camouflaged, and in the morning sent to Cūḷanī, who wonders, and knows he cannot get the city through thirst. On the left, a man, in a tank, is holding one of the bamboo poles, the lily has blossomed at the upper extremity; near the tank, Mahosadha is issuing instructions; behind him, two attendants.

177. Kevaṭṭa, Cūḷanī's chaplain, is well aware of Mahosadha's incomparable wit; he tells his master all his efforts to take Mithilā will be foiled; but he proposes a stratagem. He, Kevaṭṭa, will fight the "Battle of the Law" with Mahosadha, who is young still and does not know one or two things. Mahosadha is asked to come over to Cūḷanī's camp to fight the Battle of the Law. He is coming out of Mithilā in his car, preceded by warriors carrying axes and shields.

178. The Battle of the Law consists in this, that he who first—willingly or unwillingly—bows before the other, has lost the battle. By a stratagem the sage makes Kevaṭṭa bow first, and presses him to the ground. On the terms agreed to, Cūḷanī has lost the battle, and, terrified, flees with his vassals and army to Pañcāla.



175.—Mahosadha is asked by the king (how Mithilā shall be delivered from its enemies).



176.—Mahosadha is planting the flower.



177.—Mahosadha leaves the cit



178.—Mahosadha fights the Battle of the Law.

179. One year has passed. Kevaṭṭa's pride rankles at his affront at the hands of Mahosadha. He plans to lure him and King Vedeha to Pañcāla, and there destroy them. He goes to Mithilā, sees Vedeha, and praises Cūḷanī's daughter's beauty. Vedeha agrees to go and fetch her as his queen. Delighted, he sends Kevaṭṭa to the sage so that the two may be reconciled; but Mahosadha, shut up in his room, gives order to refuse him entrance. Mahosadha is on his bed; on the left, Kevaṭṭa coming in, is refused admittance by an attendant.

180. The four advise the king to go to Pañcāla; his marriage with the princess will cement a lasting peace. He summons Mahosadha and asks him his opinion. The sage strongly advises him not to go. The king becomes angry; Mahosadha, prudent, takes his leave and returns home.

181. Mahosadha desires to know the true nature of Kevaṭṭa's mission. He sends his parrot to Pañcāla, with orders to make friends with Cūḷanī's minah bird, which knows all his secrets, and come back. The parrot is on Mahosadha's lap; two attendants.

182. The parrot makes love to the minah; from her he learns that if the sage and the king go to Pañcāla, they will be murdered. The parrot comes back to tell Mahosadha; the bird is alighting on the latter's shoulder; four attendants.



179.—Kevaṭṭa comes and asks (for Mahosadha).



180.—The king is angry with Mahosadha.



181.—Mahosadha instructs his parrot.



182.—The parrot returns from the minah bird.

183. Mahosadha, knowing that King Vedeha is determined to go to Pañcāla, evolves a whole plan by which not only shall Vedeha get the Pañcāla princess, but also see the discomfiture of his enemy Cūḷanī; he is asking leave to proceed before the king; in front of the king, Mahosadha with, behind him, three attendants.

184. He goes ahead of the king in order to arrange everything on the way against the rapid and safe return of the king. He has reached Pañcāla, and is being received.

185. Cūḷanī dissembles and receives Mahosadha well. They converse together. The sage asks permission—in pursuance of his plan—to build a palace for King Vedeha. Permission is granted. Mahosadha, distinguishable by his headdress, is near Cūḷanī's left hand; three attendants.

186. He begins to work for the safety of Vedeha. He is making tunnels; he thinks the entrance to the small tunnel should be at the foot of the stairs. He tells Cūḷanī his stairs are bad, and, under the pretext of repairing them, builds under them a strong wooden platform; under this will be the entrance to the tunnel, invisible. On the left, the palace; on the right of the palace, the stairs. Behind Mahosadha a master-carpenter to whom he is explaining things.



183.—Mahosadha tells (the king) that he is going (to Uttarapañcāla).



184.—(Mahosadha) enters the city of Pañcāla.



185.—(Mahosadha) converses with king Cūlanī.



186.—Mahosadha fixes stairs (firmly).

187. He wants to build the palace not within the city, but outside, so that all his plans may come off to a nicety; but he must rouse no suspicion; so he asks the king permission to pull down the houses which may be in the way; he asks also to be allowed to prevent the owners to come and annoy the king with complaints. All is granted. He seizes first the queen-mother's dwelling. She complains; nobody listens. She goes to the sage who is a little way off; he will not speak to her; a bystander offers his services for the explanations. She has to pay a heavy bribe for her house not to be pulled down. Near the tree, Mahosadha; on the left, the queen-mother; between them, the negotiator. The house behind the queen.

188. Then it is the turn of Kevaṭṭa's house, who, too, has to pay a heavy bribe to preserve his home. On the left, Kevaṭṭa's house; near it, a woman offering the money in a casket; the sage is lifting the cover and looking at it; behind him, an attendant. In this way, from all parts of the city, he gets an enormous sum of money, which will be useful in carrying out his plans. And nobody dares complain.

189. He repairs to Cūḷanī's palace, and explains to him that the people are so very sorry to lose their homes that it will be impossible to build the palace in the city, and therefore asks permission to build it outside. Permission is granted. On the left, Cūḷanī; in front of him, Mahosadha, who holds something in each hand, which it is not easy to make out; the text, moreover, gives no hint as to what these things are.

190. He has already chosen the site outside the city; by royal orders —on a hint from the sage—no citizen is allowed to go and see what is going on. Then he begins to build a great tunnel which will be used for the flight of Vedeha, one entrance of which was on the Ganges.



187.—(They) take the king's mother's house.



188.—(Mahosadha) takes Kevaṭṭa's house.



189.—Mahosadha enters the king's house.



190.—Mahosadha digs the tunnel.

191. Before leaving Mithilā, Mahosadha had ordered three hundred ships to be built; the shipwrights are delivering the crafts, one of which is represented, to the sage.

192. But, at all costs, suspicions must not be aroused; he is giving minute instructions to the shipwrights where to hide the ships in a secluded but handy place.

193. Everything has now been completed against the flight and safe return of the king of Mithilā: the palace, the tunnels big and small, etc. King Vedeha is nearing Pañcāla, and Mahosadha goes to meet him. In front is Mahosadha; on the elephant Vedeha. The mahout has been left out.

194. Vedeha takes possession of the new palace. By a trick, Mahosadha has got Cūḷanī's mother, his queen, son and daughter into a safe place through the tunnel. Vedeha waits for the princess and, impatient, looks at the window. He sees the hosts of Cūḷanī's army, becomes frightened and asks the four wiseacres for advice; they can give none. Then he asks Mahosadha, who answers there is nothing to fear. Mahosadha is the first of the two below; the others are the wise men.



191.—The shipwrights make over the ships to Mahosadha.



192.—Mahosadha sends (the boats) out of the way.



193.—Mahosadha goes out to meet the king (Vedeha).



194.—The king (Vedeha) asks Mahosadha.

195. To convince the king, he shows him and the ministers the means of escape: the great tunnel with all its magnificence. First Mahosadha, then Vedeha, and last a minister.

196. They come to the place where Cūḷanī's family are kept; when they see Vedeha they shriek in fear. Cūḷanī hears the shriek, is puzzled, but keeps his own counsel in very shame. Mahosadha then and there marries the Pañcāla princess to Vedeha. Then they leave the tunnel by the entrance near the Ganges. They are getting out: first the king, then Mahosadha, and last a minister.

197. The ships are ready near the entrance; Vedeha and Cūḷanī's family embark. Mahosadha, standing on the shore, gives final advice to Vedeha; himself must stay behind to bring safely the king's army back to Mithilā. In the boat, from the left: Cūḷanī's consort, Vedeha, the Pañcāla princess, and her brother. There should be five persons, for the queen-mother also went, but she is not mentioned in the text, "being an old woman," and so only four are represented.

198. Vedeha starts for Mithilā. At dawn Cūḷanī utters dreadful threats to awe Vedeha. But Mahosadha calmly shows himself to him and, in the course of the conversation which ensues, tells him that his—Cūḷanī's—plans have all been foiled. Cūḷanī is on the elephant.



195.—(He) shows the tunnel to king Vedeha.



196.—(Vedeha) comes out from the tunnel.



197.—(Mahosadha) instructs king Vedeha.



198.—(Mahosadha) converses with (king) Cūlanī.

199. Cūḷanī orders the slaughter of Mahosadha, but the latter informs him that his family will be made to suffer for any harm done to him, for they are in Vedeha's hands, far away. Cūḷanī is dumbfounded; Mahosadha shows him the way the beautiful queen is gone, and in so doing reveals the existence of the tunnel.

200. The sage assures the king that no harm will befall his family if he, Mahosadha, returns safely to Mithilā. He then shows the tunnel to Cūḷanī; from the left: Cūḷanī, recognizable by his headdress, Mahosadha, one of the vassal kings, a warrior with mace and shield.

201. As they come out, Mahosadha quickly seizes a sword he has hidden in the sand the day before, leaps eighteen cubits in the air, seizes the king, brandishes his sword and asks—"Who is the master of all the kingdoms of India?" "You, Sir," says the king. And the two strike up a sincere friendship. On the right, the tunnel-door; the sage is holding the king's left hand. Cūḷanī has suddenly grown a beard; he is without it in the other plaques.

202. The sage opens the door of the tunnel, which he had closed, and the 101 vassal kings, who had accompanied him, come out, and thank him for saving their lives. He answers he saved them once already when Cūḷanī wanted to poison them. They forgive Cūḷanī and offer presents to Mahosadha. Four of the kings are holding presents in their hands.



199.—(Mahosadha) shows (Cūlanī) the way (his) queen is gone..



200.—(King) Cūlanī looks at the tunnel.



201.—(Mahosadha) measures strength with the king.



202.—The hundred kings offer ornaments (to Mahosadha).

203. Cūḷanī desires to retain the services of so eminent a man, and offers him honours and wealth; but Mahosadha declines. Cūḷanī on his throne; an attendant offers presents to the sage in a casket.

204. Mahosadha takes leave of Cūḷanī, who bids him an affectionate farewell. On the left, the white umbrella; two attendants holding presents, which seem to be pieces of fine cloth. The king is embracing Mahosadha. He is again given a beard in this plaque.

205. He arrives at Mithilā, where he is received amid great rejoicings. He sends back to Cūḷanī his mother, wife and son. The two queens are below and the son near them. In front are presents in caskets.

206. The daughter of Cūḷanī bears Vedeha a son; when he is ten years Vedeha dies. Mahosadha makes him king, and then asks him leave to go and visit Cūḷanī. The young prince is under the white umbrella; a brahman is holding a conch full of the coronation water; on the right, Mahosadha.



203.—The king invites Mahosadha (to stay at his court).



204.—Mahosadha returns to the city (of Mithilā).



205.—Mahosadha sends back (C's family).



206.—Accession of the son of king Vedeha.

207. Cūḷanī receives him with great honours. The queen, however, dislikes him, and sets her ladies to watch him in the hope of getting him trapped. A female ascetic regularly takes her meals at the palace. One day she meets Mahosadha and, to test his cleverness, she asks him by gestures whether he is not going to become an ascetic? She places her hand on her head, showing him the peculiar coiffure of ascetics. He answers by placing his hand on his stomach, meaning: "No; because I have a large family to support." Mahosadha, on the right, has also a hand on his head; this is a mistake, but has been made probably for the sake of symmetry.

208. The queen's ladies have seen all this, and report to the king that Mahosadha is plotting against his life with an ascetic. The king calls him; explanations take place. The king offers him the post of generalissimo. The sage thinks it is a trap; he brings some presents to the ascetic and asks her to ascertain the king's intentions. He learns that the king is indeed very fond of him. On the right, the ascetic; Mahosadha is giving her presents.

209. Persons who have lost in a case[1] decided by Mahosadha salute him respectfully; on the right, two losers; Mahosadha with, behind him, two of his companions.

210. Candakumāra is judging impartially the case which the high judge Khaṇḍahāla has wilfully decided wrongly. The prince in the court of justice; before him, the two suitors.

[1] See explanation of the Talaing legend.



207.—A female ascetic asks Mahosadha (by gestures, why he does not become an ascetic).



208.—Mahosadha asks the female ascetic (to find out the king's mind).



209.—The persons who have lost the case salute (Mahosadha) reverentially.



210.—Candakumāra is deciding the case.

211. The king learns of his son's success at law, and appoints him chief judge. Khaṇḍahāla, deeply offended, swears he will be revenged. Prince Candakumāra, in the hall of justice, is dispensing justice. In front of him, four suitors.

212. The occasion for Khaṇḍahāla's revenge comes quickly. The king sees in a dream the Tāvatiṁsa heaven, and wishes to go there. Khaṇḍahāla tells him the only way to go to heaven is by sacrifice: he must immolate his queens and his children. The king makes known the sacrifice to the citizens by proclamation. He first calls Candakumāra and his four brothers to make known to them his will. The king on his throne; Candakumāra, the first in the top row, is arguing with his father.

213. Then Candakumāra's sisters and the queens are brought in. The prince understands that he alone is the object of Khaṇḍahāla's hatred. He is entreating the king to spare the others' lives, but in vain. Behind the prince, one of his brothers.

214. Candakumāra, failing to mollify his father, sends his wives to gō and implore him. The wives are represented by one only, on the left.



211.—The king causes him to try (cases) (The king appoints Candakumāra a judge).



212.—They bring Candakumāra (to the king).



213.—Candakumāra entreats (his father).



214.—Candakumāra bids (his wives to implore the king).

215. All supplications are unavailing; owing to Khaṇḍahāla's influence Candakumāra is taken to the sacrificial pit with the other victims. He is placed near the pit, his head bent forward; Khaṇḍahāla raises the sword to strike; behind the brahman is Candakumāra's wife. Before the brahman, the sacrificial fire.

216. But at that moment, the prince's wife makes a solemn act of asseveration. Immediately, Sakka comes down from heaven, brandishing a blazing mass of iron. The king flees; the victims are set free, and the people kill Khaṇḍahāla. Candakumāra is seated; before him the sacrificial fire is still burning. Khaṇḍahāla has been thrown on the ground and the people are killing him with sticks.

217. The old king is banished, and Candakumāra made king in his stead. He is seated under the white umbrella; a brahman is about to pour the coronation water from a conch; on the left, two more brahmans.

218. After a good reign and a pious life Candakumāra ascends to heaven.



215.—Candakumāra is near the sacrificial pit.



216.—The people rush at Khaṇḍahāla (to kill him).



217.—Accession of Candakumāra.



218.—Candakumāra ascends to heaven.

219. A prince of Benares is banished to the jungle. He meets with a Nāgī, or snake fairy; he has two children. After a time he becomes king and his daughter is married to the king of the Nāgas. The Bodhisattva is coming down from heaven to be conceived in the womb of the Nāga king's queen.

220. The Bodhisattva is born. The midwife is holding the child. Near the bed are two fire-pans (see No. 116).

221. At the age of discretion, Bhūridatta receives a kingdom from his father Dhataraṭṭha. He is being anointed king; on the left, a brahman with the coronation water in a conch[1]; on the right, a woman holding a small vase with perfumes.

222. This plaque is missing.

223. Bhūridatta used to go to the Tāvatiṁsa heaven to wait upon Sakka. One day a difficult question arose which none of the gods could answer. But the Bodhisattva answered it. He is on the right, on a high seat, because he alone could answer, and was therefore considered as the master. Sakka, standing in the air—represented by scrolls at his feet—is offering him divine flowers and fruits, which he is holding in his hands. Below, two gods listening to the Bodhisattva. His name before was "Datta"; but on this occasion, on account of his great wisdom, he is given the name of "Bhūridatta" by Sakka. The nāga-head over the Bodhisattva indicates he is a nāga.

[1] No oil was used in the ancient coronation ceremonies in Burma.



219.—Conception of Bhūridatta.



220.—Birth of Bhūridatta.



221.—Accession of Bhūridatta.



223.—Bhūridatta answers Indra's question.

224. Having seen the glories of Tāvatiṁsa, Bhūridatta is disgusted with his birth as a nāga, and resolves to gain heaven by the observance of fast and of the precepts (sīlas). He is asking from his father permission to observe the sīlas. The king and the queen are seated, he is standing in front of them. The snake over the head of a figure always shows that figure is a nāga.[1]

225. They allow him to practise the sīlas in the garden. But young nāgīs attend on him, playing instruments and dancing; and this disturbs him. A nāgī is playing on an instrument; another is dancing; a defect in the glaze, over her right shoulder, makes it appear as if she had two heads.

226. Bhūridatta wants to get rid of the female attendants. He resolves to go to the world of men, on an ant-hill, near the river Jumna. He does not tell his parents of his intentions; but he instructs his wife to send the attendants every day at dawn to accompany him back to the Nāga world.

227. A brahman hunter from Benares arrives with his son near the spot where Bhūridatta is keeping the sīlas. He hears the nāga maidens sing and dance; he goes to see; the maidens flee. The Bodhisattva, who has assumed a divine form, is left alone. To avoid telling a lie, he tells the brahman he s a nāga. Bhūridatta seated near a tree; the brahman and his son Somadatta.

[1] The respective position of these two plaques is inverted on the Ānanda.



224.—(Bhūridatta) asks his father leave to observe the *sīlas*.



225.—Bhūridatta observes the *sīlas* in the garden.



226.—Bhūridatta instructs his wife.



227.—Bhūridatta converses with the brahman.

228. However, to prevent the hunter, who has not a prepossessing appearance, from doing him any harm, as, for instance, selling him to a snake-charmer, he invites them to come to the Nāga world. The Bodhisattva is leading them to his abode.

229. To induce them to remain in the Nāga world, he confers upon them regal splendours and overwhelms them with good things. Bhūridatta, standing, is conversing with the two brahmans.

230. Bhūridatta goes regularly to the Jumna to observe the sīlas. After a time, the hunter gets tired and wants to go back. Bhūridatta offers him an all-wish-granting gem. The brahman, who wants to become an ascetic, refuses it. Now, Ālambāyana, another brahman, knows a spell powerful against snakes. Reciting the spell, he comes to the spot where Bhūridatta is; all the nāgas flee in terror, and leave behind the gem they had brought with them.

231. The hunter, in exchange for the gem, points out the Bodhisattva to the snake-charmer. Bhūridatta, in snake-form, is coiled on the ant-hill; the snake-charmer and, behind him, the hunter.



228.—Bhūridatta enters the nāga world.



229.—(Bhūridatta) confers regal glory on the Brahman.



230.—Bhūridatta gives the jewel to the brahman.



231.—Alambāyana sees Bhūridatta.

232. The Bodhisattva makes up his mind to suffer patiently, without any resistance, whatever happens. Ālambāyana recites the spell, pulls Bhūridatta by the tail, spreads him on the ground and breaks his bones.

233. Then he puts him in a basket, and goes from place to place, making Bhūridatta dance and play tricks. He thus makes a good deal of money. On the left, villagers looking on. The Bodhisattva is dancing. On his head, the crest, which is supposed to contain the jewel; the jewel on a snake's head is a superstition common to many nations.

234. Ālambāyana wants more money, and goes to Benares to show his snake to the king. Meanwhile, Bhūridatta's family have become aware of his disappearance. One of his brothers, in the guise of an ascetic, goes in search of him, with his sister, in the form of a small frog, in his hair. They arrive at the palace as Bhūridatta is dancing; on recognizing his brother, he places his head at his feet and weeps. On the left, the king; in the middle, Bhūridatta's brother, near whose left foot is the nāga's head; on the right, Ālambāyana.

235. The Bodhisattva's brother challenges Ālambāyana to dare make his snake fight the small frog. The fight takes place; the small frog drops a violent poison; Ālambāyana becomes a leper; Bhūridatta is free and assumes the human form. On the left, the king; the figure on the right is probably Bhūridatta, and that in the middle his brother.



232.—Alambāyana pulls Bhūridatta (by the tails).



233.—Alambāyana makes Bhūridatta dance.



234.—Alambāyana carrying (the snake) arrives (in) the king's (presence).



235.—Bhūridatta assumes human form.

230. The king is the brother of Bhūridatta's mother. After some explanations, the king recognizes them. The upper part of the king's body has broken off, and an attempt at restoration been made. Bhūridatta is bent forward on his lap; the king has his left arm round his neck. Behind, the Bodhisattva's brother. Their sister has been left out for lack of room. The lotus above the Bodhisattva has flaked off.

237. Then, after some time, Bhūridatta (on the left), his brother and his sister, return to the Nāga world.

238. Arrived at the Nāga world, Bhūridatta, tired and sick, takes to his bed; nāgas come to visit him.

239. When he is well again, he goes to visit his grandfather the king, who now lives the ascetic life; his brothers and parents follow afterwards. On the left, the king-ascetic; in front of him, Bhūridatta, with another nāga behind.



236.—The king recognizes Bhūridatta.



237.—Bhūridatta returns to the nāga world.



238.—Bhūridatta arrives at the nāga world.



239.—Bhūridatta converses with the hermit.

240. The king of Videha is an heretic; his daughter tries to make him give up his false beliefs. The hermit Nārada, who is the Bodhisattva, comes through the air to help her. On the left, the throne and white umbrella; the king is kneeling on the ground and listens to Nārada's teaching; the legs of Nārada are hidden by a cloud, for he stands in the air.

241. Having converted the king, Nārada goes up to the Brahma world. Behind the king is his daughter.

242. Four friendly kings assemble to observe the sabbath; among them are Dhanañjaya, king of the Kurus, a great gambler, and Varuṇa, king of the Nāgas. The wise Vidhura, the Bodhisattva, is the minister of Dhanañjaya. Those four kings have a discussion as to who is the most virtuous. They cannot agree. Vidhura is called and answers their question: they are all four virtuous alike. On the right, Vidhura.

243. The queen of Varuṇa is *enceinte;* she wants to eat Vidhura's heart; if she does not get it, she will die. Varuṇa does not know what to do; but his daughter makes it known she will be the wife of any one who brings it. Puṇṇaka, a Yakkha chief, hears of it; he plays with Dhanañjaya a game at dice, of which Vidhura is the stake, and he wins. The king is sorry. "He is only a slave," says Puṇṇaka. "If he says so, I may give him up," says the king. They go and ask Vidhura what he is. Vidhura is kneeling; Puṇṇaka is on the left, the king in the middle.



240.—The hermit Nārada converses with the king.



241.—The hermit Nārada goes (back) to the Brahma world.



242.—Vidhura answers the question of the (four) kings.



243.—The king and Puṇṇaka the Yakkha ask (Vidhura).

244. Vidhura answers he is no kinsman, but a slave, being minister to the king. The king, angry, makes him over to Puṇṇaka, and goes away. On the left, the king, recognizable by his headdress; in the middle, the yakkha Puṇṇaka; on the high seat (he was in the hall of justice), the Bodhisattva.

245. But before he is taken away, the king desires to hear him preach for the last time. Vidhura, on the seat, is explaining the Law to the king and queen.

246. Vidhura wants to wind up his affairs, and asks Puṇṇaka to take him away only after three days. Puṇṇaka agrees, and the Bodhisattva invites him to come and stay in his house. The house on the left, on the right Puṇṇaka.

247. Vidhura having invited Puṇṇaka makes him comfortable in his house, and gives him five hundred female attendants. Puṇṇaka is now the guest of Vidhura, so that the latter sits on the lower seat; in the middle, a female attendant.



244.—The king hands over Vidhura.



245.—(Vidhura) explains the Law to the king.



246.—Vidhura takes Puṇṇayakkha and goes back (to his home).



247.—Vidhura (having) called Puṇṇayakkha (to his home, settles him comfortably).

248. He then instructs his family in the Law. Afterwards he explains to the courtiers how to obtain honours at the court. Two courtiers listening in front of him.

249. Having thus settled his affairs and taken leave of the king Vidhura informs the yakkha he is ready to go with him.

250. Puṇṇaka is eager to get the heart of Vidhura in order to win the hand of the fair Nāga maiden. He mounts his horse, which is endowed with reason and can fly; he bids Vidhura to take hold of his tail, and, springing up in the air, takes his flight over the Himālayas. Under the horse are represented the peaks of the Himālayas.

251. Vidhura, in the course of a conversation on the Himālayan peaks, tells Puṇṇaka there must be a mistake in all this, that he must have misinterpreted what is really needed by the Nāga king and his daughter.[1]

[1] This plaque on the Ānanda is in the wrong place; see the text, No. 251.



248.—He expounds the rules for courtiers to obtain honours at the court.



249.—Vidhura tells (Punnayakkha) he is ready to go (with him).



250.—Punnayakkha carries away Vidhura.



251.—Vidhura is conversing (with the Yakkha).

252. But Puṇṇaka reflects that, instead of killing him with his own hands, it would be preferable to make him die of fright. It is what he sets about to do. First, he assumes the form of a huge lion ready to devour him ; but Vidhura remains unmoved.

253. He then takes the shape of a furious elephant, ready to gore him with his tusks ; but Vidhura is not frightened.

254. He next assumes the appearance of an enormous snake, and coils himself round him ; but in vain.

255. Fright is of no avail ; so he determines to kill him with his own hands. He seizes him by the feet and holds him head downwards. Puṇṇaka is in the air, represented by scrolls ; under them, the Himālayan peaks.



252.—Puṇṇaka (tries to) frighten Vidhura.



253.—Puṇṇaka creates an elephant.



254.—Puṇṇaka tests (the steadfastness of Vidhura by means of a snake).



255.—Puṇṇaka turns (Vidhura) upside down (and flings him into the sky).

256. He then whirls him about and throws him into space. No. 251 (*q.v.*) should come after this plaque.

257. All is in vain; he cannot kill him, either by fright or by violence. He sets him on his feet, and asks him to expound the Law to him,

258. And Vidhura, nothing loath, unfolds unto him the four rules of a good man. Puṇṇaka repents and resolves to set him free. The yakkha is listening, kneeling.

259. Vidhura requests the yakkha to take him to the Nāga world, and this Puṇṇaka does at once. On the seat, Varuṇa, the Nāga king, then Puṇṇaka, and on the right Vidhura. A long conversation ensues, in which everything becomes clear.



256.—Puṇṇaka whirls (Vidhura) round.



257.—Puṇṇaka asks (Vidhura to teach him the laws of good men).



258.—Vidhura preaches the law (to Puṇṇaka).



259.—Puṇṇaka conveys (Vidhura) to the Nāga (country).

260. The Nāga king is delighted and Vidhura preaches the Law to him. The Bodhisattva is on the seat; the king before him and, behind, the court.

261. The king, impressed by Vidhura's wisdom, takes him by the hand and conducts him into his apartments to present him to the Nāga queen, Vimalā. The queen is seated on a dais.

262. The Bodhisattva preaches the Law also to Queen Vimalā, who bows down to him reverentially. Puṇṇaka and the Nāga princess are married; Puṇṇaka, grateful, gives a magnificent jewel to Vidhura, takes him back to the capital of the Kurus, and sets him down at the door of the hall of truth. On the right, the hall; Vidhura in the act of entering; Puṇṇaka is going back to his own abode.

263. Vidhura is received with great pomp by the king, the court and the citizens. The Bodhisattva is offering the king the jewel given him by the yakkha.



260.—(Vidhura) preaches the Law to the Nāga king.



261.—The Nāga king introduces (Vidhura) in his house.



262.—Puṇṇaka carries (Vidhura) up (to the world of men).



263.—Vidhura gives the jewel (to the king).

264. After this great reception, the sage goès home. He is followed by some one, probably his wife.

265. Then the queens, the princes and the people bring him abundance of food and drink. At his death he is reborn in heaven.

266. King Sañjaya reigns at Jetuttara, the capital of the kingdom of Sivi. His chief queen's name is Phusatī. Phusatī, in her former existence in Tāvatiṁsa, had been given, on her death-bed, ten boons by Sakka. Sakka perceives that nine of the boons have been granted; there remains the last: that of a good son. He asks the Bodhisattva, then in the Tāvatiṁsa, to be reborn in her womb; he acquiesces and is conceived.

267. As the queen one day was crossing the Merchants' quarter, she felt her time had come; a lying-in chamber was hastily improvised, and there the Bodhisattva was born. As soon as he was born, he put out his hand, asking: "Mother, is there anything for me to give in alms?" She placed in his hand a purse of a thousand coins. The mother is on the bed; near it the usual pan of fire. It will be seen the scene is not faithful to the text, the queen should be placing the purse in his hand; instead, it is handed over by a palace lady. The child is on the right, standing, and can be made out by the small top-knot on his head, which is worn by most children in Burma.



264.—(Vidhura) returns home.



265.—Vidhura is at home (receiving gifts).



266.—Conception of Vessantara.



267.—(Vessantara) asks for gold to give alms.

268. On his naming day, they give him the name of Vessantara, because he was born while crossing (tara) the Merchants' (vessa) quarter. On the dais, the king holding the baby, and near him, the queen. On the left, two brahman soothsayers.

269. The king gives him sixty-four nurses, whom he chooses with the greatest care. Two nurses; the king holding the child.

270. King Sañjaya has a necklace made worth a lakh and gives it to his son. The king, on the left, is giving the necklace to Vessantara, who is on the lap of the queen.

271. The boy—he is five—always ready to make gifts, gives the necklace to his nurses; the boy is on his mother's lap.



268.—They give him the name Vessantara.



269.—The father gives nurses to Vessantara.



270.—The king gives (Vessantara) an ornament.



271.—The wise (in which Vessantara) gave the ornaments (to his nurses).

272. Thus he gave away nine necklaces. Then, when eight years of age, seated on his bed, he reflects all these gifts are of no great value; he should like to give his own flesh, heart, etc.

273. At sixteen, he is married to the beautiful Maddī, and entrusted with the government of the kingdom. He has two children: a son, called Jāli, and a daughter named Kanhajinā. Halls to give alms are built in the city; he visits them every month on the white elephant. This elephant had been born on the same day as himself, and was endowed with magical powers, such as to cause rain, etc. On the left, an alms-hall.

274. He is now returning home from one of his monthly visits. In the previous plaque there is no mahout, but an umbrella-bearer, on the elephant; in this plaque it is just the reverse.

275. There is no rain in the country of Kaliṅga, and the king sends brahman mendicants to Jetuttara to beg the white elephant—who can cause rain—from Vessantara. The brahmans, on a small eminence, ask Vessantara for the white elephant, as he is passing by.



272.—Representing (Vessantara) thinking of (more exacting) almsgiving.



273.—Vessantara looks at the alms-halls.



274.—Vessantara returns home.



275.—The brahmans ask for the elephant.

276. Vessantara, overjoyed at the request, immediately gets down from the white elephant. A ladder against the side of the elephant; in front, kneeling, one of the brahmans.

277. He gives the white elephant to the brahmans, one of whom is represented on the left. Vessantara holds the elephant's trunk with his left hand, and, from a vase in his right hand, pours water on the ground, in ratification of his gift.

278. The brahmans then get up on the back of the elephant, and Vessantara, rejoiced at his munificent gift, assists at their departure.

279. But the people of Jetuttara have heard of the gift, and are furious. They go to King Sañjaya and tell him he must banish his son to the Vindhya Mountains. The weak-minded king agrees, and he sends an agent to apprize Vessantara of the turn of affairs. The agent, kneeling, informs Vessantara.



276.—Vessantara gets down from the elephant.



277.—(Vessantara) gives away the white elephant.



278.—Vessantara is pleased with his gift.



279.—The agent comes and informs (Vessantara of what is happening).

280. Vessantara bows to the will of the people; but before going into exile, he wishes to give alms on a very large scale. He is arranging with two officials the details of the great offering.

281. He goes to his wife Maddī and breaks to her the news. He endeavours to persuade her not to accompany him, but to stay back; but she refuses to be left behind. Maddī is on the left.

282. His mother, Queen Phusatī, anxious, goes to her son's apartments; arrived at the door she hears their discussion and learns their resolves; she then enters and consoles them. On the left, Queen Phusatī near the door.

283. Meanwhile, the preparations for the great offering have been going on, and officials come to tell him everything is ready.



280.—Showing (Vessantara) arranging for the great offering.



281.—Vessantara and Maddī converse.



282.—Queen (Phusatī) comes to see (Vessantara).



283.—An official comes to inform (Vessantara that the Great Offering is ready).

284. On hearing this, Vessantara goes into the city on an elephant and gives gifts of gold. An official is in the act of giving gold to a poor man,

285. When everything is over, Vessantara, accompanied by his wife and children, goes to visit his father. Vessantara, then Jāli, his son, and near the boy Maddī carrying Kaṇhajinā on her hip.

286. Vessantara and Maddī respectfully take leave of King Saṅjaya, after informing him of their resolve to go to the Vindhyas with their two children.

287. On leaving the king, they go to Queen Phusatī to take leave; she tries to keep back Maddī and the children, but in vain.



284.—Vessantara gives gold in alms.



285.—Vessantara goes to see his father.



286.—Vessantara comes and attends respectfully on his father.



287.—He comes to his mother.

288. Now, King Sañjaya tries also to keep back Maddī and the children, but is no more successful than his wife. The children are between Sañjaya and Maddī; Vessantara is on the right.

289. The entreaties of both Sañjaya and Phusatī having been in vain, Vessantara turns to depart. The female behind the Bodhisattva is probably Maddī taking final leave of Sañjaya.

290. A splendid carriage, drawn by four horses, is brought round the palace-gate. Below, on the right, the carriage; one horse only is visible; behind the carriage, Sañjaya and Phusatī; above, from the left, Vessantara, Maddī, Jāli and Kaṇhajinā.

291. Then Maddī, bidding adieu to her parents-in-law, mounts first the carriage with the two children. On the dais, near the carriage, Vessantara; in front of him, his father, then Phusatī.



288.—(The old king) converses with Maddī.



289.—Vessantara turns to depart.



290.—They bring a carriage.



291.—Maddī, with the children, mounts (the carriage) before (Vessantara).

292. Vessantara starts on his journey to the Vindhya Mountains. He is in front, carrying Jāli; Maddī holds her little daughter; seated below are Vessantara's parents.

293. Vessantara exhorts the people to be steadfast in alms-giving and good works. The man on the left represents the people.

294. As he is going on his way, thoughtful Phusatī sends him two carts laden with precious things for distribution. Part of the two carts are seen laden with ornaments and precious things. The head of Jāli, on Vessantara's lap, is broken off.

295. Forthwith the Bodhisattva distributes the ornaments.



292.—Vessantara goes away (to the Vindhyas).



293.—He addresses (or admonishes) the crowd while going.



294.—(Vessantara's) mother sends (him) two carts (filled with ornaments).



295.—Vessantara gives the ornaments.

296. Then, all the ornaments being given he goes on with the distribution of the precious things.

297. Having nothing more to give, he proceeds on and gets out of the city ; but he desires to see it once more. The ground under the carriage turns round to allow him to do so. On the left, the city. The *makara* ornamenting the fore-part of the carriage may be seen frequently, slightly stylized, at the extremity of cart-poles even now.

298. Having feasted his eyes, he drives on again towards the Vindhyas ; he asks Maddī to see whether mendicants are coming from behind. Vessantara is turned towards Maddī, making his request ; behind, two mendicants, kneeling.

299. Maddī calls the beggars, who come running.



296.—Vessantara gives in alms the precious things.



297.—Vessantara looks back at the city.



298.—Vessantara drives on again.



299.—The mendicants run towards the king.

300. On coming up with the carriage, the beggars ask for the four horses, and the Bodhisattva immediately gives them. The beggars are now before the carriage ; the horses are unyoked.

301. The exiles were now stranded on the road ; but four gods transform themselves into red deer and draw the carriage. As usual, only one of the deer is visible.

302. But now, another brahman beggar comes along begging for the carriage, which is immediately made over to him. The deer have disappeared ; Vessantara, holding a vase in his right hand, is pouring water to ratify his gift.

303. And now they have to go on foot, Vessantara carrying Jāli and Maddī carrying Kaṇhajinā, on their hips, in the typical oriental fashion.



300.—Vessantara gives the horses in alms.



301.—The red deer drawing the chariot.



302.—He gives away the chariot.



303.—Vessantara enters the forest.

304. But they do not know the way; so they stop every traveller they meet and ask the way to the Vindhyas.

305. The children are longing for the fruits they see on the trees; the branches bend down of their own accord. Vessantara is plucking fruits.

306. In due course, they arrive at the Suvaṇṇagiri or Golden Mountain. The mountain is represented on the left.

307. And going on their way, they reach the river called Kontimāra. The banks of the river are represented by the two curved lines on the left.



304.—They ask the way.



305.—They pluck and give the fruits (to the children).



306.—They arrive at the Suvaṇṇagiri Mountain.



307.—(They arrive at) the Kontimāra River.

308. They walk five leagues more and come to the Arañjara Mountain. The mountain is pictured on the left.

309. Five leagues bring them to the brahmin village of Dunnivitṭha, on the left.

310. Ten leagues further still, they reach Vessantara's uncle's city.

311. They do not enter the city, but stop at a rest-house outside it. The dutiful Maddī wipes the dust from her husband's feet.



308.—They come to the Arañjara Mount.



309.—(They come to) the brahmin village.



310.—(They arrive at Vessantara's) uncle's city.



311.—They stay in a rest-house (near the city).

312. Maddī, intending to make the arrival of Vessantara known, stands outside the rest-house.

313. The women of Ceta—Vessantara's uncle's city—flock round her. Maddī tells them of the fatigue of the journey. In front of Maddī, one of the women, and behind her Vessantara and the children.

314. His relations come to see him; he declines entering the city; they then bring everything necessary to make the exiles comfortable, and surrounding the rest-house keep watch over it. On the left is one of the relations with a sword.

315. His uncle and the princes are conversing with them; they try to induce him not to proceed, but in vain. On the left, Vessantara's uncle.

316. One day and one night they stayed; early in the morning they start again; the princes accompany them and, at the entrance to the forest, show them the way. On the left, a prince indicating the way with his index.

317. So that no harm may befall the exiles, the princes send along with them a skilful woodman; in due course they arrive at the Gandhamādana Mountain, which is seen on the left.



312.—Maddī stands outside the rest-house.



313.—Maddī converses (with the woman of Ceta).



314.—They are keeping watch (on the king and queen).



315.—(Vessantara) converses with the princes.



316.—The princes show the way (to Vessantara).



317.—They arrive at the Gandhamādana. Mountain.

318. Then, turning his back on the Gandhamadāna Mountain, he goes on his way; the mountain is now on the right.

319. And they arrive at the Vipula Mountain. The plaque is badly spoiled; neither the mountain on the left nor the children can be seen.

320. Going on, they come to the Ketumatī River, and there rest and take a meal prepared by the forester. Vessantara on the right; in front of him the forester, behind whom Maddī can be discerned with, near her, a child. Below them, above the legend, the band with wavy lines is the river.

321. In acknowledgment of his services, they give, after their meal, a gold hairpin to the woodman. The woodman is on the left, just at the bend of the river.

322. Then they cross the river Ketumatī, and rest peacefully under a banyan tree. They are holding the children, who are rather indistinct.

323. After their rest under the tree, they proceed on their journey and come to the Nālika Mountain—which is seen on the left.



318.—Turning his back on the Gandhamādana Mountain.



319.—They arrive at the Vipula Mountain.



320.—(They rest near the) Ketumatī River.



321.—They give (their guide) a (golden) hairpin.



322.—Sitting under the banyan tree.



323.—They arrive at the Nāli Mountain.

324. And thence moving onwards, they come to the Mucalinda Lake. The lake, with five lotuses, is on the left.

325. Then, passing through a thick forest, they arrive at a square lake—on the left as usual.

326. Sakka perceives they have arrived; he sends the heavenly architect to build two hermitages: one for Vessantara, one for Maddī; one hermitage on the left.

327. He enters his hermitage and dons the ascetic garb. He is in the act of entering.

328. Then he comes forth, and Maddī, seeing him thus, falls at his feet, sobbing. The two hermitages; behind Maddī, her two children.

329. Maddī also assumes the ascetic garb. He asks her not to visit him unseasonably. Every day she performs all necessary duties, sweeping, bringing water, etc., and then goes into the forest for fruits and roots. Owing to the Bodhisattva's divine compassion, the wild animals within a large radius become meek and do no harm to one another.



324.—He arrives at the Mucalinda Lake.



325.—He arrives at the square lake.



326.—He arrives at the hermitage.



327.—The king enters (the hermitage), becoming a hermit.



328.—(Vessantara) comes out from the hermitage.



329.—Maddi enters the forest.

330. On her return she bathes the children; and all four sit down together and partake of the fruits she has brought back.

331. The meal over, Maddī enters her hermitage with the two children. And this went on for several months. Maddī is on the left.

332. In Kaliṅga, there was an old, deformed, and cruel brahman called Jūjaka. He wants two slaves for his wife. Having heard of Vessantara's generosity, he repairs to the Vindhyas to ask him for his two children. On that account, Maddī has had a dreadful dream; she tells it to her husband, who guesses what is about to happen. And he sits down, eagerly awaiting the coming of Jūjaka. Jūjaka is on the left, carrying his luggage; between them, the children.

333. Vessantara is delighted in that he will now be able to make a heroical gift; he calls out to the brahman to approach, and bids Jāli to go and meet him. On the left, Jūjaka, carrying his umbrella in his right and a staff in his left hand; in the middle, Jāli.

334. As Jāli approaches, the horrible brahman frightens him by snapping his fingers and shouting—"Get away!" Jūjaka on the left, very badly spoiled.

335. Jāli flees back to his father and, examining the brahman, finds in him all the signs of a cruel, vile man.



330.—They eat the fruits.



331.—Maddī enters her hermitage.



332.—(Vessantara) looks expectantly and sees Jūjaka coming.



333.—Jāli goes to meet (Jūjaka).



334.—(Jūjaka) frightens Jāli.



335.—Prince Jāli returns (near his father).

336. Vessantara asks Jūjaka what he has come for: Jūjaka tells him, and the Bodhisattva agrees to give his children, but asks the brahman to wait for Maddī's return. Jūjaka refuses: he is afraid of a mother's love. On the left, Jūjaka.

337. On hearing the brahman's refusal, the children, terrified, run and hide in a clump of bushes. On the right, Vessantara; then Jūjaka, holding his luggage at the end of a stick—this, according to the text; but here it is an umbrella. The children, under the bush on the left, are not visible, the plaque being spoiled.

338. But even then the children did not feel secure and they ran to the square lake before-mentioned, entered it and hid themselves under lotus leaves. They can dimly be made out in the lake on the left-hand top corner.

339. The brahman, not seeing the children, accuses Vessantara of conniving with them. The Bodhisattva gets up and looks for them; he calls Jāli, who comes, seizes his right foot and weeps. Jūjaka, behind Vessantara, holding an umbrella. The lotus leaf at the top of the lake indicates where the girl is still hidden.

340. Then he also calls out to Kaṇhajinā, and she comes, embraces his left foot and cries. According to the text, the children should be holding each one of his feet.

341. He explains to them he is giving them away for the attainment of Omniscience, and they submit cheerfully. He then makes them over to Jūjaka. The Bodhisattva, on the right, is holding a vase, from which he pours water in ratification of his gift.



336.—(Vessantara) conversing with Jūjaka.



337.—(The two children) hide in a clump (of bushes).



338.—The children (are concealed in the square lake).



339.—Prince Jāli comes up (from the square lake).



340.—(Kaṇhā) comes up from the lake.



341.—(Vessantara) gives in alms his own children (to Jū'aka).

342. The vile Jūjaka bites off a creeper to tie the children with. He is biting the creeper, holding it in his left hand.

343. With one end of the creeper he ties Jāli's right hand to the girl's left, beats them with the other end and takes them away. The plaque is badly spoiled, and only Vessantara can be seen.

344. The brahman stumbles and falls; the children slip away back to their father, sobbing. Jūjaka again comes to drive them away. Vessantara is filled with violent rage and sorrow. He wants to kill the brahman, but he masters his anger and remains calm.

345. Again the brahman binds them and takes them away; again he stumbles and they escape; but he runs after them in a dreadful temper and binds them for the third time. The children can be seen in the middle.

346. And then again beating them, Jūjaka takes them away.

347. And as they go, they turn back and look pitifully at their father.



342.—Jūjaka bites off a creeper.



343.—Jūjaka binds and takes away (the children).



344.—Vessantara subdues his anger.



345.—Jūjaka binds (again the children).



346.—Jūjaka takes away (the children again).



347.—Kaṇhājinā looks back (at her father).

348. Hearing the lamentations of his little daughter, Vessantara's heart swells within him, and, unable to restrain his emotion, he weeps bitterly.

349. See explanation of the inscription under same number.

350. The gods reflect that, if Maddī returns early as usual, she will go after the children and get into dire trouble. They commission three of their number to assume the forms of a lion, a tiger, and a leopard, and bar her way until the sun sets. Maddī is on the left; she is, after her return, telling her husband how wild beasts barred her way; the diminutive and spoiled lion between them is therefore only symbolical.

351. She remembers her bad dream and enquires about the children; Vessantara, to all her entreaties and her tears, keeps an ominous silence.

352. Trembling with apprehension, she goes in search of her children; she comes to a clump of eugenia trees where they used to play; but they are not there. The clump is on the left. Strictly speaking, Vessantara ought not to have been represented in this scene and the five next.

353. Then she goes to the river bank, but in vain. The river is indicated by two lines on the left.



348.—Vessantara weeps.



349.—Vessantara gives . . . ?



350.—The lion bars (Maddī's path).



351.—Maddī enquires about her children.



352.—Maddī comes up to the eugenia trees.



353.—Maddī arrives at the river.

354. She ascends the hill, where her little ones used to pluck flowers; but she does not see them. The rocks on the left represent the hill.

355. In her wanderings, she comes upon the toy oxen, elephants and horses, the delight of her children; but she does not see them. On the left, from the top: the elephant, the horse, the ox. Her dress is indicated merely by a line just above her ankles.

356. She then enters a clump of flowering plants and makes a search for them; but they are not there.

357. At the lakes also she does not find them. The lakes are represented by the square on the left.

358. Her search has been fruitless. She goes back to the hermitage, and finds Vessantara dejected. She asks him again about the children, but he keeps silent, and she again wanders back into the night.

359. Another fruitless search; she comes back again and, unable to obtain one word from Vessantara, falls at his feet in a swoon.



354.—Maddī ascends the hill.



355.—Maddī comes upon the (toy) elephants and horses.



356.—Maddī arrives at the clump of flower-trees.



357.—Maddī comes to the lake.



358.—(Maddī) goes back to the king.



359.—Maddī falls and swoons.

360. He believes her to be dead; he feels her heart, and perceives she is alive; he fetches a pitcher of water and places her head on his lap. He is holding the pitcher in his right hand. Maddī, whose head is broken off, is in a strangely contorted position: this is due to lack of room, for the hermitage has been made too large.

361. To revive her, he pours water on her face, which lies on his lap. The pitcher in his right hand has broken off.[1]

362. Then he explains to her the high ideal which has induced him to give away the children; he consoles her, assuring her they will come back. And Maddī rejoices in her husband's heroic gift.

363. Now Sakka reflects that another low beggar may come and ask for Maddī. To prevent that, he resolves to ask for her himself and then give her back; he would thus make Vessantara attain the very summit of perfection. To that end, he comes to the hermitage disguised as a brahman,

364. And he asks for Maddī; Vessantara gives her away, and pours water in ratification of his gift. Maddī, to help her husband in his high resolve, calmly submits.

365. And Sakka accepts her as a gift. He is on the left.

[1] See No. 375.



360.—(Vessantara) raises (Maddī's head) and lays (it on his lap).



361.—Vessantara pours water (on Maddī's face).



362.—Maddī rejoices (at Vessantara having given away the children).



363.—(Sakka, disguised as) a brahman comes.



364.—(Vessantara) gives his wife (in alms).



365.—(Sakka) receives the wife (of Vessantara) in alms.

366. Sakka praises her fine resolution and gives her back to Vessantara.

367. Then Sakka discloses his identity, and asks Vessantara to choose eight boons. The Bodhisattva chooses; among these boons is the following: that his father may recall him soon and set him on the throne, and Sakka answers this will soon come to pass; he is now in mid-air, on a cloud.

368. Then Sakka goes back to the Tāvatiṁsa heaven; he is in the act of flying. The scrolls above his left foot represent the sky.

369. Meanwhile, Jūjaka is dragging the children away to his village; every evening, afraid of wild beasts he himself sleeps on a tree, but he ties up the children at the foot of the tree; the gods, however, watch over them. Jūjaka on the tree; the boy has his right hand, and the girl her left, tied with a creeper at the trunk.

370. The gods make Jūjaka go the wrong way and bring him to the children's grandfather's palace. They are redeemed and the brahman dies of indigestion. King Sañjaya, with a large army, goes to fetch back his son Vessantara. Vessantara and Maddī hear the mighty tramp and go up a hill and look out expectantly. They are on the hill, and Vessantara waves to his father, who is approaching on an elephant.

371. King Sañjaya arrives at the hermitage.



366.—(Sakka) gives back Maddī.



367.—Indra converses (with Vessantara).



368.—Indra goes back (to his heaven).



369.—Jūjaka sleeps on a tree.



370.—(Vessantara) look out for his (father) the king.



371.—The king (Vessantara's father) arrives.

372. Sañjaya dismounts and comes up to his son. Maddī is on the left, Sañjaya in the middle.

373. Vessantara then respectfully salutes his father, who is on the left.

374. Phusatī, who has remained a while behind, for fear that the sight of her and of the two children at once might give the exiles a shock, now comes up to the hermitage. She is on the left, standing; Sañjaya is near her, with Vessantara at his side; the other figure is Maddī.

375. Vessantara, having poured water on Maddī, chafes her head. See explanation in text under same number.

376. And Vessantara reverentially salutes his mother; they are in each other's arms; between the tree and the hermitage, Maddī; Sañjaya in the left-hand top corner.

377. Jāli and Kaṇhajinā, who have followed at a short distance their grandmother, perceiving Maddī, run into her arms. The two children and Maddī on the lower plan; above, from left, Phusatī, Sañjaya, Vessantara.



372.—The king comes up to his son.



373.—Vessantara salutes his father.



374.—The queen (Phusatī) arrives.



375.—The king (Vessantara) chafes (maddi's, head.



376.—The king salutes his mother.



377.—The children come to their mother.

378. On seeing her children, Maddī, overcome with happiness, falls in a swoon and the children also.

379. Vessantara and his parents follow suit. But Sakka comes, sprinkles water on them, and brings them back to consciousness. And then they all sit down and engage in happy converse.

380. Now all the courtiers come up to wish Vessantara, and ask him to change his dress. One courtier is offering regal vestments.

381. Vessantara, having changed his dress, salutes, with Maddī, the hermitage; for here he has lived the holy life for nine months; and here he has attained the highest summit of perfection in alms-giving.

382. Then the consecration water is poured over him, and he is made king. The scene probably represents Vessantara, just before or just after his consecration, in converse with his father. The object in the centre is not a lotus, as at first sight appears, but a lacquered stand on which is placed what looks like a regal headdress, a crown.

383. Similarly, Maddī is consecrated queen; she is now in converse with her husband.



378.—Maddī falls (on the ground) with her children.



379.—Vessantara converses (with his father).



380.—Vessantara changes his dress.



381.—(Vessantara) salutes reverentially the hermitage.



382.—They consecrate Vessantara (king).



383.—They consecrate Maddī (as queen).

384. After her coronation, Maddī mounts an elephant; an official is following behind. The absence of the mahout and umbrella-bearer is remarkable. The upper portion of the plaque is broken off.

385. And now they leave the Vindhyas, where they have experienced so many deep emotions.

386. At last they arrive at Jetuttara, the capital; and after the rejoicings are all over, Vessantara, with his beautiful and devoted queen, lives happy in his palace ever afterwards.

387. Vessantara is giving ornaments. See explanation in text under this number.

388. See explanations in text.

389. See explanations in text.



384.—Maddī mounts her elephant.



385.—They go out of the wilderness.



386.—Vessantara dwells in his palace.



387.—(Vessantara) gives ornaments.





Vessantara ascends.

VOLUME III PART I

Archaeological Survey of Burma

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

EDITED BY

CHAS. DUROISELLE

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

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MÔN INSCRIPTIONS Nos. IX—XI

BY

C. O. BLAGDEN

RANGOON
SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING, BURMA
1923

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

No. IX.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

54. This inscription has been noticed in *Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma,* (1912) pp. 14, 15 and (1916) pp. 22, 23, but no portion of it has hitherto been published. The stones on which it is engraved are preserved in the Pagan Museum, and in the Catalogue of 1906 they are numbered 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9. They consist of two large four-sided columns and fragments of, apparently, three others. The dimensions of the stones, as given in the Catalogue, are as follows:—No. 1: height, 7 feet; breadth, 3 feet. No. 2: height, 7 feet 9 inches; breadth, 3 feet. No. 6: height, 2 feet; breadth, 1 foot 9 inches. No. 7: height, 2 feet 3 inches; breadth, 2 feet 6 inches. No. 8: height, 2 feet 5 inches; breadth, 2 feet 9 inches. No. 9: height, 2 feet 9 inches; breadth, 2 feet 6 inches. I have given letters to the several faces of the stones and fragments containing legible parts of the inscription. So far as regards Faces A—H (corresponding to Nos. 1 and 2 above), there is no difficulty about the order. But the remaining portions, Faces J—S, are hard to arrange, and some doubt remains in my mind as to whether the order I have put them in is the right one. Professor Duroiselle informs me that my Faces J—M (= Pagan Museum Nos. 7 and 6) are parts of one column, N, O (= P.M. No. 8) part of another, and P—S (= P.M. No. 9) part of a third. Assuming that that is so, the inscription must originally have comprised at least six columns, of which the first, preceding Faces A—D, is entirely lost. This conclusion seems unavoidable, inasmuch as Face A is plainly not the beginning of the record. In that case the original must have extended to over 1,000 lines, of

which less than half have been preserved. But even the remnants that we have got make this inscription by far the longest of the Early Môn records.

55. The space actually covered by lettering, as measured on the ink-impressions, is as follows:—Face A, 6 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 8 inches; B, 5 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; C, 5 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 8 inches; D, 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; E, 6 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 4 inches; F, 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 1 inch; G, 6 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 5 inches; H, 6 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 2 inches; J, 4 feet by 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; K, 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; L, 3 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 4 inches; M, 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; N, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot 3 inches; O, 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot 3 inches; P, 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; Q, 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 feet 4 inches; R, 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; S, 1 foot 10 inches by 2 feet 4 inches. The letters resemble in their general type those of the preceding inscriptions. Their height varies slightly, between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, in the several faces, letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, and the interlinear space is generally between $\frac{7}{8}$ inch and 1 inch. The inscription is, on the whole, in a bad state of preservation. Though a good deal of what remains is quite legible, a considerable part is extremely difficult to read and would have been practically undecipherable but for one of the characteristic peculiarities of this record, namely its many repetitions. The fact is that, in spite of its great length, this inscription is of a disappointingly monotonous character. The same formulae occur again and again with wearisome iteration. But this has made it possible in many cases to read with virtual certainty many obliterated passages, which it would otherwise have been quite impossible to reconstruct. The text has been determined from three sets of ink-impressions and a set of photographs of one of them.

56. The record is concerned with the elaborate ceremonial attending the building of a great palace at Pagan. Buddhist monks and Brahmans, besides a variety of officials, chiefs, and other persons, took part in the proceedings, and a good deal of ritual was involved in them. The Brahmans were constantly engaged in bringing water of lustration in vessels of gold, silver, brass, and earthenware. The monks held a service of blessing and protection. The whole affair was spread over many days of several months, and the precise times when the various actions took place are generally exactly indicated. Unfortunately no year date is to be found in the fragments that remain. I submitted details of the dates to Mr. Robert Sewell, a great

authority on Indian chronology (to whose help in this matter I am very much indebted); and he informs me that, within the period covered by Kyansitthā's reign, the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.[1] But in some cases there are difficulties, and until we are in possession of more precise information as to the method of working the Burmese calendar at this period, some doubt must remain on the subject. It is to be hoped that the point may eventually be settled by a comparison of the dates of the early Burmese records. A good deal turns on this question of the date of our inscription. It has been suggested, with much probability, that the palace built on this occasion was erected for the special purpose of Kyansitthā's royal anointment (*abhiṣeka*); and it is a fact that the buildings described in the record are such as would be appropriate to an occasion of that kind. They apparently constituted what was technically termed a "fivefold pavilion" (*pañcaprāsāda*), and included amongst their subsidiary structures an "ablution pavilion," which in itself seems to point to some such purpose. On the other hand, in the portions of the record that have been preserved, there is no definite statement that such was their purpose, nor is the ceremony of anointment mentioned at all. If the date above suggested is correct, it seems difficult to connect this palace with Kyansitthā's anointment, for it appears rather improbable that such an important ceremony would be postponed for so many years after his accession to the throne. This seems the less likely when we compare III C 12-14 (including the variants in IV and V) and VI 28, which passages refer expressly to the royal anointment. It is true that they speak of it in the future, as part of Buddha's alleged prophecy about the king. But that is, after all, merely a matter of form, and it seems probable that the event had actually happened before these inscriptions were set up. In that case it must have occurred before June 3rd, A.D. 1093 (§ 45), the probable date of No. VI, which is the earliest of Kyansitthā's dated records.

57. It is hardly possible to give, within a reasonably small compass, any summary of the ceremonies performed in connexion with the building of this palace. For all details the translation can be consulted. The great day was that of the royal procession described in F 13 *seqq.*, when the king, named

[1] The equivalent dates given in the notes to the translation are all based on this assumption. They have been kindly worked out for me by Mr. Sewell, to whom I must here express my grateful thanks for having taken so much trouble in the matter and given me the benefit of his very special knowledge of the subject. For details, see particularly B 11, C 17, 21, 29, D 42, E 21, F 1, 12, 13, 35, G 9, 15, H 8, J 31, L 6, 9.

only in this passage (F 28, 29, 41, 44), appeared with a large retinue to honour the work with his presence. Here the narrative is vivid and contrasts with the somewhat monotonous repetition of stereotyped ceremonial that constitutes the bulk of the record. The fragmentary faces N, R and S enter into details of the decorative architecture of some portions of the palace, a subject of considerable interest, though the meanings of some of the words used are still doubtful. Indeed, the whole inscription teems with technical terms of which I am as yet unable to determine the precise sense. I have received much valuable assistance in this matter from Mr. Robert Halliday and Professor Charles Duroiselle, but in spite of their kind help, and after many revisions and much labour devoted to the study of this difficult record, I must regretfully admit that many of its problems still remain unsolved. Their solution demands a more intimate acquaintance with the details of Indian ritual and architecture than I can hope to acquire, and I can only suggest that a comparative study of these highly technical matters may perhaps in the future throw further light upon the doubtful points.

58. Although the inscription contributes a fair amount of fresh lexicographical material, yet owing to its many repetitions the new words contained in it are less numerous than might have been expected from its great length, and, for the reasons already stated, many of them are not yet capable of exact determination. I fear that to the ordinary reader this record will seem of comparatively little interest, and I must confess that I have sometimes felt that it did not repay the amount of work necessarily involved in the editing of it. But in a collection of this kind one must take the rough with the smooth; and there is always a possibility that even a somewhat arid document, like this one, may eventually turn out to contain material that is valuable from some point of view, though not obviously so at first sight.

59. One or two matters arising incidentally may perhaps with advantage be singled out for special mention here. The great importance attached to the Brahmans, and the syncretism which is involved by their co-operating in harmony with Buddhist monks in the ceremonies here described, may be considered worthy of notice, though the phenomenon is in no way singular, being in fact characteristically normal in Siam and Camboja to this day. It seems probable that these Brahmans were Vaishnava (A 2 tr.) and it would appear that some of them came from the Môn country (H 12). It is, at any rate, quite certain that Môn notables took a fair share in the transactions connected with the building of the palace (B 14, 42, G 23) alongside

of the Burmese ones; and it is clear that, though members of a conquered race, they had a recognized status and were by no means merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is the first occasion, too, on which we find them specifically mentioned in this collection of records by their ancient ethnic name, *Rmeñ*, from which the modern form *Môn* is (through the medieval *Rman*) quite regularly derived. Here also, for the first time, occurs the ethnic name of the Burmese, under the form *Mirmā* (B 42, D 24, H 12). Whether this is a faithful representation of the name by which the Burmese called themselves at this time, or whether the word, occurring as it does in a Môn text, has been modified in any degree by Môn linguistic influences, is a matter which I must leave to be dealt with by those who may hereafter study the Early Burmese inscriptions.[1]

Text.

A

1. . . . . [2]
2. . . . . (t t̃ey blaḥ han)[3] . . . . . (pa brāt cindran moḥ)[4]
3. (jlow)[5] [luḥac ku kon brāt tḥow] . . . . (sāl diṅkar)[6] . . . . . .
4. . . . . [lṅor ku pkāw thar] pneñ [duleñ saṁbhuc duleñ pūṅ khal ma]
5. [crok ku pneñ] goḥ [ma lṅor] (tūy [7]) [piryām] (goḥ kuṁ) [tirla' poy mhā]-
6. [ther Arahan ket ku tirley saṅgha duṁpoḥ] . . . . [sāl sl̥a] (kupa)-
7. (r[7] han) [sthān ma skir][8] sruṅ jiñjuṅ jirkoy [ḥā]r jiñjuṅ yas [jiñjuṅ a]-
8. [tas] siṅghāsin ku jiñjuṅ prāsāt [pan] ku jiñjuṅ prā[sāt bi]-
9. rlup ku jiñjuṅ juṅ dal ku jijāp[9] jiñjuṅ atas [muk goḥ ut]

[1] Cf. *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, (1920) para. 36.
[2] There may be traces of a line above this one.
[3] Very doubtful. The first letter may be the end of *plit* (in one rubbing there seem to be traces of *l* and *i*). After *han* possibly we might supply *nār*: cf. B 34, C 31, E 41, J 10.
[4] Conjectural restoration, inferred from the words legible in the next line.
[5] Conjectural restoration. [6] Extremely doubtful. [7] Very doubtful: see A 29 *infra*.
[8] Perhaps *skīr*. [9] Conceivably *jirjāp*.

10. [mñaḥ] (ma kel) sāl sla (darka)s[1] goḥ girluk ut phaṁ [klo' murā ī]-
11. (')[seṅ sgac si]ṅgir [pgoḥ[2] kakā[3] tapiw ku ut] . . . . . c-eṅ
12. (da we)l ‖ pli[t tṅey go]dhulī lagna ‖ [buṁnaḥ] (saṅkrān)[4] [ta goḥ ma dindi]-
13. [ṅ lwar tik phaṁ kinta ‖ buṁna]ḥ hurā to' ār [tuk ḍek] (ma)[5] spaḍo-
14. [t parit ‖ ḍe]ḥ ra[ṅ tlūṅ ḍek goḥ tūy] . . . .[6] [ḍek] k[l]as [th]ar k[la]-
15. [s] s[re]ñ [kl]as [slūy] ta goḥ [ḍeḥ] reṅ lar (jāp sthān) . . . . [l[7] m]aṅgal
16. [han] prāsā[t jnok ‖ k]u prā[sāt cind]row[8] [pan ‖ ku prāsāt birlu]-
17. p [ku ji]ñjuṅ ju[ṅ d]al tūy ‖ ḍek k[las ti] pa[n lṅim ku kinlo']
18. [saṅ diñcām goḥ ḍeḥ] r[e]ṅ lā[r] ha[n dirmoṅ t]i[rley saṅ]gha pan [lṅi]-
19. [m da ma spaḍo]t parit [ruṁ]ṅā[s goḥ ku ut rāja]sth[ān ‖ yaṅ tirle]-
20. [y saṅgha] (suṁ tuṁ) [diñcām tirla' poy saṅghatther] (ma das) [pardhān[9] ma]
21. [spaḍot] pari[t ruṁṅ]ās [kom ku guṁīr pan lṅ]im [goḥ] .[i]. .[l]
22. dirmoṅ tirley [saṅgha] ma pi(r)dhān di[ñc]ā[m goḥ ‖] diṅka[r snāl diñcā]-
23. [m] ‖ glik k(ṣū)[10] diñcām ‖ kwir di[ñcām ‖ ḍek kla]s kla[ṁ diñcām] (‖)[11] [ki]-
24. [nl]o[' saṅ] k[laṁ diñcām] ḍe[ḥ] reṅ lar (han) [sthān dirmo]ṅ [tirley sa]-
25. ṅgha kla[ṁ diñcām ku ti]rla[' poy mhāthe]r [Arahan ma spaḍot]
26. pari[t pḍey ‖ han sthān dirmoṅ t]irle[y saṅgha klaṁ diñcām goḥ]

[1] Very doubtful. [2] Possibly *p-oḥ*. Cf. A 33, F 35, G 4, H 46, K 6.
[3] There may be an *r* superscript over the next letter (which itself is doubtful). Cf. A 33, F 35, G 5, K 6.
[4] Very doubtful. Cf. E 27, J 2, 9. [5] Perhaps *na*.
[6] The final letter seems to be *ṅ*. Possibly one might restore *yaṅ*.
[7] The last letter seems fairly certain. I doubt if we can restore *ma skil*, which would fit the context but does not seem to be supported by the ink-impressions.
[8] Here, and elsewhere, there is a doubt as to whether this word is spelt with a *d*. Cf. B 8, 23, F 39, and (in a different context) B 13, C 27, 34, D 23, E 30, F 23, 26, G 25, H 13, J 3.
[9] The *r* is doubtful. But cf. A 22, 35, 46, H 34.
[10] Possibly *kṣa*. Or the subscript letter might conceivably be *y*. But probably the text is right.
[11] This stop is doubtful: it might really be some short word, such as *ku*.

27. [d]i[ṅkar snāl] kla[ṁ diñcām gl]i[k] (kṣū)[1] [klaṁ diñcām kw]ir [klaṁ diñcām] (‖ bo)-
28. [y tlaṅ mi]r[mo]k [m]uk [dirlec jnok] goḥ [kindaṁ dirmoṅ kyek mo]-
29. [y ma nom ku ā]s [ma ñin kindaṁ thic ma ñin guñi][2] (kupar)[3] [ku glik]
30. [buṁteṅ] (‖ ma pdar)[4] [ku tḍoṅ buṁteṅ ‖ goḥ ma ñin sāl ku] (asthar[5] ta)-[6]
31. [sar[7] antūl ā]s [goḥ ma] ñi[n dumoṅ[8] rūp kyek thar moy ‖ rūp]
32. [tirle]y [Gawaṁ]pa[ti moy ‖ ku sla pat wi]ne[y sut] abhi(dhamma[9] p)i . .
33. . . . . (‖) cip pi pahir gi[rluk[10] phaṁ sgac siṅgir pgoḥ[11] kakā] (ha)-
34. (n) kyek [thar t]irley Gawa[ṁ]pa[ti] ‖ [ku ut tirley saṅgha pan lṅi]-
35. [m] kla[ṁ diñcām ma] ti[r]la[' po]y [mhāther A]ra[han] da[s pirdhān] (‖) [sa]-
36. [mbe]ṅ jey sabhaṅ ‖ sambeṅ ka[ṅsāsū]r ‖ sambeṅ rāja[sūr] ‖ [ku u]-
37. [t sambeṅ grī[12] ‖] sa[mbe]ṅ [leṅ kalan yaṅ] saṅ ‖ [p]aṇḍit (suṁ tuṁ)
38. [ut pḍey] ruṁṅā[s] cut pkāw thar sirwiṅ p[n]e[ṅ] duleṅ lṅo[r]
39. [āc saraṇasī]l ku [p]arit [maṅgal] ‖ p[ḍ]e[y ruṁ]ṅās wūr ut pa[n]
40. [tlaṅ ‖] kāl [goḥ ti]rla' po[y mhā]ther Ara[han] tāw bo[y]
41. tlaṅ pirlit ku[ta[13] boy tl]aṅ [mi]rmo[k ‖ ra]p [k]inlo' [saṅ da]-
42. (kkhināwat)[14] [ku ḍek k]las [th]ar sreñ [slūy ti ma ḍ]eḥ reṅ [lar][15]
43. [kin]ta [tirla] p[oy m]hā[ther]r Araha[n ‖ blaḥ goḥ tir]la[' poy mhā]-
44. [the]r Ara[h]aṁ ki[l sar]aṇasī[l blaḥ ‖ ut g]uṁīr [pan lṅim klaṁ]
45. [diñcām] d[m]oṅ [tāw pḍey ruṁṅās ku tirla poy] mhāther [Ara]-
46. [han ma das p]ir[dhān paḍot p]arit [maṅg]al [‖ p]aḍot par[it] (ma)-
47. (ṅgal goḥ bla)[ḥ ‖ c]i[p=piryām duṁhic pi pahir mṣun nāḍ]ī (b)[ir]-(taṁ)[16] . . . . . .

[1] See the note on this word in A 23 *supra*. [2] Perhaps *gañi*.
[3] The reading is doubtful. Perhaps the same word is to be read in A 6-7 *supra*, where it is still more problematical.
[4] If rightly read, the subscript *d* is in a form somewhat like the more simplified variety of subscript *ḍ*, much as in *Arimaddanapur*, Myazedi 3. Conceivably, instead of *ma pdar* one might read *pundar*, but I prefer the former.
[5] Somewhat doubtful, but probable.
[6] The *ta* might be *ma*, etc.
[7] The vowel is doubtful, it might be *i*.
[8] Possibly *dūmoṅ*, a bad spelling.
[9] Blurred, but probable.
[10] Possibly *girlūk*.
[11] Conceivably *p-oḥ*. See A 11 n.
[12] Perhaps *gri*. [13] Cf. I G 5.
[14] The reading is very doubtful.
[15] Or *lār*. The *l* seems pretty certain. Nothing else is visible.
[16] In this whole line the lower portions of the letters are cut off. But the restorations, though to some extent conjectural, seem pretty certain; for *mṣun* one may have to read *miṣūn*.

B

1. . . . . (t tnam phā pl)[1] . . . . . .
2. . . . . (se)ṅ [‖ goḥ ma] . . . . . .
3. . . . . [2] ti [muk ti]r[ḍey hān tl]aṅ [mirmo]-
4. [k ‖ muk tirḍey hān] t[laṅ] . . . . . r[3] [‖ muk tirḍey hān tl]aṅ [pirli]-
5. [t ‖ muk tir]ḍe[y hān tlaṅ c]i[ṅ kinta] (han)[4] [ti prāsāt jnok] u[t]
6. [mṣun] hā[n goḥ tun p-huṁ ku] ḍek kla[s th]ar sr[eñ] (p-huṁ blaḥ)[5] [sāl] di[ṅ]kar
7. [cut] p[k]ā[w thar sirwiṅ pneṅ duleṅ] ‖ [goḥ ma buṁ]naḥ [hurā samā sni' lṅor u]-
8. [t sthān mṣun hān goḥ ‖ bl]aḥ [goḥ] ha[n ti prāsāt cindrow pan] ku [ti' mu]-
9. [k juṅ dal] ut sthān [mṣun hān goḥ ‖ p-hūm ku ḍek klas th]ar sreñ [1] [p-hūm]
10. (da bla)ḥ[6] [sā]l [di]ṅ[kar cut pkāw th]ar s[i]r[wiṅ pneṅ duleṅ] ‖ buṁnaḥ hurā sa[mā sṅi']
11. [t]un [l]ṅor [ut sth]ā[n mṣun] (da goḥ wel) ‖ [cip ḅār mirmok kintu kārti]-
12. [k tṅey candraw]ār ‖ [sambeṅ gri sambeṅ leṅ kalan yaṅ] s(a)ṅ[7] [1[8] buṁnaḥ h]u[rā]
13. sa[m]ā [sṅi' s]u[ṁ] tu[ṁ ‖ ku buṁnaḥ ma sdindiṅ] (lwar ta)[9] [go]ḥ [sluk sirpuṅ s]u[khū]y [ci]-
14. [ndro]w [sukhūy u]l[ār] glik ku[chom buṁte]ṅ ‖ b[l]aḥ [g]oḥ (rme)ñ[10] k[laṁ ḅ]ā[r cwa]-

[1] All very doubtful readings.
[2] Somewhere in this illegible passage there must, I think, have been another *muk tirḍey hān*, unless B 5 covers two out of five places referred to.
[3] The last part of this doubtful passage looks like *ṅ lbir*, though the vowel is not certain and conceivably the *b* might be *w*.
[4] This seems probable. [5] Very doubtful. Alternatively it might be *ti mleḥ*.
[6] Very doubtful. It might be *mleḥ*: or the supposed *da* might be merely an accidental mark.
[7] Looks like *suṅ*, but the mark below may be accidental.
[8] There seems to be only a single stop here.
[9] Though these letters are illegible, I think the reading is practically certain.
[10] Fairly certain.

15. [s turow ‖ ma] (ciṅgin)[1] [klas slūy klas] (ti ta goḥ suṁ ku)[2] glik ku[choṁ buṁ]te-
16. [ṅ ‖] b[l]aḥ [goḥ lwar ḅā]r (ma) [guñi ku glik buṁteṅ pund]ar k[u tḍoṅ buṁteṅ ‖]
17. [ut lw]ar [ḅār goḥ ḍeḥ lusāl klas thar sreñ ‖] k[l]as [slūy] (ma ñaḥ) [ciṅ]-
18. [gin goḥ tūy ‖ klas] (ti[3] goḥ) [klaṁ ḅār cwas ‖ ut k]las [ta] goḥ [ḍeḥ] lu[ḅac ku]
19. [pkāw] (b)[rā](c kmow sla caḍūñ da[4] tik phaṁ kinta ‖j [goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hurā to' ār]
20. [tuk ḍek] . . . . . (p-huṁ) [jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñju]ṅ [yas jiñju]ṅ [atas]
21. [ku ut] (ku) [jiñjuṅ c-eṅ] (ı)[5] [ku ut] (ku) [kiryā suṁ tuṁ ‖ blaḥ] goḥ yaṅ jiñjuṅ ji-
22. [rkoy] (ı)[6] [jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas] (ku) [jiñjuṅ c-eṅ cas ḅār goḥ moy]
23. [hān ‖ kir](r)[yā] . . . . [prāsāt jnok moy hān ‖ prāsāt cindrow pan]
24. (pan) [hān ‖ prāsāt birlup moy hān ‖ jiñjuṅ muk siṅghāsin moy hā]-
25. [n ‖ jiñjuṅ muk] (cirmuk) [moy hān ‖ jiñjuṅ juṅ dal moy] hān (‖)
26. [jiñjuṅ muk] t[ir]ḍe[y hān tlaṅ] (mirmok moy) [hān ‖ jiñjuṅ mu]-
27. [k tirḍey hān tl]aṅ pirl[it] (moy hān) [‖ jiñjuṅ muk tirḍey]
28. [hān] tlaṅ [c]i[ṅ kinta]' [moy hān] (‖ ut clec)[7] [tlaṅ mirmok ḍeḥ reṅ lā]-
29. [r moy hān ‖ ut cl]e[c tlaṅ] . . . . . [8] [ḍeḥ reṅ l]ār [moy hān ‖ ut cle]-
30. [c tl]aṅ pirl[it ut clec tlaṅ ciṅ] k[inta ḍeḥ reṅ lār mirmoy[9] h]ā[n mirmoy][9]
31. [hān ‖ ut cas duṁ]poḥ [hān goḥ ḍeḥ pa brā]t ci[ndran luḅac ku kon brāt]

[1] Fairly certain. [2] Very doubtful; *suṁ ku* might be *sluk*.
[3] Looks rather like *ti*, but may be *ta*: this part of the text is in bad preservation.
[4] This seems to be the same phrase as in C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, K 14, L 24. The first word, here illegible, has a subscript *m* under its initial letter (which might be a *t*). Its final may possibly be *e*. The *sla* seems fairly certain and so does the *d*, but the rest is very doubtful.
[5] The stop is doubtful. Perhaps it is really *da*, in which case it might also be possible to read the immediately following *ku* and the one at the beginning of the line as *kuṁ*. There are traces of dots over them which may represent the *anusvāra*.
[6] This stop is also doubtful and might be an accidental mark or *na*.
[7] The last word seems fairly certain. The stop is quite conjectural.
[8] The last letter seems to be *r*. Cf. B 4. [9] The *r* is very doubtful.

32. (tḅow)[1] . . . . . .[2] [ḍe]k [kl]as [thar sreñ ḍek kinlo]' saṅ [ma cut ku taṁ]
33. (sṅo' jiljup[3] ‖) [sā]l [diṅk]ar [pkāw] thar [sumbhuc[4] du]leṅ pneṅ duleṅ [ḍ]eḥ [r]e-
34. (ṅ lār)[5] . . . . [tūy bl]aḥ [‖ han nār ḍ]e[ḥ pa brāt cindran m]oḥ [jl]ow [l]u[ḅac ku]
35. [kon brāt tḅow pḍey goḥ pūṅ[6] khal ma crok k]u p[n]eṅ [saṁbhuc[7] du]l[eṅ] ḍeḥ
36. . . . . .[8] [ḍek klas th]ar sre[ñ tūy sā]l di[ṅkar] c[ut pkāw thar sirwiṅ]
37. . . . . .[9] [go]ḥ [ma buṁn]aḥ h[u]rā [lṅo]r nār ci[p piryām duṁhi]c ti(k) . . .[10]
38. . . . . .[11] [tṅey] go[dhuli[12] lagna buṁnaḥ hurā samā to'] p[-hū]m[13] [j]i[ñju]ṅ [jirkoy]
39. [jiñjuṅ yas jiñju]ṅ [a]ta[s cut k]il [ḍ]ek [klas thar sreñ] . . . . . .
40. [ḍek kinlo' saṅ ma cut taṁ sṅo' j]i[ljip ‖ b]laḥ go[ḥ ḍeḥ p-hūm] . . . . . .
41. . . . . .[14] [jiñju]ṅ [ki]rryā [suṁ tuṁ c]-eṅ [da] ta [go]ḥ ut [mleḥ] ‖ [blaḥ] . . . . .
42. . . . . (goḥ) [jiñjeḥ mirmā jiñjeḥ r](m)[eñ] j[iñje]ḥ [ti]rc(u)l[15] ‖ [jiñ]jeḥ (maṅ)
43. . . . . .
44. . . . [goḥ ut] . . . . . .
45. . . . . [ḍek kinlo]-
46. [' saṅ ma cut taṁ sṅo' jiljip] . . . . . .

[1] Conjectural restoration. From here to the end of B the beginnings of the lines are broken off.
[2] The last letter seems to be *ṅ*. Perhaps one might restore ‖ *reṅ*. Or some other verb (such as *cut* or *ket*) may have been written.
[3] Or, perhaps, *jiljip*.
[4] Or, perhaps, *saṁbhuc*.
[5] Conjectural restoration.
[6] Or *puṅ*.
[7] Or *sumbhuc*.
[8] The missing words probably included some word like *ket*.
[9] Possibly one might restore *pneṅ duleṅ*.
[10] The word *tik* seems reasonably certain. What follows looks rather like *pa* ‖ in one or two of the impressions. One might conjecture *phaṁ* ‖ ; or, alternatively, *pan*.
[11] If the conjectural restoration *pan* is accepted in the last line, it would seem likely that *pahir plit* should be restored here. But the space available seems to be rather small for the two words. Probably, however, *plit* is right.
[12] Or *godhulī*.
[13] Or *p-hum*.
[14] The last word may be *ut* or *ku*.
[15] Or, perhaps, *tircal*.

C

1. (khal ma) [cro]k [ku pneṅ[1] ‖ cut kil ḍek klas thar sreñ] (sāl di)-
2. (ṅkar)[2] [cut pk]āw [thar sirwi]ṅ [pneṅ duleṅ] . . . . . .[3]
3. [ci]p=[piryām] du[ṁhic] pi [pahir mṣun nāḍī] . . . . . (buṁnaḥ) [hurā]
4. sa[m]ā [to' p-hum jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ] (yas ku) [ut kiryā prā]-
5. [sāt ku] ji[ñju]ṅ su[ṁ tuṁ c-eṅ] . . . . . (p-huṁ tūy) [ut] (bla)ḥ
6. lṅ[or ku] pk[āw thar pne]ṅ [dule]ṅ . . . . . .[4] [cas duṁpo]ḥ [hā]-
7. [n] (goḥ mleḥ ‖ blaḥ goḥ sambeṅ)[5] . . . . . .[6] (ket) [ḍek parit kla]-
8. s [th]ar [ma ḍeḥ] (reṅ lār)[7] . r . . . . . [ḥ[8] ḍeḥ] (tluṅ ruṁbas han)[9] [ji]-
9. ñjuṅ j[i]r[ko]y [jiñjuṅ yas blaḥ ḍeḥ] ru[ṁbas] (ut) [jiñjuṅ kiryā suṁ]
10. [t]uṁ mleḥ ‖ blaḥ go[ḥ buṁnaḥ hurā samā to'] (p-huṁ kirryā)[10] [goḥ ku ḍe]-
11. k k[las thar sreñ antūl[11] jiñjuṅ jirkoy] (goḥ blaḥ)[12] [‖ cip=p]i[ryā]-
12. [m duṁ]hi[c u](ssājoga)[13] . . . . . .[14] ‖ (goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ hurā] (samā to' p-hu)-[15]
13. (m) [kil duṁpo]ḥ [li](cut tūy blaḥ[16] ‖) . . . [jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ]
14. [yas jiñjuṅ atas ta goḥ] (b) . . . (n) . . . . . (mey) . . . . . .
15. . . . . .[17] (goḥ) [mleḥ] ‖ [bl]aḥ [goḥ y]aṅ [jiñjuṅ suṁ t]uṁ ‖ (ku) [kiryā] . . . .[18]

[1] With this restoration cf. B 35. The last word in the preceding line must have been *pūṅ* or *puṅ*.
[2] Conjecturally restored; but the *r* seems pretty certain.
[3] Probably the first part of the missing passage read *saṁbhuc duleṅ*.
[4] The last of the missing words may be *ut*.
[5] Almost certain.
[6] The first of the missing words (being a continuation of the title *sambeṅ*) apparently begins with *jey* (cf. A 36). But the rest does not appear to be *sabhaṅ* here.
[7] Very doubtful.
[8] The first of the missing words looks like *krom*, or *trey*. If it was the latter, we may suppose that *saṅgha* came next. The last of the missing words was probably *goḥ*, unless we are to assume *cas duṁpoḥ* after the supposed *saṅgha*.
[9] Very doubtful, especially the *han*.
[10] Fairly certain.
[11] Or *antul*.
[12] Very doubtful.
[13] Doubtful. But cf. C 17, E 15, J 31.
[14] Looks as if it might be *aṅgār*, but is very doubtful.
[15] Or, perhaps, *p-hū-*.
[16] Very doubtful. And of course *tūy* might be *tuy*.
[17] Looks like *to'*. At any rate the final seems pretty certain.
[18] Possibly *ha-*.

16. (n) prāsāt [ta goḥ ku d]. . . ṅ[1] [si] . . [ku kiryā sum̀ tum̀ c-eṅ] (d). .[2] . . [k].[r][3]
17. . . .(k) [ut mleḥ ॥] (mṣun) [mirmok kintu] (māgha[4] ussājoga sniscā)-
18. [r] (goḥ) [bum̀naḥ hu]rā [to' p-hum[5] jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ yas]
19. [jiñjuṅ atas ta goḥ ॥ ku] . . . . . [laḥ][6] (p-hum) [ku ḍek klas thar]
20. sreñ (tūy[7] blaḥ pa pujāw)[8] [pkāw thar] p[ne]ṅ [duleṅ blaḥ goḥ] . .
21. (kic) ta(m̀)[9] [jiñjuṅ ta goḥ] (c-eṅ)[4] [mleḥ] ॥ (mṣun) [mirmok kintu phalla]-
22. [gun] t[ṅey āditawā]r [cip] pi[ryām dum̀]hi[c pi] pa[ha]r [mṣun nāḍī ḍe]ḥ
23. (ār) [tuk ḍek] (pa) . . . . (ti ॥) . . . .[10] (sirteṅ) (t).(k).(t) . . . (॥)[11] [klas tha]-
24. [r sreṅ slūy] (॥ han peṅ) [klas ta goḥ ḍeḥ] (reṅ lar ku pkāw (brāc)
25. (kmow sla caḍūñ da)[12] [॥] (goḥ ma) [ḍeḥ lusāl antūl[13] lwar] (ma slom na)[14]
26. (ku) [glik bum̀te]ṅ [pudar[15] ku tḍoṅ bum̀teṅ bum̀naḥ] (ma) [dindiṅ lwar ta]
27. [goḥ sluk sukhūy cindrow] (॥ kdeṅ bnas)[16] [ār] (kinta) [॥ blaḥ] (goḥ) . . . .
28. . . . [go]ḥ [bum̀n]aḥ . . . .[17] [ār kinta ॥] (goḥ ma) ḍeḥ [ār tu]k [ḍ]e[k]
29. ḍek goḥ [tlūṅ][18] cip [tūy[19] blaḥ ॥ ḍeḥ] r[eṅ lar] m[l]eḥ [॥ han turo]-
30. w [m]i[rmok] kint[u] pha[llagun] t[ṅ]e[y] ca[ndraw]ār [ḅār nāḍī tmin haṅ]

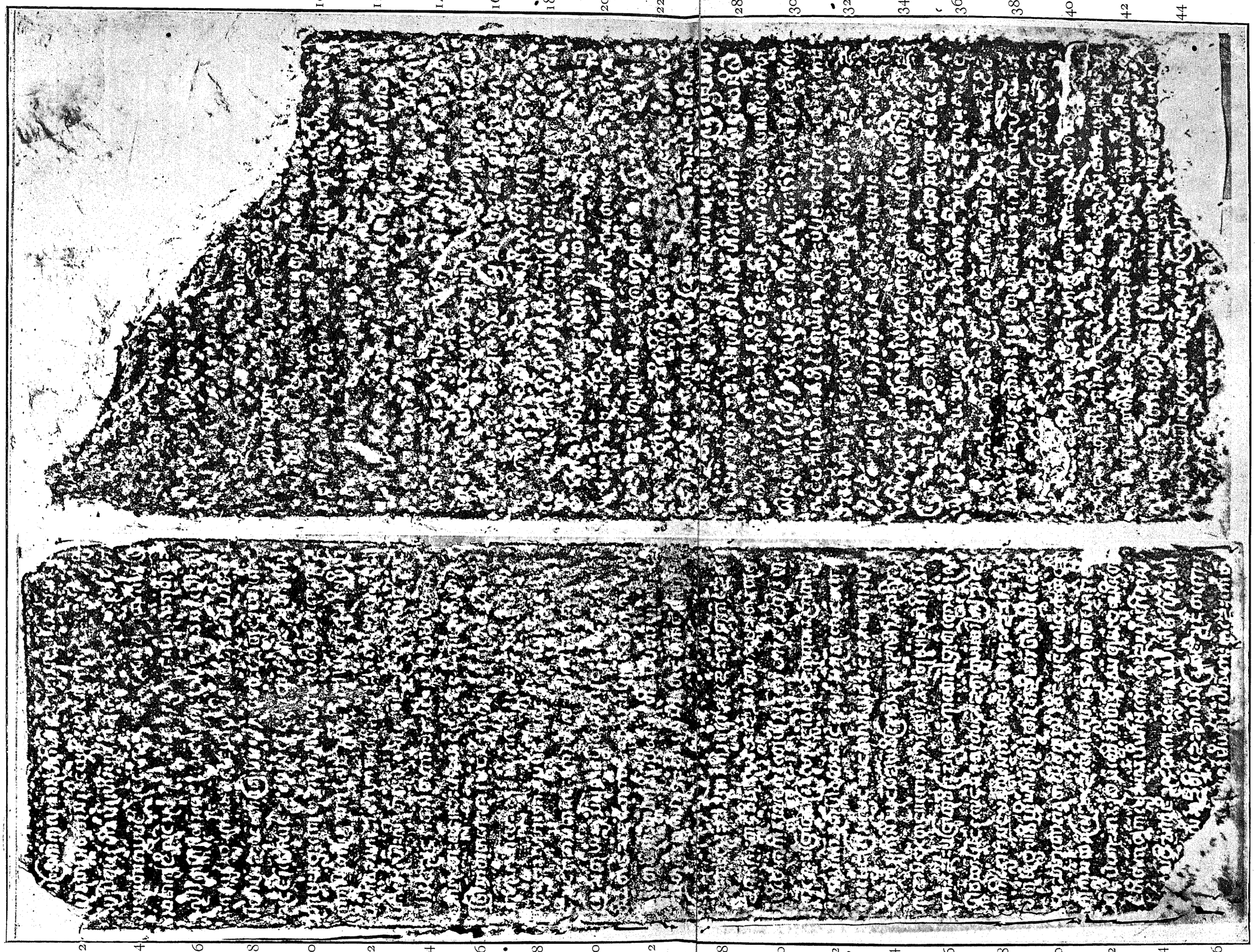
[1] Looks like *dumaṅ* or *dupaṅ*. I cannot explain it. The next word looks as if it might have been *sinta* or *sinma*, or something like that, also unintelligible.
[2] Looks something like *daṅ*.
[3] Conceivably *daṅkar* or *diṅkar*. [4] Very doubtful. [5] Or *p-hūm*.
[6] Looks like *rap rum̀laḥ*; but either or both of the *r*'s might be a *d*, the *p* might be *m* or *s*, and the *m̀* is doubtful. The *laḥ* seems pretty certain. The next word is also very doubtful.
[7] Or *tuy*. [8] Or *pūjāw*.
[9] Very doubtful, except the *t*, which is practically certain.
[10] The missing word looks like *dṅas*.
[11] All this passage is exceedingly doubtful, including the stop. But *sirteṅ* seems at least probable. The rest may be *tak tnak* ॥. Cf. C 42.
[12] Cf. B 19, D 20, G 28, J 7, K 14, L 24. [13] Or *antul*.
[14] Both words doubtful, though *slom* seems probable. After it there is a little spare space and there may be a trace of a short letter, which could only represent *na*.
[15] Conceivably, but improbably, *pundar*.
[16] Very doubtful. The first word might conceivably be *goṅ*. But cf. E 2, 33, F 48.
[17] The missing word does not seem to be *hurā*. [18] Or *tluṅ*. [19] Or *tuy*.

No. IX. AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THARABA GATE, PAGAN.



A

B



31. (nār) [ḍ]eḥ pa brā[t cindran moḥ] jlow [l]u[ḅac] k[u kon brāt tḅo]-
32. w sāl diṅkar cut pkāw thar pneṅ duleṅ saṁbhuc[1] duleṅ ॥ goḥ
33. [ma s]ambeṅ gr[ī] sambeṅ l[e]ṅ [k]ala[n ya]ṅ[2] saṅ [buṁn]aḥ [hu]rā sa[mā]
34. [to'] sluk s[i]rpuṅ s[u]kh[ū]y cin(d)row[3] su[khū]y u[lā]r [na ku] gl[ik]
35. ku[ch]om buṁteṅ ॥ go[ḥ ma ār] lṅor nā[r tuy ॥ ut] di[s cas]
36. [go]ḥ ḍeḥ [p]a brā[t] ci[ndran] lu[ḅ]ac ku [k]o[n] brā[t] t[ḅ]o[w] . . (ruṁlaḥ)[4]
37. [pkā]w thar pn[ā]ṅ duleṅ [saṁbhuc duleṅ] ḍek [klas th]ar sreñ ḍe-
38. [k k]inlo' saṅ ma cu[t=t]aṁ sṅo' ji[l]j[i]p [ta go]ḥ ḍ[eḥ re]ṅ [sura]-
39. [p tūy] blaḥ ॥ cip=[p]i[ryām] duṁ[hi]c [ḅ]ā[r] n[āḍī ḅ]ār pāt tmi[n goḥ]
40. bu[ṁn]aḥ [h]urā to' [cu]t [p]kā[w thar] si[r]wiṅ pneṅ duleṅ [k]et ḍe-
41. k klas thar sre[ñ] ḍek kinlo' [s]aṅ [m]a cu[t] ta[ṁ sṅo]' [ji]-
42. [l]jip [g]oḥ [s]ān [ruṁbas lṅor] ut dis cas t[ūy] bla[ḥ ॥ s]ir[te]-
43. (ṅ) ti tak t[n]ak [m]le[ḥ ॥ h]an piryām goḥ kuṁ ḍe[ḥ] p[is] gi[nhāl][5]
44. (ḍṅaḥ sāl)[6] biñc[al] ji[ñ]ju[ṅ t]a goḥ [m]l[e]ḥ ॥ [c]up p[i]ry[ā]m duṁhic [m]o-
45. (y pahir mo)y[7] [nāḍ]ī tmiṅ ḍeḥ khāl sin[d]ra[' ji]ñjuṅ ta goḥ
46. (tūy) ḍeḥ . . . . . [॥ han p]i[ryām] d[u]ṁh[i]c [go]ḥ [ku]ṁ ḍeḥ ket

D

1. . . . . .[8]
2. . . . . .
3. . . (ḍek klas thar sreñ) . . . . . .

[1] Possibly *suṁbluc*.
[2] Looks rather like *yuṅ*, but the extra stroke is probably accidental.
[3] It is very doubtful whether there is any trace of a *d* here. Perhaps *cinrow* is the more probable reading in this passage.
[4] Exceedingly doubtful, though the *r* seems fairly certain.
[5] Possibly *gindāl*.
[6] The restoration is somewhat conjectural, though it seems to be supported by one of the ink-impressions. In any case it is probable, and the *l* seems pretty certain.
[7] Fairly certain, owing to the context.
[8] There may be traces of another illegible line above this one.

4. . . . . (l) . . (॥ goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hurā ket ḍek klas thar sreñ ḍek kinlo' saṅ)[1]
5. (ma cut taṁ sño'[2] jiljip) [ḍeḥ] . . . . . .
6. . . . . .
7. . . . (nāḍī) . . . . . (paṇḍit ॥) . . . . . .
8. . . . . (ci) [ḍeḥ] . [i] . . . . . .
9. . . . . [ket] (sla) . . . .[3] (ku) [jiljup] . . . . . .
10. . . . . (buṁnaḥ ci) . . . . . (phl) . . . . . .
11. (ṅ) . . . . . (tūy) [blaḥ ḍeḥ] . . . . . .
12. . . . . [br] . . (ket ku) . . . . . .
13. . . . . (sirsūl) . . . . . [ḍeḥ sūl mleḥ ॥ han piryām duṁhi]-
14. [c] . . . . . (c-eṅ)[4] . . . . . (guṁīr ma) [spaḍot parit] (wūr) [ut] (pa)-
15. (n) [tlaṅ] (ku) [s](iṅghāsin reṅ pḍey goḥ mleḥ)[5] [॥] . . . . .[6] [mirmok=kintu phal](l)a[gun tṁey] (su)-
16. (krawār[7] goḥ ḍeḥ) [ket ḍek klas thar sreñ] (ta goḥ) [ḍeḥ] (lop rumbas han) [jiñ]-
17. [juṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas siṅ]ghāsin [ku ut jiñjuṅ] (suṁ tuṁ c-e)ṅ
18. (mleḥ) [॥ tṁey goḥ kuṁ c]ip=[piryām duṁhi]c ḅār [pah]ar b[laḥ ḍ]e[ḥ ār] (tuk ḍek)[8] . . . (sirsū)-
19. (l)[9] . . . . (atthar[10] sut ma) . . . (॥ blaḥ ket)[11] [klas] thar [diñcām klas sreñ diñcām kla]-

1 Everything after *hurā* is merely conjectural restoration, though probable enough.
2 Conjectural restoration, depending on the correctness of the reading *jiljip*, which is not quite certain. 3 Looks like *tas* or *wās*. 4 Conceivably *cmeṅ* (as in J 29), but probably not.
5 All very doubtful; *reṅ pḍey* might conceivably be *maṅ mey*, *mleḥ* might be *blaḥ*.
6 Probably the word for "nine" is contained in this missing passage.
7 Doubtful. 8 Doubtful: *tuk* might be *ket*, and *ḍek* is very uncertain.
9 Very doubtful. The word might be *sisūl*, or something else.
10 Or *attar*, or *attara*? 11 All very doubtful.

20. [s slūy klaṁ diñcām klas ti klaṁ diñcām ॥] (han) [peṅ klas ta goḥ ḍeḥ] (crok pkāw b)[r](āc)
21. (kmow sla caḍū)[ñ] (da)[1] [tūy] ॥ [goḥ ma] ḍ[eḥ k]e[t klas thar klas sreñ] (goḥ) [ḍeḥ lusāl]
22. (hantūl lwar pan[2] ma) [ḍeḥ guñ]i [ku gl]i[k buṁteṅ ma ḍeḥ pudar ku t]ḍ[on b]u[ṁteṅ goḥ ma buṁ]-
23. [naḥ ma dindiṅ lwar ta goḥ slok sukhūy cindrow ut] (kuṁ ॥ yaṅ) [klas slūy klas ti ta goḥ]
24. (ñaḥ) . . . (ginlas[3] ku mirmā ma rap sinraṅ)[4] [ta goḥ] (ku[5] ma) [ciṅgin] (dakep)[6] ñaḥ ma [ciṅgi]n ta
25. (goḥ sluk glik sirpoṅ) [kuchom buṁteṅ juk sok buṁteṅ] ॥ (goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ hurā] . . . .[7]
26. (ma) . . . . . (ā bat ār) [kinta] (॥ goḥ ma ār)
27. [tuk] ḍe[k] (॥ ḍek goḥ tlūṅ) [cip tūy ॥ ḍeḥ] lo[p reṅ lār jinreṅ] (sthān ma si)-
28. (sūl)[8] . . . . . [॥ han piryām duṁ]hic goḥ [kuṁ] (ut) . . . . . .[9] skil
29. (bal)[i] (Indra ku) [ut dewatāw] (guṁ)l(u)iṅ[10] [ci] ḍeḥ [kindaṁ] t[ū]y [kil] (bali mleḥ yiyā') t(ū)-[11]
30. y (reh)[6] [buddharūp] (ma nom)[6] [ḍey ḍūṅ Arimaddanapūr wo' ci] (॥) . . . . (laḥ) . i(t)[12] [laḥ]
31. [pneṅ] (buṅka) [saṁbhuc[13] k](l)[o'] (twiṅ) tṁey [goḥ] k[uṁ] ḍeḥ pa p[ūjāw jāp ut] (mleḥ ॥ blaḥ) [goḥ]
32. (dān nidhi kil) . . . . . (cut pi sthān mleḥ)[14] [॥ cip=piryām duṁhic pan nāḍī tmin] (da)[6] ḍ[eḥ]
33. (pis)[6] [jiljūp[15] ku sarbbagan[16] marmal ta goḥ mleḥ ॥ han turow nāḍī tmin goḥ ḍeḥ plo]-

1 Cf. B 19, C 24, G 28, J 7, K 14, L 24.
2 The word *pan* is particularly doubtful.
3 The vowel of the second syllable might be *u*.
4 Possibly *sindraṅ*; cf. F 23, 24, H 44.
5 Perhaps *kuṁ*. 6 Very doubtful.
7 Possibly *ñaḥ* or *paṅ*, preferably the former.
8 Extremely doubtful: *ma si-* in the last line might be *paṁpi*.
9 The last part of the missing passage looks rather like *jayā*. But I can make nothing of it.
10 The second *u* is very doubtful. 11 All very doubtful except the *t*.
12 Look like *ṅgit* or *j-it*. 13 Or possibly *suṁbhuc*.
14 All very doubtful, except perhaps the last word: *cut* might be *ut*, and the rest is quite uncertain. 15 Perhaps *jiljup*.
16 Perhaps, though improbably, *sarww°*, or even *sarwb°*.

34. [p jiljūp ku] (bdi')[1] [sarbbagan[2] marm]al ta goh [m]leḥ [॥] ha[n moy pahir tmin] (goḥ) [ḍeḥ]
35. [crok tḍoṅ binteṅ ḅ]ār [॥ han] jiñ[ju]ṅ [jirkoy ḅār ॥ tḍoṅ binteṅ mo]-
36. [y han jiñju]ṅ ya[s ॥ tḍo]ṅ [binteṅ moy] ha[n jiñjuṅ atas] (॥ goḥ ma) [buṁ]-
37. [naḥ hurā ket ḍek klas thar sreñ ku ḍek kinlo' saṅ ma cut taṁ sṅo' jil]-
38. [jūp[3] ॥ goḥ ma paḍot sān rumbas tūy ॥ goḥ ma girkar ku jiljūp][4] (ku lwis) . .
39. . . . . [sruṅ jiñjuṅ jirk]oy [ku sru]ṅ [jiñjuṅ yas ku sruṅ jiñjuṅ atas]
40. [si](ṅghāsin) [ḍe]ḥ gir[kar ku sla jilju]p (ku lwis tūy) [goḥ] ma [tun ket] . . . . . .
41. . . . . (ta) [goḥ tun] g[irkar ॥] . . . . . (girkar)[5] [jiljup] (ku lwis) [ta goḥ ml]eḥ [॥ sṅo'] . .
42. . . . . .[6] . . [ṇḍ]alā[7] [ci ḍ]eḥ [plo]p l[ār ut jijāp tlaṅ mleḥ ॥ cas mirmok=kintu phal](l)a-
43. [gun tṅey sniscarwār[8] cup piryām duṁhic moy pahar turow nāḍī] (brisa)[9] [l]a(gna)
44. (goḥ ma) [tirla poy mhāther Arahan ku ut trey] (saṅgha) . . . . . .
45. . . . . (r) . . . . s . . . . [ut] . . . . . .

E

1. . . . [॥ cip=piryām] (duṁhic) . . . . [pahir] (pi) [nāḍī] (tmin) . . . . . .
2. . . . . (ḥ kdeṅ bnas ār kinta tik phaṁ klo')[10]
3. . . . . (k) . . . . . (jiñjuṅ ॥) . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful, except the *b*, which seems fairly certain.
[2] As in the preceding line, see note.
[3] Perhaps *jup*.
[4] Perhaps *jiljup*.
[5] Very doubtful.
[6] The last letter of the missing passage seems to be *l*.
[7] Looks like *paṇḍalā* or *maṇḍalā*.
[8] Perhaps *snṅ°*.
[9] This seems to be the reading, though of course in a barely legible passage it is difficult to be sure that it is not *mesa*.
[10] Very doubtful. Cf. C 27, E 33.

4. (goḥ ār tuk ḍek) . . . . . (snāl) [ji]-
5. [ñjuṅ ta goḥ] (ḍeḥ) . . . . . .
6. [ḍeḥ pa brāt cindran luḅac ku kon brāt tḅo]-
7. [w sāl diṅkar pkāw thar pneṅ duleṅ saṁbhuc dule]-
8. [ṅ] . . . . . (tūy blaḥ) . . . . . .
9. . . . . [tlūṅ][1] (cip) [tūy ॥] . . . . . .
10. . . . . (॥ goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ hurā to'] (ket) [ḍek klas tha]-
11. [r sreñ ḍek] (kinlo' saṅ ma ñin cut taṁ)[2] [sṅo']
12. [jilji]p [goḥ ma paḍot sān rumbas tūy p-hum ut]
13. . . . . (snāl) [jiñjuṅ ta goḥ mleḥ ॥ blaḥ goḥ sāl]
14. [diṅkar] (lṅor) [pkāw thar sirwiṅ pneṅ duleṅ ॥ cip piryā]-
15. [m ussājogga candrawār] . . . . . (ḍeh)[3]
16. (pis tmo' snāl) [jiñjuṅ ta goḥ jāp ut mleḥ ॥ han]
17. [piryām goḥ kuṁ ॥] (crūṅ)[4] . . . . . (jiñjuṅ) . . .
18. [ut pan tlaṅ ॥] (tlaṅ) . . . . . [ut jiñjuṅ] . . . . .
19. . . . . [jiñjuṅ] . . . . . (k) [jiñjuṅ prā]-
20. [sāt birlip[5] ॥ ut] (jiñjuṅ[6] goḥ) [ḍeḥ] . (ū) . [tūy blaḥ]
21. [॥ han pirpiñ kantu[7] phalagun tṅey brahaspati]-
22. (wār moy) [nāḍī] t[m]i[n] ḍe[ḥ surap thar ḍ]eḥ la[k pa]-
23. . . . . [8] [han jiñjuṅ yas ॥ tṅey goḥ kuṁ] (ḅār)
24. [pahir] (pi) [nāḍī p][op jiñjuṅ] . . . .[9] (॥ han) [piryām goḥ]
25. [kuṁ p-hūm thiwās jiñjuṅ jirkoy j]iñjuṅ [yas ji]-
26. [ñjuṅ atas ku ut jiñj]uṅ [suṁ tuṁ c-eṅ] (da) ॥ [goḥ ma buṁ]-
27. [naḥ] (saṅkrān)[10] [to'] (॥)[11] [gu]ñi lwa[r] pudar ku [tḍ]oṅ [bu]-
28. [nteṅ ॥ hantūl] lwar ta goḥ ḍeḥ lusāl klas thar
29. [sreñ ॥ klas slūy][12] ma ñaḥ [ciṅgin] goḥ [pi cw]as pi da ॥
30. [buṁnaḥ ma dindi]ṅ [lwar ta goḥ slok sukḥ]ūy cindro-
31. [w] . . . . . [13] [ku glīk kuchom buṁteṅ ॥ juk sok]

[1] Or *tluṅ*.
[2] Except for the *i*, *ma ñin* is doubtful; but the rest is nearly certain.
[3] Perhaps *ḍek*.
[4] Perhaps *cruṅ*.
[5] Perhaps *birlup*.
[6] Doubtful. There may be a *ta* between it and *goḥ*.
[7] Perhaps *kintu*. But there is no clear trace of an *i*.
[8] The last part of the missing passage looks like *pat*, or *ḍat*. The first letter in the line is illegible, and this throws some doubt on the end of the preceding line also. Cf. E 47 *infra*.
[9] Presumably we must restore *yas* or *atas*.
[10] Doubtful. But cf. A 12, J 2, 9.
[11] There seems to be a stop here, though none is needed.
[12] Perhaps *sluy*.
[13] Looks like ॥ *ḍeḥ na*, which I cannot fit into the context satisfactorily, though I have attempted to translate it on the assumption that the stop is misplaced.

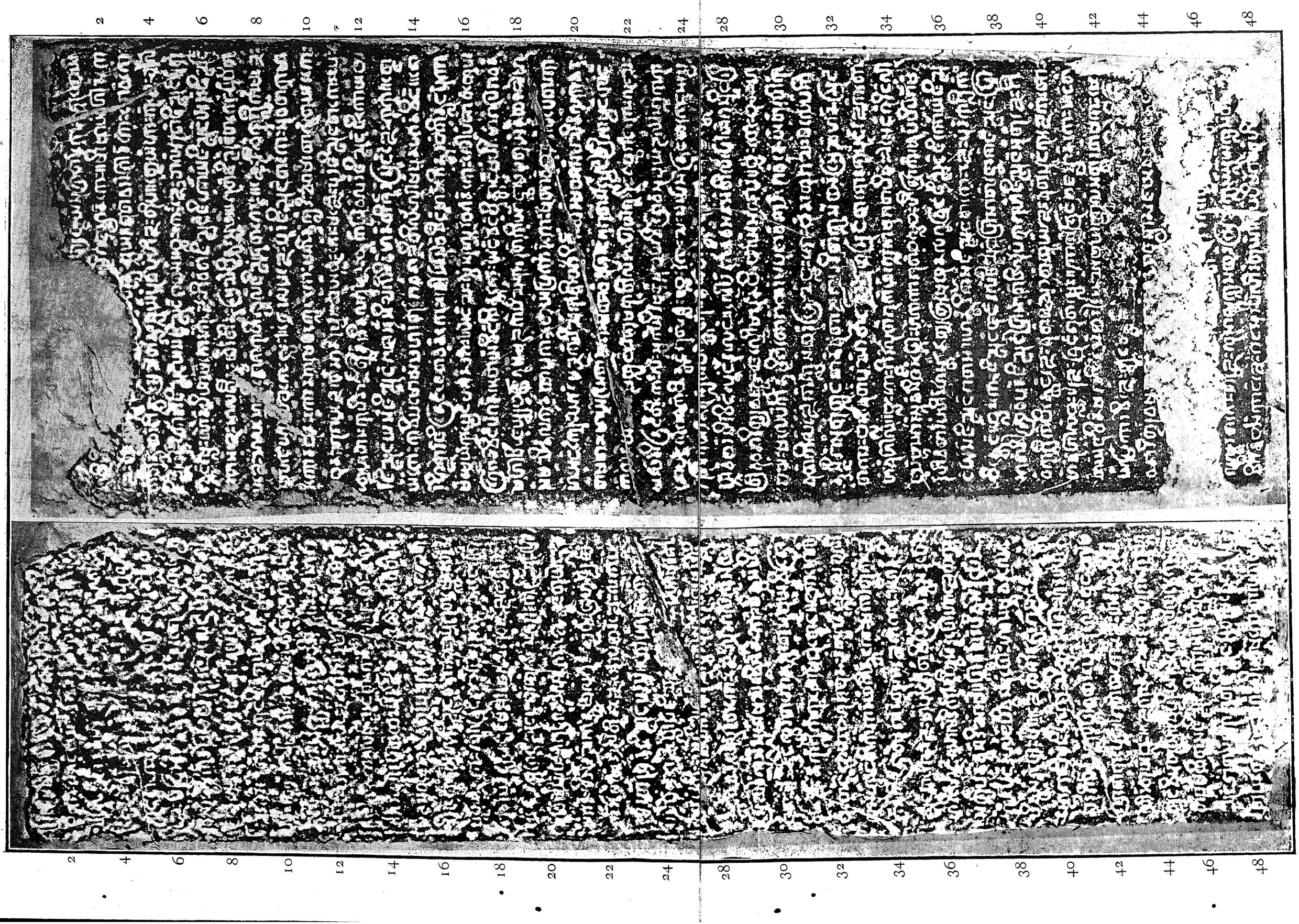
32. [bum̀teń blaḥ goḥ] hurā [bum̀naḥ] (dakṣān[1] phlac[2] me)[khalā]
33. [bn]as k[d]eń[3] [ti]k ār pham̀ [kinta goḥ ma] ār tuk ḍe-
34. [k ॥ kindrow] (ma) [ā]r [tuk ḍek go]ḥ ॥ [han ji]-
35. [ñjuṅ ta goḥ] ḍeḥ[h pa brā]t [cindr]an [pi cw]as d[um̀poḥ]-
36. [h] d[irmoṅ] ॥ [s]ā[l di]ṅka[r pi cw]as [dum̀]poh ॥ [ḍek kla]-
37. s k[lam̀] pa[n] cwas di[ñc]ā[m] ॥ pkāw [thar] pi cwas d[um̀poḥ]-
38. [h ॥] p[n]e[ṅ] dul[e]ṅ pi cwa[s dum̀]poḥh ॥ sam[bhu]c [duleń]
39. [p]i [cw]as [dum̀]poḥh ॥ ḍe[k kinl]o' [saṅ ma cut]=tam̀
40. [sṅo' jilji]p g[o]ḥ [pi cwas d]um̀[p]oḥh da [॥ han]
41. [nā]r d[iṅkar snāl p]k[āw] thar p[n]eń duleń [p]ūṅ [khal ma]
42. [crok] ku p[neń ॥ ut ta] g[o]ḥ ḍeḥh r[e]ṅ surap
43. [lār tūy] blaḥ ॥ ḍe[k ma] ḍe[ḥh ār tu]k [goḥh]
44. [tlūṅ] ci[p t]ū[y ॥] cip=[p]ir[yām godh]ul[ī] la[gna] goḥ [ḍeḥ]-
45. [h] p-hūm thiwās jiñjuṅ j[i]rko[y ॥] jiñjuṅ ya[s ॥ ji]-
46. ñjuṅ a[tas] ॥ ku u[t ji]ñjuṅ s[um̀][4] tu[m] c-eṅ wū[r u]-
47. t pa[n] t[l]a[ṅ] mleḥ [॥] ha[n p]ir[y]ā[m] goḥ ku[m̀ lak] (mat)[5]
48. . . . . (han p)[i](ryām goḥ ku)[m̀] . . . .[6]

F

1. . . . . k[7] [t]ṅey sukrawār go[ḥ kum̀ moy]
2. [nāḍī] (mina[8] lagna) . . . . . [sṅi rā]jasthān goḥ ॥ mi[m]o[y][9] hān goḥ
3. ḍeḥ [tuip tinlaḥ thar tinlaḥ sreñ tinlaḥ sl]ūy ॥ [u]t cas hān goḥ row goḥ-
4. (h)[10] [ti]nla[ḥ thar t]inlaḥ sre[ñ ti]nlaḥ slūy p(um̀pi)[11] pum̀pi ḍeḥ tuip ॥ tṅey goḥ kum̀ ḍeḥ kh[ā]l
5. [jiñjuṅ ji]rko[y] jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas ॥ blaḥ goḥ ḍeḥ khāl ut [jiñjuṅ sum̀ tum̀]

[1] Doubtful: the *d* might be *r*, or something else. The *ṣ* may be *y*.
[2] The final may perhaps be *w*.
[3] Cf. C 27, E 2.
[4] Possibly, but improbably, *sūm̀*.
[5] It is not quite certain that the initial is not *p*, though a cross-bar is certainly visible. But it might be accidental. Perhaps cf. E 22-3 *supra*.
[6] In this line only a few traces of the tops of letters and superscript symbols remain, but their appearance justifies this conjectural restoration.
[7] Possibly *kum̀*, but more probably the end of *cirwek*.
[8] Very doubtful reading.
[9] Possibly *mirmoy*.
[10] Doubtful; possibly *kum̀*.
[11] Looks rather like *pum̀wa*.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THABA GATE, PAGAN.



6. [c-e]ṅ mleḥ ॥ han pi[ryām goḥ] kuṁ ḍeḥ gīw taṁ jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ [yas jiñjuṅ]
7. [at]as ḍeḥ sāl tin[l]aḥ thar tinlaḥ sreñ tinlaḥ s[lūy] ॥ ut jiñju[ṅ] ta goḥ puṁpi ta-
8. p ḍeḥ sāl s[m]oḥ jirnok ku ki[ntāl] jiñjuṅ ta g[o]ḥ ॥ [ḍ]eḥ [gīw] ku glīk ma ḍeḥ
9. [sūl j]ey[yale]kha goḥ mleḥ ॥ [t]ol ma ḍeḥ pūr jiñ[j]uṅ ta goḥ suṁwat kumā-
10. [rī] kon [b]uṁ[n]aḥ kon kñ(u)m [1] (ma t)leṅ [2] goḥ [ma kindaṁ] klaṁ diñcām tno[l] t(ū)y [3] da goḥ
11. [ma] buṁnaḥ [h]urā paḍ[ot] sān [rumbas tūy bl]aḥ [g]oḥ [ma] ḍeḥ pūr jiñjuṅ ta goḥ [mle]ḥ
12. [tṅ]e[y] goḥ kuṁ pi nāḍī tmīn mīna lagna [ḍeḥ y]uk [pt]āw lar jiñjuṅ jirkoy ḅā-
13. r jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ a[t]as siṅghā[s]in han tiṅgūr srūṅ ḍeḥ kuṁ k[u]ṁ ॥ tne-
14. y [go]ḥ kuṁ cip moy pahar turow nāḍī tirla l[m]om pun yān cīṅ ॥ no-
15. r (d)iṇḍār [4] jinreṅ Jetawan goḥ [lop ptāw] cīṅ [han k]inta ra[ṅ] kinl(ū)ṅ [5] Pukā-
16. m p[ḍ]ey kumbeṅ (ma sar) [6] [go]ḥ ॥ yaṅ ña [l]war ku lw]ar (yā)n [7] goḥ [l]op [t]āw boy
17. [k]ro[w] cīṅ yān ॥ boy cīṅ ki[nta goḥ] yaṅ cīṅ bintāṅ [ma yimo'] Erāwan(a)-
18. mahāwijeyyabajrabhū[m ma ḍuk piñ ku ut] ki[ryā] j[mā](p) [ma tmūy na] thar [īmā]-
19. s [ma ñ]i[n] lak na [rat ma] kaḥ [m]oy [p]ra[kār] goḥ ma (tā)[w [8] ḅār luṁ]pek go-
20. [h y]aṅ k[ṣ]eḥ yān [ma] d[u]k piñ [k]u [k]iryā [r]iṅ[gaḥ th]ar [ma yā]s [ma] ñin [lak na ra]-
21. [t ma kaḥ moy prakār] (goḥ ma) [9] [tāw cuhāṅ] ॥ ut sambeṅ grī sambeṅ leṅ
22. [kalan yaṅ saṅ ma tlūṅ kom ku] tirla[' poy gna smi]ṅ [dhammarāja goḥ laḥ] ñaḥ

[1] Possibly *kñūm*.
[2] Possibly *pa* and *kleṅ*.
[3] Possibly *tuy*.
[4] Conceivably *riṇḍār*.
[5] Possibly *kinluṅ*.
[6] Very doubtful.
[7] Presumably right, though it looks like *wagan*.
[8] Looks like *warāw*.
[9] Looks like *kom*.

23. [ma rap s]inraṅ[1] (ta)[2] goḥ laḥ [sluk sirpūṅ[3] sukhūy] cindrow sukhūy ulār glik ku-
24. [chom juk sok] bi[n]t[eṅ ut mle]ḥ [॥] blaḥ [goḥ ñaḥ ma rap si]nraṅ[1] (ta)[4] goḥ [sambe]-
25. ṅ [grī sambeṅ leṅ kalan y]aṅ saṅ [trāp] (d)[umsac[5] kla pnāñ bumnaḥ hurā ñaḥ ma]
26. le[p kindam sni' to'] s[l]ok [sirpu]ṅ[6] [sukhū]y ci[ndrow sukhūy ulā]r (wak)[7]
27. [ut kiryā][8] na ku [glīk][9] bi[nt]e[ṅ] ku[chom binteṅ juk sok binteṅ ॥ cut]
28. [pk]āw thar sirwiṅ p[n]e[ṅ duleṅ ॥ lṅ]or [āc] war [nor tirla poy gna] s[m]i[ṅ Śrī]
29. Tri[bhū]wanāditya[dhammarāja] l[mom] pun bi(r)[boy][10] sa(lār)[11] ॥ blaḥ [go]ḥ [bumnaḥ] hu-
30. rā [ñ]aḥ [ma] lep k[indam sṅi'] to[' ār pa] p[ūjāw nār ro]w ney [tum]lā(r=)ku[12]
31. cut ki[l] ḍe[k kl]as [thar sreñ blaḥ goḥ bum]na[ḥ hu]rā ñaḥ [ma] lep ki-
32. ndam [sṅ]i' sum tu[m] tlūṅ [s]ān [cut ḍek p]ari[t] klas thar sre[ñ h]an sruṅ
33. [ta] goḥ [blaḥ ॥] cut pañcarat (jāp ut) [sruṅ ta goḥ ku] pūṅ ḍek [to](ḥ)-
34. h cumhā[l] ॥ blaḥ [go]ḥ g[ir]luk[13] ut pham [klo'] (m)urā [ta]pi[w] īseṅ gumriṅ lā[14]
35. (th)ar[15] [mhāsār] s[gac] s[iṅgir pg]oḥh[16] ka[k]ā(r=)u[t] ba[l=lab]aḥ hī [tr]ā[k] ॥ [cu]p piryām

[1] Perhaps *sindraṅ*.
[2] Looks like *ti*, but the supposed *i* is badly shaped and may be due to accidental damage.
[3] Or, perhaps, *sirpuṅ*.
[4] Here there is no trace of any *i*, but the *t* is blurred.
[5] Conceivably, but less probably, *rumsac*.
[6] Or *sirpūṅ*.
[7] Looks rather like *wakam*. Conceivably the initial might be *dh*. But cf. G 25.
[8] Possibly, but improbably, *kīryā*.
[9] Perhaps *glik*.
[10] The *r* is very doubtful.
[11] Looks like *sataḥ*.
[12] It is exceedingly doubtful whether there is an *r* at all. The blur over the *k* may be accidental or may stand for *m*, making *kum*. But if the true reading is *tumlā* I think it must be regarded as being meant for *tumlār*.
[13] Possibly *girlūk*.
[14] It is not certain whether *lā* should be joined to what follows it.
[15] Looks like *bar* (or even *ḇar*).
[16] Might be *p-oḥh*. Cf. A 11, 33, G 5.

36. dumhic ḅār [pah]ir has[ta][1] na[kṣatra me]thuna lag[n]a cruṅ jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñju-
37. ṅ [yas] jiñjuṅ atas ॥ ha[n=tam] dir[k]as j[i]ñjuṅ [ta] goḥ ḍeḥ pūr ku glīk
38. bi[nt]eṅ ॥ blaḥ [g]oḥ jiñjuṅ juṅ dal [jiñjuṅ] prāsāt j[no]k j[i]ñjuṅ prā-
39. [sāt cind]row pa[n] jiñju[ṅ prāsāt b]ir[l]up ku u[h][2] jiñjuṅ sum tum ḍeḥ gī-
40. w ku glīk binteṅ ḍeḥ [c]ut [pañcarat tūy ḍe]ḥ [c]ut pūṅ ku ḍek toḥ-
41. h [cumhāl bl]aḥ [॥ ḍeḥ cru]ṅ[3] [ut] mleḥ [॥ kāl cr]uṅ [rā]ja[s]thā[n] goḥ [ya]ṅ t[u]m-
42. [wāy] ju[m]win [ma] (ād)[i] (nor)[4] [thar sreñ bley] (kbā)l sattara[t ma] kaḥ [mo]-
43. [y pr]akār [ci] ḍeḥ [tlūṅ] (twāy)[5] . . . . . (ku) [gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhū]-
44. wanādityadhamma[rāja] . . . . . [rā]ja[sthān] J[eyabhūm ॥ han ji](ñju)-[6]
45. (ṅ) . . . . . .
46. . . . . [t] . . . . . (hantū)-
47. [l lw]ar [ta goḥh] ḍeḥ lusā[l] klas thar sre[ñ] kla[s] slūy klas t[i] . . . .[7]
48. ci[ṅgin] b[n]as k[dā]ṅ[8] ḍeḥ reṅ [su]ra[p] lār [tūy ॥ cu]p pi[ryām dumhic] . . . . .

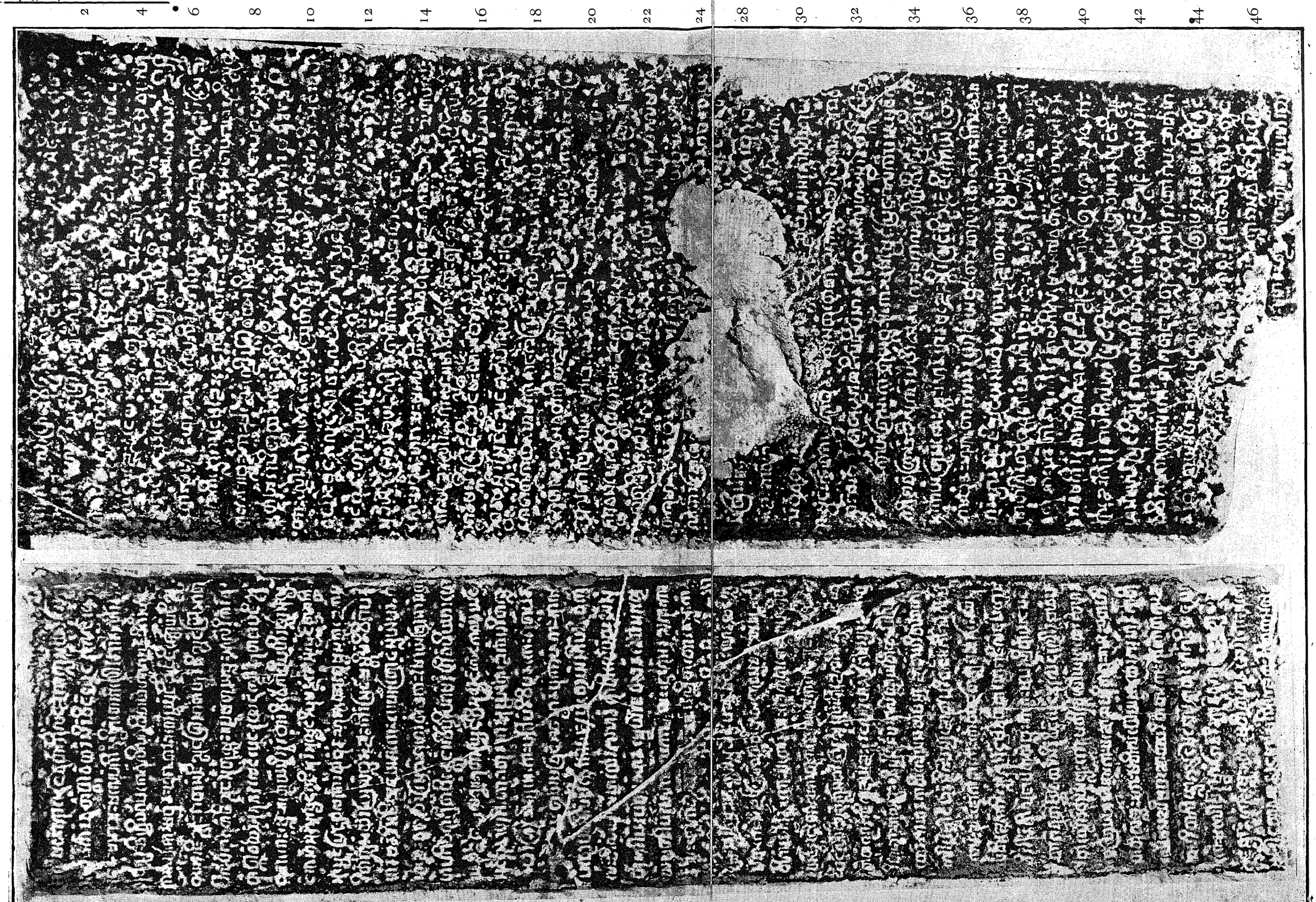
G

1. [khal ma nom][9] ku [pn]eṅ cu[t] k[i]l ḍe[k] klas [thar sreñ]
2. [sāl diṅk]ar cut pkāw thar sirwiṅ [pne]ṅ [duleṅ] ॥ (goḥ)
3. [ma bumnaḥ hurā ñ]aḥ ma lep kindam [sṅ]i' to' [lṅ]or [n]ār ॥ [lñor nār]

[1] Perhaps (but improbably) *hastā*.
[2] The reading appears to be *uh*, which can only be a slip for *ut*.
[3] Conceivably *crūṅ*.
[4] Probable, though not certain. Cf. I C 26.
[5] Nearly certain.
[6] Very doubtful.
[7] Possibly one should restore *ma ñaḥ*.
[8] Looks a little like *goṅ*, but probably *kdāṅ* is right. No *d* is visible, the stone being apparently broken off here. Cf. C 27, E 2, 33.
[9] In the preceding line we must assume *pūṅ*.

4. [tūy blaḥ cip=p]iryām [godhul]ī lag[n]a [tik phaṁ klo' piw siṅgir pgoḥ][1]
5. [kakā](r=)[॥[2] goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hu]rā [to' ār p-hūm jiñjuṅ jirko]y [jiñju]-
6. [ṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas] jiñjuṅ prāsā[t p-hūm j]iñ[ju]ṅ [p]rāsāt
7. [bi]r[up ku ut jiñju]ṅ su[ṁ] tu[ṁ] mleḥ ॥ p-hū[m] tūy blaḥ sāl di[ṅk]ar [cu]-
8. [t pkāw thar suṁ]bhu[c dule]ṅ pneṅ du[l]e[ṅ] lṅo[r u]t [j]āp ji[ñju]-
9. [ṅ ta] goḥ [mleḥ ॥ tṅ]ey [sni]scar[3] ḅār cirwek [pi] pahir [blaḥ sum]be-
10. ṅ ka[ṅ]sā[sūr[4] sum]beṅ (rā)[jirsū]r[5] s[umb]eṅ [ripu](saddano)[6] [sumb]e[ṅ mhā](chatt)i[7]
11. [sumbeṅ prajñālaṅkār ku buṁn]aḥ hu[rā to' rumb]as [ku] ḍek [pa]-
12. [rit klas] thar [sreñ] bla[ḥ ḍe]ḥ·kīr sr(ū)ṅ[8] [ma] st[uip[9] n]idhi' pa[n]
13. [han pan dis jiñjuṅ] ya[s goḥ] p[ḍ]ey tro[ṅ] sl(ū)y[10] [pan go]-
14. [h ḍeḥ cut thar] s[r]e[ñ ut] ra[t ma] kaḥ [mo]y [p]rakār [go]-
15. [h ma gīw ku glīk binte]ṅ ॥ [cip=pi]ryām du[ṁhic p]i [pah]ar [mo]-
16. [y nāḍī] (karka)[11] [lagna] ॥ [ut sumb]e[ṅ gri] su[mbe]ṅ [l]eṅ [kalan yaṅ]
17. [saṅ buṁnah hurā to' tūn[12] s]ā[n rumbas ku] ḍek pari[t kla]-
18. [s thar sreñ tūy[13] goḥ] (ma)[14] [ti]p [n]i[dh]i [pan goḥ ut pan]
19. . . . .[15] (॥ han) [tṅey ma] cr[u]ṅ [rājasthān Pukām goḥ kuṁ] (॥ da)-
20. [p tṅey sīl mirmok laḥ] (dap)[16] [tṅey sīl cirwek]
21. [laḥ tirla poy mhā]ther [A]ra[han ku t]i[rley saṅgha suṁ]
22. [tuṁ lop du](m tāw)[17] han [ḍ]ey [Jetawan nor] sar [tṅ]e-
23. [y ma lop du](m goḥh)[18] ko[n ñaḥ jnok rmeñ ku] ko-
24. [n ñaḥ jnok] . . . . . .[19] [paṇḍit to' slok]
25. [sukhū]y [cindrow wak ut kiryā na ku glik[20] binteṅ kucho]-

[1] Possibly *ṗ-oḥ*. Cf. A 11, 33, F 35, H 46.
[2] There seems to be a very distinct *r* superscript over the stop. But it may be accidental. Cf. A 11, 33, F 35.
[3] Conceivably *sṅiscar*.
[4] Or *ˀsur*.
[5] The initial might be *a* or *ga*. The middle *r* is doubtful. The last syllable may be *sur*.
[6] The *s* might be *m*. The *n* might be *d*.
[7] Possibly *mhāsakti* or *mhāsatti*.
[8] Or *sruṅ*.
[9] Conceivably, but improbably, *stūip*.
[10] Perhaps *sluy*.
[11] The first *k* seems pretty certain.
[12] Perhaps *tun*.
[13] Perhaps *tuy*.
[14] The reading *ma* is nearly certain.
[15] Probably we should restore *dis*, or possibly *tlaṅ*.
[16] Fairly certain, both here and at the end of the preceding line.
[17] Almost certain.
[18] The final *h* is doubtful; but there is something there.
[19] The first part of the missing passage was probably an ethnic name. It looks like *tyam*, or *dhyam*, which seem improbable readings.
[20] Perhaps *glik*.



26. [m bi]nte[ṅ j]u[k sok binteṅ] (॥ ka)[ñi'[1] lw]ar [ku glik[2]]
27. [binteṅ pudar ku tḍo]ṅ [binteṅ ॥ hantūl[3]] (lwar ta goḥ rusāl)[4]
28. [klas thar sreñ ku klas slūy ti ma ñaḥ] (ciṅgin)[5] [॥ han peṅ kla]-
29. [s ta goḥ ḍeḥ crok pkāw brāc] (kmow) [sla] (caḍūñ da)[6] [॥ blaḥ] (goḥ)[7]
30. ti[k phaṁ ki]n[ta ॥] go[ḥ ma kon ñaḥ jnok ta goḥ ku paṇḍit]
31. [yaṅ s]aṅ [to' ār tuk ḍek ॥ ḍek] (goḥ tlūṅ cip tūy)[8] [ḍeḥ]
32. [reṅ lār ḍek klas thar sreñ slūy ti ḍek ki]nl[o' saṅ ma cu]-
33. [t taṁ] s[ṅ]o[' jiljup] ḍeḥ reṅ [lār han sṅi' ma spaḍot pa]-
34. [rit 'goḥ tūy blaḥ ॥ cip=piryām sgāl tṅey tirla poy mhā]-
35. [ther Arahan ku tirley saṅgha ma spaḍot par]i[t ta goḥ]
36. [lop dmoṅ han sṅi' ma spaḍot parit ta goḥ ॥ goḥ ma]
37. [kon ñ]aḥ j[n]ok [ta] goḥ ke[t ḍek klas thar sreñ slū]-
38. y ti ḍe[k k]i[nlo'] saṅ [ma cut taṁ sṅo' jiljup goḥ]
39. pir[guin[9] kil] jā[p tūy blaḥ ॥ go]ḥ [ma p]aṇ[ḍit yaṅ] saṅ
40. [to' cut pkāw] tha[r] sir[wiṅ pn]eṅ duleṅ lṅor āc pa-
41. r[i]t l[ṅor tūy b]laḥ goḥ [ma tirla po]y [mhāth]e[r Arahan]
42. [ku trey saṅgha ta] goḥ paḍo[t] pa[rit bl]aḥ ॥ [paḍo]t pari-
43. [t tū]y blaḥ goḥ ma tirla [poy mhā]ther Arahan [ku ti]-
44. [r]ley saṅgha [ma] paḍo[t] pari[t ta goḥ kuṁ ket ku ḍ]e-
45. [k par]it kinlo' [s]aṅ [ma] nom [ku] taṁ sṅo' ji[l]jup ॥
46. goḥ ma lop rumba[s drāc rinṣāc wūr] (ut pan) [tlaṅ rā]-
47. jasthān goḥ mleḥ ॥ goḥ ma ti[t tūn nor go]ḥ ॥ [g]oḥ
48. [ma] (d)[moṅ tā]w [kanta raṅ[10] goḥ ma kil] ḍe[k parit] (ku)[11] . . .
. . .

H

1. . . . . (reṅ)[12] [lar brāt cindran han jiñjuṅ jirkoy jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas]
2. [siṅghāsin han jiñjuṅ prāsāt birlup ॥ han jiñjuṅ juṅ dal] (॥) [han] (jiñjuṅ prā)-

[1] Possibly *kuñi'*. The usual form is *guñi*. Cf. A 29, B 16, D 22, E 27, J 4.
[2] Perhaps *glīk*. [3] Or *hantul*.
[4] Or possibly *lusāl*. The exact words in this restored passage are a little doubtful, but something of the kind must be supplied. [5] Or, less probably, *reṅ lar*; the passage is blurred.
[6] The *ca* is doubtful. The next letter may be *ḍ*. Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, J 7, K 14, L 24.
[7] Conceivably *ḍeḥ*. [8] This restoration is practically certain.
[9] The mark taken for *u* may be accidental. [10] Possibly *ruṅ*.
[11] Very doubtful. The next letters look rather like *sa la*. [12] Almost certain.

3. (sāt pan ‖ ut) [j]āp ta (goḥ) [sāl diṅkar] (cut pkāw)[1] [thar pneṅ duleṅ saṁbhuc][2]
4. [duleṅ ‖] ḍeḥ [re]ṅ [lar ḍek klas thar sreñ ḍek kinlo' saṅ ma] c[ut taṁ]
5. [sṅo' jiljup] (goḥ)[1] [tūy blaḥ ‖ ci]p=p[iryām duṁhic] (moy)[1] [pahir mo]y [nāḍī tmi]-
6. [n goḥ ma buṁn]aḥ hu[rā ñaḥ ma lep kind]aṁ [sṅi' to' ket ḍek klas thar sreñ]
7. [ḍek k]inl[o' s]aṅ [ma] ḍ[eḥ reṅ lār] (ti goḥ ma ḍeḥ)[3] [sān rumbas j]ā[p ut ku j]i[ñjuṅ]
8. [ta goḥ ‖] b[l]aḥ [goḥ ma ḍeḥ l]ṅ[or pk]ā[w thar s]i[rwiṅ pneṅ duleṅ jāp ut] (mleḥ ‖) [ha]-
9. [n] tṅ[ey] ādi[ttawār goḥ kuṁ c]i[p=piryām] d[uṁh]i[c moy pahi]r[4] (ḅār)[5] [nāḍī tmin]
10. [go]ḥ lṅ[or] [n]ā[r ‖ han nek pa brā]t [cindran] (boy[6] d)[irmoṅ sāl diṅkar] (surap)[7] [pkā]-
11. w [th]ar [pne]ṅ [duleṅ saṁbhuc duleṅ ‖ goḥ ma sambeṅ gri[8] sambeṅ leṅ] (kalan yaṅ)[9]
12. [s]aṅ [b]u[ṁnaḥ] hu[rā mirmā[10] ma lep k]i[ndaṁ sṅi'] (rmeñ)[11] ma [lep kindaṁ sṅi' slok[12] sirpuṅ[13]]
13. [sukhūy cindrow sukhūy[14] ulār] (na)[1] k[u gl]ik [kuchom buṁte]ṅ [juk sok buṁteñ] (‖)
14. [g]oḥ [ma buṁn]aḥ hurā ñaḥ [ma lep kindaṁ sṅi'] c[ut kil ḍāk klas thar sreñ tūy blaḥ]
15. [goḥ ma ḍeḥ l]ṅ[o]r [nek mleḥ] ‖ [han pi]r[y]ā[m go]ḥ [kuṁ ḍeḥ cut] . . . . . [bintil han]
16. [sth]ā[n ma s]k[īr sruṅ[15] jiñju]ṅ [ji]r[koy ḅār jiñjuṅ yas jiñjuṅ atas siṅghāsin ku]
17. [s]thā[n ma skīr sruṅ[16] jiñju]ṅ [ut m]u[k pan tlaṅ mle]ḥ ‖ [blaḥ goḥ sambeṅ pra](jñā)[laṅkār[17]]

[1] Almost certain. [2] Perhaps *sumbhuc*.
[3] These four words are very doubtful. The first might be *ta* or *wūr*, the third possibly *blaḥ*.
[4] Possibly *pahar*. [5] Conceivably, but improbably, *pan*.
[6] Possibly *moy*. [7] Quite doubtful, though the *r* seems certain.
[8] Possibly *grī*. [9] This restoration is almost certain.
[10] Possibly *marmā*. [11] Very probable.
[12] Perhaps *sluk*. [13] Perhaps *sirpūṅ*.
[14] Both here and at the beginning of the line the spelling may be *sūkhūy*, though it seems improbable.
[15] Possibly *srūṅ*. [16] Possibly *srūṅ*. [17] Practically certain.

18. k[et t](n)[ak thar] (moy)[1] [tak[2] juk sreñ] d(u)ṁ(poḥ[3] tūy) [goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hurā] (to' pa)-
19. (ḍot)[3] . . (c)[4] [tūy cut kil ḍek klas thar sreñ tūy blaḥ goḥ ma sambeṅ pra]-
20. (jñā)[laṅkār[5] baley[6] mleḥ ‖ baley[6] tūy blaḥ ḍeḥ] (pat) [tnak thar] . . . . . .
21. [ktāc sumoḥ bintil goḥ ‖ ḍeḥ ktāc sumoḥ tūy goḥ ma sambeṅ prajñālaṅkā]-
22. [r ke]t [t]i[nlaḥ thar ma] (ḍeḥ) [luḅac ku] .[i] . . . . . (sla bil baket)[7] [tol ma suṁwa]-
23. [t] ku[mārī kon] b[uṁnaḥ] (kon kñum) . . . . . [8] (tūy) [blaḥ sambeṅ prajñā]-
24. [laṅ]kār [crok] . . . . . (na) . . . . . (tūy)
25. blaḥ g[oḥ] . . . . . (kwīr tar[9] buwut mo)-[10]
26. [y] . . . . . (s) . . . . .
27. . . . . [sruṅ jiñjuṅ] (jirko)-
28. [y trūs ‖] (goḥ ma) . . . . . (kwīr tar buwut) . . . .
29. [y ḍeḥ] (āc) [h](an) . . . . . (ket kwīr)
30. (tar buwut) . . . . . [jiñjuṅ yas ‖] dak[11] (lār) [tūy] blaḥ[12]
31. [sambeṅ] (leṅ kalan ku) [buṁnaḥ hurā] s[u]ṁ tuṁ [k]e[t ḍek klas thar sreñ ḍek ki]-

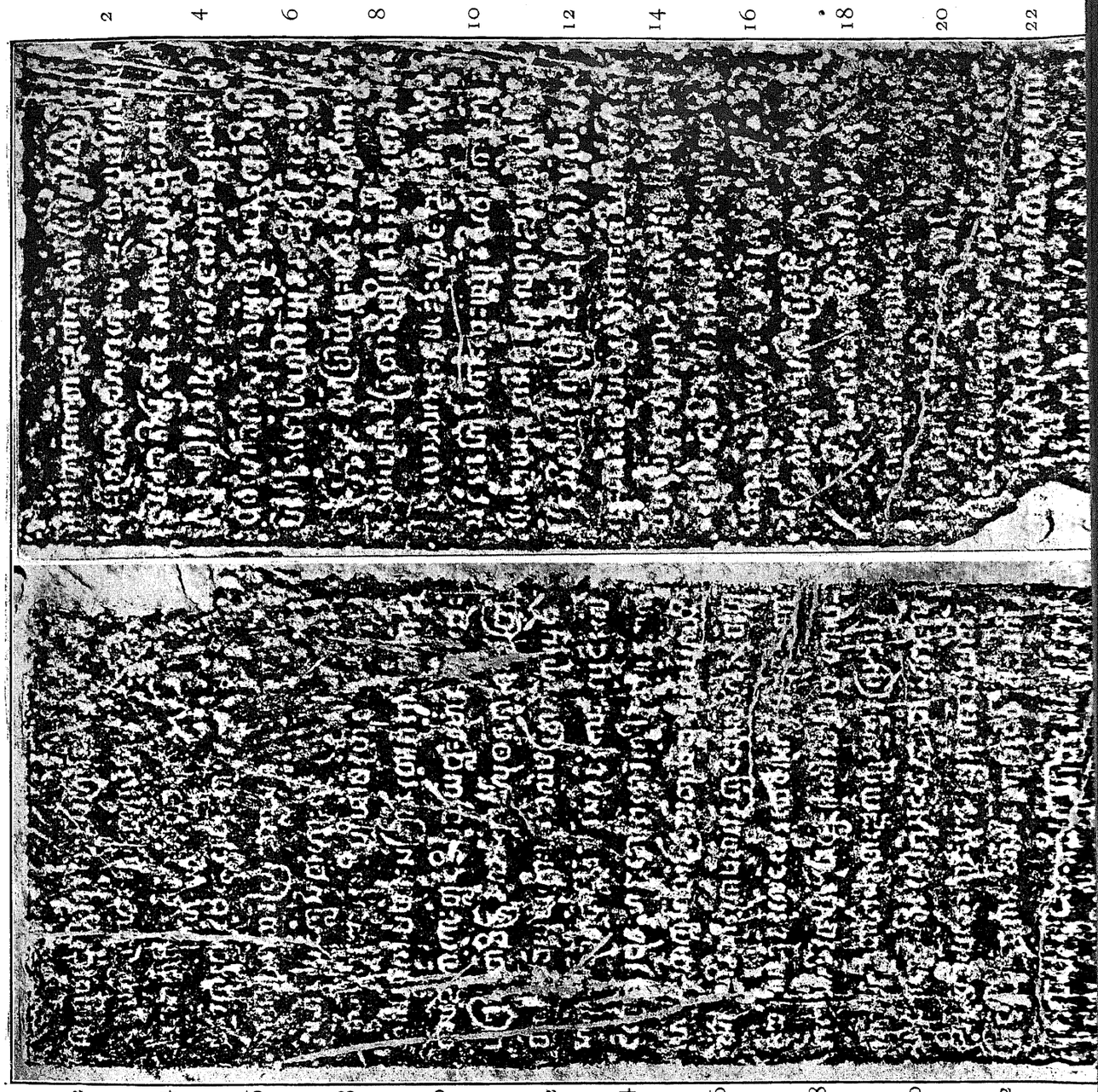
[1] Almost certain. [2] Cf. I C 50. [3] Fairly certain.
[4] The first part of this word looks something like *ā* (or *rā*, or *sa*); the final might be *n* or *w*. I have not succeeded in identifying it.
[5] Practically certain. [6] Possibly *buley*.
[7] This passage is very doubtful: *baket*, a mere conjecture, looks more like *ma ket*, but I do not see how to construe the latter here.
[8] Cf. F 10. But the words in that passage do not seem to correspond exactly with the few traces of letters that can be made out in the present indecipherable passage. Here a large piece of the surface of the stone has flaked off, leaving big gaps in this and the next seven lines.
[9] Conceivably *wār*, both here and below. The word *kwīr* is quite illegible here and in H 28, 29, but has been added on the analogy of H 38. [10] Perhaps *bo-*.
[11] The initial looks like *ḍu* or *ru*, and the *k* has a mark under it. But this and the supposed *u* may be accidental. [12] Conjectural.

32. [nlo' saṅ ma cut taṁ sṅo' j]i[ljip s]ān [rumbas ki]l [han sthān ma skīr[1] sruṅ[2]]
33. [jiñjuṅ jirkoy trūs] goḥ [tūy] b[l]aḥ ॥ go[ḥ ma sambeṅ] pra[ñālaṅkār sambeṅ] (a)-[3]
34. . . . . (rā)[c[4] t]r[āp[5] bissukar pa p]i[rdhān ॥ goḥ] ma kala[n siy[6] k]īr [sruṅ ji]ñjuṅ [ji]-
35. [rrko]y [trū]s goḥ [mle]ḥ [॥ han sthān ma ḍe]ḥ [skīr sru]ṅ [j]i[ñ-j]u[ṅ j]i[rk]oy br[ow]
36. [goḥ buṁn]aḥ [hurā] t[o]' sān [rumbas tū]y [blaḥ goḥ ma k]ala[n k]e[ṅ go]ḥ kī[r mleḥ] ॥
37. [han sthān sruṅ jiñjuṅ yas ॥ buṁnaḥ hu]r[ā] pa[ḍo]t sā[n rumb]as [tūy ॥ kalan] sā
38. [ket kwīr t]a(r buwut m)[oy[7] kīr bl]aḥ [॥ ḍeḥ t-eḥ kīr ducām kil] (cas ḅār la-[8])
39. (cut go)[ḥ pan hān ॥] (ma) [kīr ducām kil] (moy lacut[9] goḥ moy) [hān ॥]
40. r[ow ma kī]r [ducām] ki[l han] sru[ṅ jiñjuṅ jirkoy trūs goḥ ॥ row] goḥ
41. [kuṁ] ḍe[ḥ kīr ducām ki]l ha[n sruṅ jiñjuṅ jirkoy brow ॥ han sru]ṅ ji[ñjuṅ]
42. [yas ॥ han] s[ruṅ jiñju]ṅ ata[s ॥] si[ṅghāsin] ॥ han sruṅ jiñjuṅ [at]as dir[la]-
43. [c cirmuk ॥ kāl go]ḥ [ku](ṁ) u[t j]ā[p] tla[ṅ b]u[ṁnaḥ] hurā to' paḍo[t] sā-
44. [n rumbas tūy] ॥ [go]ḥ [ma sambeṅ k]ala[n yaṅ saṅ t]rāp [du]ṁ-[sac] ma rap [sinraṅ][10]
45. . . . . [ḍe]ḥ [t-]e[ḥ kuṁ kuṁ wū]r[11] [ut jāp] mu[k] pa[n] tlaṅ
46. . . . . (tik) [phaṁ klo]' sgac [siṅgir pgoḥ[12]]
47. . . . . [ḥ ॥ han tṅey go]ḥ k[uṁ moy] pa[hir ḅā]-

[1] Possibly *skir*.
[2] Possibly *srūṅ*.
[3] Looks rather like *u*, *gu*, or *rā*.
[4] The unidentified symbols look rather like *ṅkā*, or . . *bhi*.
[5] Looks rather like *trā phaṁ*.
[6] Or *sīy*.
[7] Almost certain.
[8] Or *lī-*.
[9] Or *licut*.
[10] Perhaps *sindraṅ*.
[11] Conceivably *wur*.
[12] Possibly *p-oḥ*.

No. IX.

AN INSCRIPTOIN FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE



48. [r] (nāḍī) . . . . . .
. . . . . (i) . . . . . [1]

J

1. . . . . [2]
2. [k[3] tṅey] (buddhawār)[4] [buṁnaḥ saṅkrān] (slok sirpuṅ)[5]
3. (sukhūy cindrow) [na] (ku) [glik] (kuchom binteṅ ju)-
4. (k) [sok binteṅ] (॥ guñi) [lwar ku] (glik binteṅ ॥)
5. [pudar ku tḍoṅ binteṅ ॥ hantūl[6]] (lwar ta goḥ ḍeḥ ru)-
6. [sāl klas thar s]re[ñ slūy] (ti ma ñaḥ ciṅgi)-
7. (n) [॥ han peṅ] klas [ta goḥ ḍeḥ] (crok pkāw brāc)
8. (kmow sla' ca)[ḍ](ūñ da)[7] [॥ cip=piryām duṁhic] (tik ār)
9. [pham kinta] (॥) [goḥ ma buṁnaḥ saṅkrān to' ār tuk ḍe]-
10. [k ॥ ḍek go]ḥ tl[ūṅ cip tūy] blaḥ [॥ han] (nā)[r] ḍeḥ
11. [pa brāt[8] cindran moḥ jlow] luḥac [ku kon] brā-
12. [t tḥow pḍey goḥ pūṅ kh]al [ma] c[rok ku] p[neṅ]
13. [sāl] (diṅkar cut) [pkāw thar saṁbhuc duleṅ] pne[ṅ dule]-
14. [ṅ] (goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ hurā to' ār lṅ]o[r nā[9] ॥ cut] ki-
15. [l ḍek] k[las thar sreñ tūy blaḥ ॥ han] (muk) [si]-
16. [ṅghās]i[n ku ut muk pan tl]aṅ [sāl] di[ṅkar] (cut) [pkā]-
17. [w thar ॥ saṁbhuc duleṅ pneṅ duleṅ ॥] (goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ] (to)-
18. [' ār lṅor jāp ut mleḥ ॥ lṅor tūy blaḥ] (goḥ ma)
19. (buṁnaḥ hurā) [to' ket] ḍek [klas thar sreñ slū]-[10]
20. [y ti ॥ ḍek kinlo]' sa[ṅ ma cut taṁ sṅo' jil]-
21. [jip] (॥) [goḥ ma ḍe]ḥ [t-e]ḥ [sān rumbas han] (ti ma) [kīr]
22. [sruṅ jiñjiṅ muk siṅghāsin] (॥) [ku sruṅ jiñjiṅ muk]

[1] There are only traces of the tops of a few superscript letters to indicate that there was a line here.

[2] Nothing legible; it may even be doubted whether there was a line here at all.

[3] Probably the final of *cirwek*.

[4] Almost certain. Between *bu* and *ddha* the spacing is unusually wide owing to a fissure in the stone which seems to be an original flaw and also affects to some extent the following lines down to l. 7.

[5] Conjectural restoration based on parallel passages such as B 13, G 24, etc. This applies to the ends of all the lines down to l. 10.

[6] Or *hantul*.

[7] Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, K 14, L 24.

[8] Between *brā* and *t* the spacing is unusually wide owing to an original flaw which also affects the next few lines, especially l. 14 (between *goḥ* and *ma*), l. 15 (*e* and *ḍ*), l. 16 (*ṅghā* and *sin*), and l. 17 (*r* and ॥).

[9] Or *nar*. In either case presumably an error for *nār*.

[10] Or *slu-*.

23. (wūr ut) [pan tlaṅ mleḥ ॥ cip=piryām duṁhic] (mṣu)[n nāḍī]
24. (moy) [pāt tmin] (messa)[1] [lagna ḍeḥ kīr ut sruṅ]
25. (ta goḥ) [mleḥ ॥ han piryām goḥ kuṁ] . . . . [sruṅ jiñju]-
26. [ṅ atas prāsāt jnok] (pan) [goḥ ci ḍeḥ kīr mleḥ] (॥)
27. [han piryām goḥ kuṁ ut jiñjuṅ cmeṅ[2]] (pan) [tlaṅ]
28. (goḥ ci) [ḍeḥ yuk mleḥ ॥ tṅey goḥ kuṁ pi pahir]
29. (ḅār)[3] [nāḍī cmeṅ s]i[ṅ]gha [l]ag[na ḍeḥ yuk jiñju]ṅ [a]-
30. [tas diṅkow ta go]ḥ m[leḥ ॥ diñcām cirwek]
31. [kintu phal](l)[agun ussājo]g[ga sukrawār] . . . . . .
32. . . . . .[4]

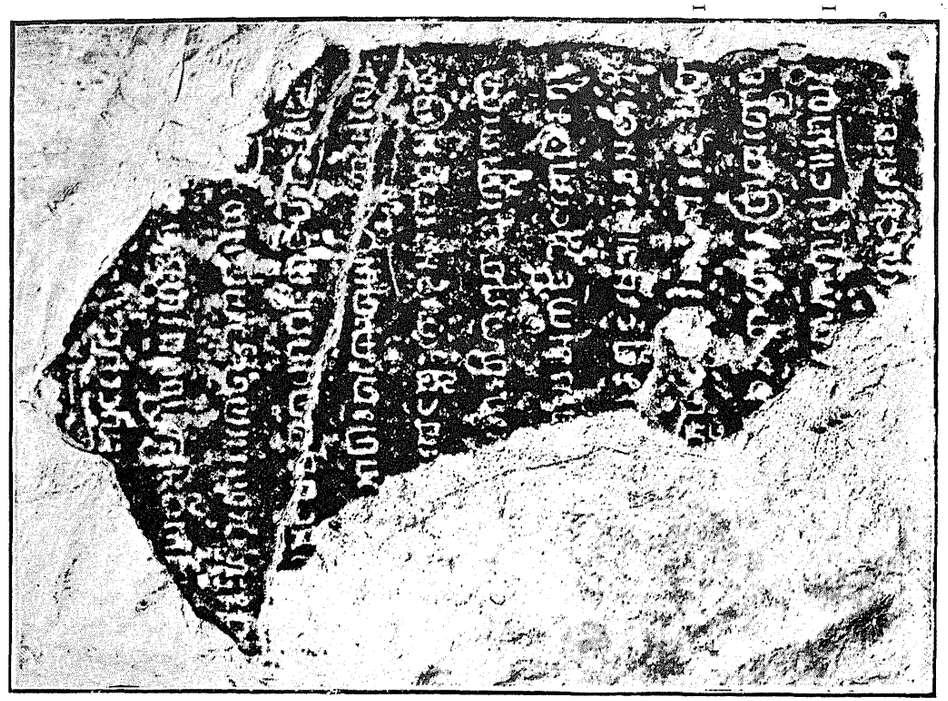
K

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . (ut pan tlaṅ)[5] [mleḥ ॥ ḍeḥ]
3. . . . . .
4. . . . . (॥ cip=piryām) [duṁhic mṣūn[6] nāḍīy[7] tmin]
5. . . . . [lagna ḍeḥ tik ut phaṁ klo'] . .
6. . . . (sgac) [siṅgir pgoḥ kakā](r=)[murā tapiw ī]-
7. (seṅ ku ut) [bil=labaḥ h]ī [trāk goḥ ma ḍe](ḥ yu)-
8. (k) . . . . . (blāy)[8] [ku] (tin) [kir mleḥ ॥ tṅey goḥ]
9. (kuṁ) [buṁnaḥ saṅkrān to' slok] su[khūy cindro]-
10. [w na ku glik[9]] ku[chom binteṅ j]u[k sok bi]-
11. [teṅ ॥ guñi' lwar ku g]l[ik binteṅ ॥ pudar ku]
12. [tḍo]ṅ [binteṅ ॥ hantūl lwar ta go]ḥ ru[sāl kla]-
13. [s thar sreṅ klas slūy ti[10] ma ñ]aḥ ci[ṅgin[11] ha]-
14. [n peṅ] k[las ta go]ḥ [ḍeḥ crok pkāw] (brāc ॥)
15. (kmow[12] sla caḍūñ da)[13] [॥ cip=piryām duṁhic] (ḅār pahir)

[1] Rather doubtful: in one ink-impression it looks somewhat like *besabha*.
[2] Perhaps an error for *c-eṅ*.
[3] Doubtful. So far as the mere reading goes it might be *mṣun*, possibly.
[4] Only traces of the tops of letters are visible, nothing legible.
[5] Conjectural restoration; but there seems to be a trace of *tlaṅ*.
[6] Or *mṣun*.
[7] Or *nāḍiy*.
[8] Very doubtful, though the *l* and *y* seem certain.
[9] Or *glɨk*.
[10] A mark here resembling a single stop is probably accidental.
[11] There may have been a double stop here.
[12] Looks like *kmāw*. But the final may be *c* and the vowel *o*.
[13] Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, L 24.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR THE THARABA GATE, PAGAN.

M



K



16. [mo]y [nā]ḍ[īy [1] tuik [2] phaṁ kinta ॥ goḥ ma buṁnaḥ] (saṅkrā)-
17. n [to' ā]r [t]u[k] ḍe[k] (ma) [sp-hūm [3] jiñjuṅ] (atas) [4] [si]-
18. [ṅghā]sin k[u jiñjuṅ] (muk pan tlaṅ ku) [5] [jiñjuṅ] . . . . . .

L

1. [hu]rā [t]o' [ket] ḍe[k klas thar sr]e[ñ ॥ cip=piryām]
2. [duṁhic godhulī] lagna goḥ [ma ḍe]ḥ [t-eḥ p]-(hū)[m dirlec] (ju)-
3. (ṅ dal) [ku tinr]aṅ [juṅ dal goḥ tūy bl]aḥ [goḥ ma] (ḍeḥ)
4. [ār lṅor ku pneṅ du]leṅ j[āp] u[t mleḥ ॥ han] (cas)
5. [pi mirmok kintu' cey tṅey buddhawār cip=piryā]-
6. [m duṁhic moy] pahir [mṣūn nāḍī tmin ḍ]eḥ [yuk]
7. [tinraṅ juṅ dal prāp mle]ḥ ॥ (han) [pi cirwek kintu']
8. [cey tṅey cand]rawār cip=pi[ryām duṁhic moy] (nāḍī)
9. (tmin) [6] [mesa lagna goḥ ma ḍ]eḥ [puc jiñjuṅ] .(ir). . . . .
10. . .(ṅ) [pan hān goḥ mle]ḥ ॥ [mṣūn [7] cirwek kintu' ce]-
11. [y tṅey buddhawār methuna lagna ḍeḥ] (yuk prāsāt) . .
12. . . . . [siṁghāsin ku triṁ ji]ṅ [muk wūr ut] (pan tlaṅ)
13. (mleḥ) [॥ han tṅey buddhawār goḥ kuṁ cip=piryām duṁhic]
14. [pi pahir blaḥ] (kanya) [8] [lagna goḥ ma ḍeḥ] (yuk) . . . . . .
15. . . . . .[i]. . . . . [ut] (pan tlaṅ mleḥ ॥ mṣūn [9] cirwe)-
16. (k) [kintu'] (cey tṅey buddhawār goḥ kuṁ) . . . . . .
17. (bricika [10] lagna) [goḥ ma kīr sruṅ jiñjuṅ] . . . . . .
18. . . . . [skīr sopān] . . . . . [is] . . . . . .
19. . . . . (buṁnaḥ saṅkrān)
20. (to' slok sukhūy cindrow na ku glik kuchom buṁ)- [11]
21. (teṅ juk sok buṁteṅ ॥ guñi' lwar ku glik buṁte)-
22. (ṅ pudar ku tḍoṅ buṁteṅ) [hantul lwar goḥ ḍeḥ rusāl]
23. (klas thar) [12] [sreñ] (klas slūy ti ma ñaḥ ciṅgin ॥ han)

[1] Or *nādiy*. [2] There seems to be a *u* here, unless it is an accidental mark.
[3] Or *sp-hum*. [4] Conjectural, though there are traces of what seems to be an initial *a*.
[5] The preceding words seem almost certain.
[6] Conjectural. It might conceivably be *cmeṅ*. [7] Or *mṣun*.
[8] Doubtful, but I do not see what else it can stand for. It should be *kanyā*.
[9] Illegible, but there is only room for a short word and no other seems appropriate here.
[10] Very doubtful.
[11] This line and the next are conjecturally restored from the few traces of letters that are visible, the restoration being based on the analogy of other passages, such as B 13, G 24, etc.
[12] Conjectural restoration, but quite certain. The beginnings of the lines from and after l. 22 are broken off, and most of what remains is blurred and almost illegible.

24. (peṅ klas ta goḥ ḍeḥ) [crok ku pkāw] (brāc kmow)
25. (sla caḍūñ da)[1] [॥ cip=piryām dumhic] . . . . . .
26. . . . . .
27. . . . . .
28. . . . . .
29. . . . . .
30. . . . . .

M

1. . . . . [duleṅ pneṅ] (duleṅ) . . . . . [2]
2. . . . . (tūy) [blaḥ ॥ cip=piryām dumhic] (han) . . . . . .
3. [. . bumnaḥ hurā to]' ke[t ḍek klas] tha[r sreñ ḍe]-
4. [k kinlo' saṅ ma cut t]aṁ [sño]' [jiljip go]ḥ [ma ḍeḥ]
5. . . . . [sopān ta goḥ tūy blaḥ ॥ goḥ ma] l[ño]-
6. [r] (pkāw thar pneṅ)[3] [dul]eṅ [b]laḥ [goḥ ussājoga sukrawā]-
7. [r] . . . . . [goḥ tik ut phaṁ kl]o' [goḥ]
8. . . . . (goḥ) [ma y]uk j[i]ñ[j]u[ṅ sopā]n [ku]
9. . . . . [pan tl]aṅ m[l]eḥ ॥ [h]an cas [ḅā]r [ci]-
10. [rwek kintu'] (cey)[4] [tṅey] (buddha)[w]ar[5] [han nār] ḍeh [pa brā]-
11. [t] (cindran moḥ jlow) [luḅac ku kon br]ā[t] t[ḅ]o[w]
12. (pḍey goḥ pūṅ khal ma crok) [ku pn]eṅ ॥ [s]ā[l di]-
13. [ṅkar] (lṅor ku pkāw thar pneṅ)[6] [dul]eṅ ॥ [goḥ ma] (bumnaḥ)

N

1. m(uk)[7] [ciṅ] . .(s[8] tṅ)[9] . . . . . [10]
2. . .[y] j[ā]p [ut t]aṁ [han] .[l] . . . . . .

[1] Cf. B 19, C 24, D 20, G 29, J 7, K 14.

[2] In one of the ink-impressions there are perhaps traces of a line above this one. The stone having been broken off on the left side (and as regards ll. 1–4 on the right also) the amount of loss has been roughly estimated and the beginnings of the lines restored when it seemed possible.

[3] Merely conjectural. [4] The month is quite conjectural.

[5] Possibly *candrawar*. The last syllable should be *wār*, but does not seem to be.

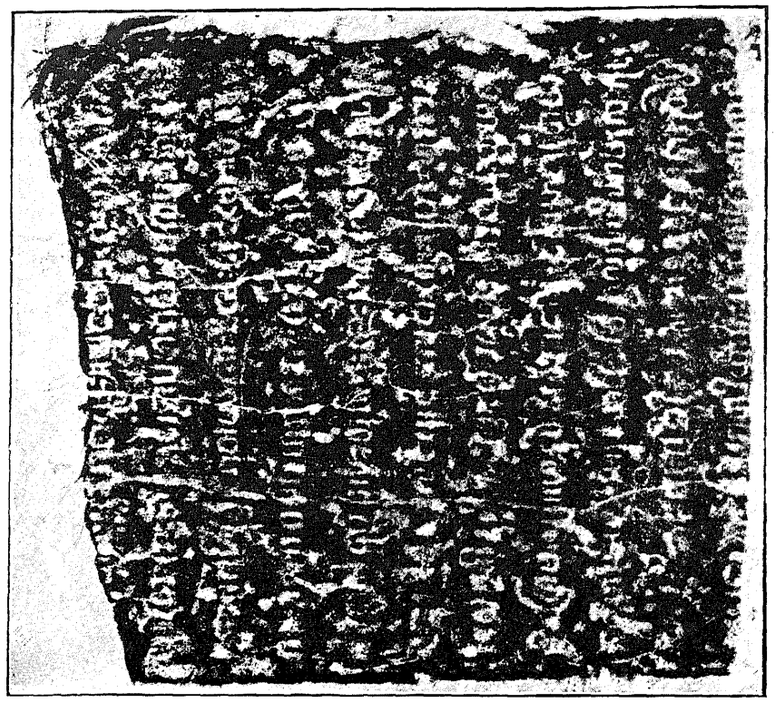
[6] The words in parentheses in the first part of this and the last two lines are quite conjectural, being restored on the analogy of other passages in the inscription.

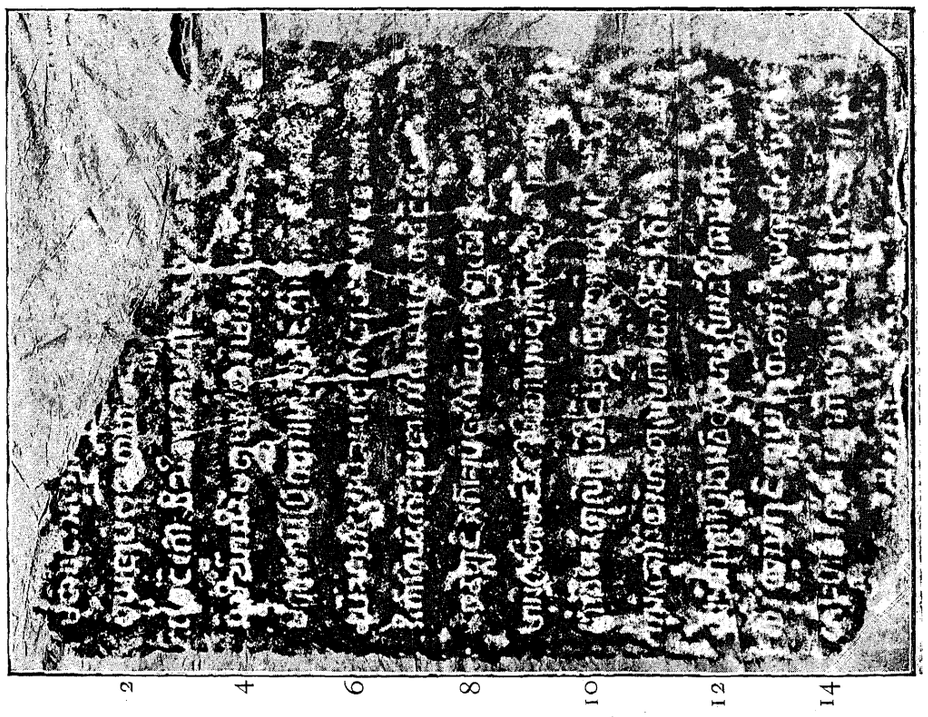
[7] The vowel is doubtful and the *t* might be *k*, so the word might be *mat*.

[8] This short word looks like *das*, but even the final letter is not absolutely certain.

[9] The *t* seems fairly certain, the *ṅ* probable, then comes a vowel which must be *e* or *o*. But I cannot fit *tṅey* here into any probable context. [10] The ends of ll. 1–3 are lost.

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3. (cre)ṅ[1] go[ḥ] ci ñi[n lak][2] . . . . . .
4. [s si]ṅghāsin [ma tmūy na thar yimās] (ma ñin lak na rat)[3]
5. [ma ka[4] moy] pra[kār] ‖ [han tuṁwiṅ] (tirtāw)[5] [siṅghāsin] (nom)[6]
6. [rup ñaḥ ma[7] rinleḥ rup] ña[ḥ ma tik phaṁ rup ñaḥ ma] . . . . . .
7. diṅko[w p]an go[ḥ] ru[p jādisiṅ pan ‖ han tuṁwiṅ] (tirtāw)[8] [hā]-
8. [n p]an [t]laṅ [da] goḥ rup [jā]disiṅ pan [ut=ta goḥ] (ci tmūy na thar yi)-[9]
9. mās [com ‖ yaṅ dindāy th]ar [‖ rup byāl thar ḅār lumpek] (pa tu)-[10]
10. [tāw h]antul [kḍi]p c[i]ṅ ma [tmūy na thar ‖ hantūl] (byāl goḥ ma)-
11. [kar to]ri[n thar han]tu[l makar torin thar goḥ] . . . . . .
12. (no)[m k]u (lwā)r p[k]āw sac [b]. .[11] [hantul sac dirkas goḥ] (rūp[12] ḅip)
13. [thar ḅā]r [ma] guṅ [bley ut ḅār lumpek tirḍey hān]
14. [goḥ pkāw dirkas jnok moy] . . . . . .
15. . . . . [goḥ] . . . . . [13]

O

1. . . . . (ut mleḥ ‖ blaḥ goḥ ḍeḥ) . . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. . . . . (' tinraṅ) [ut] (pan goḥ) [ci ḍeḥ] (cruṅ mleḥ ‖) . . . . . .
4. . . . . .
5. . . . . (laḥ tūy blaḥ) ḍeḥ (sāl diṅkar) [ḍeḥ] (out pkā)-
6. (w thar saṁbhuc) [duleṅ pneṅ duleṅ ‖ goḥ ma buṁnaḥ hurā] (ñaḥ)
7. (ma lep) [kindaṁ sṅi' to'] . . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful, except the *ṅ*.
[2] After *lak*, which is fairly certain, the next word seems to be *mat* or *pat*. Cf. E 22, 47.
[3] Conjectural restoration, but fairly certain.
[4] For the more usual *kaḥ*. [5] Rather doubtful. [6] Very doubtful.
[7] The first of the undecipherable letters may be *r*, perhaps with *u* subscript.
[8] Even more doubtful than in l. 5 *supra*.
[9] Conjectural restoration. [10] Very doubtful. But cf. R 11.
[11] Conceivably *bil*, though I cannot trace any *i* over the *b*. [12] Or *rup*.
[13] In this line only traces of the tops of letters are visible.

8. . . . . (r) . . (mleḥ) ॥ [han pi cirwek kintu] . . . . . [1] [tṅey]
9. . . . . (wār) [pi pahir mṣūn nāḍī] . . . . . [2] [lagna ॥ piryām goḥ] (kuṁ)
10. . . . . ॥ . . . . . (') [ut] .[r].
11. . . . . .

P

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . [k [3] tṅey sukrawār pi nā]-
3. [ḍī] . . . . . [pḍey goḥ] . . . .
4. . . . . [ḍeḥ pa brāt cindran moḥ jlow]
5. [luḅac ku kon brāt tḅow pḍey goḥ pūṅ khal]
6. [ma crok ku pneṅ] . . . . . [sāl diṅkar lṅor ku pkāw]
7. [thar pneṅ duleṅ saṁbhuc duleṅ ḍeḥ cut ḍek kla]-
8. [s thar sreñ] (॥ goḥ ma) [buṁnaḥ hurā to' lṅor nār ॥]
9. [lṅor tūy] (blaḥ reṅ) [4] [tinlaḥ thar ma ḍeḥ sisip kyek srī [5] di]-
10. . . . . (siṅghāsin) [4] [goḥ ḍeḥ pa brāt cindran luḅac ku]
11. (kon brāt) [tḅow pḍey goḥ ḍeḥ sāl diṅkar] . . . . .

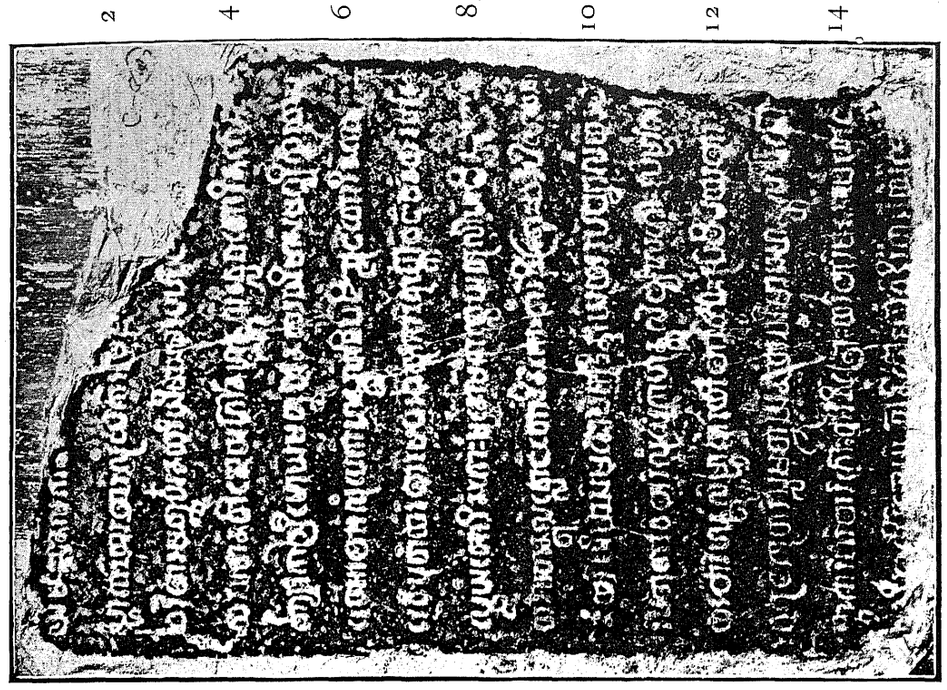
Q

1. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
2. . . . . (ḍek klas thar sreñ) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
3. . . . . (tūy blaḥ) . . . . . [ḍeḥ] . . . . [ut mleḥ ॥ ḍeḥ] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

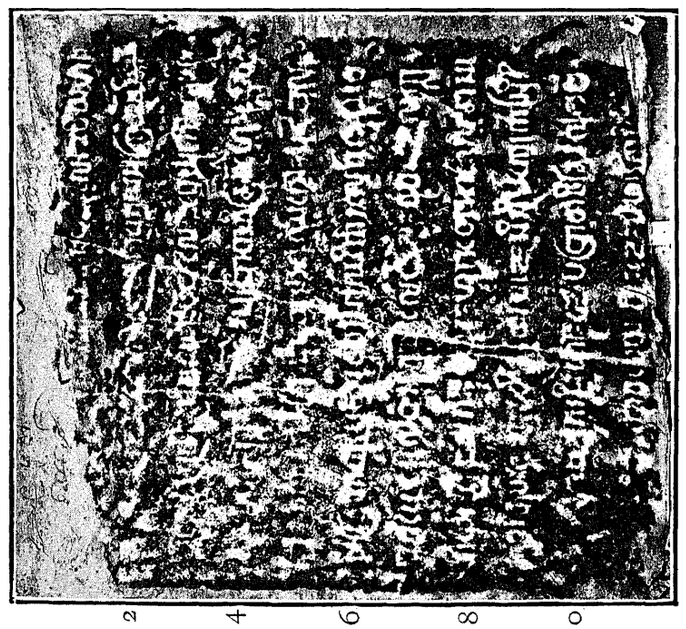
[1] The final syllable looks as if it might be *sāt*. Possibly the month may have been Āṣāḍha.
[2] Looks rather like *bricchā*.
[3] No doubt this is the final of either *mirmok* or *cirwek*, but the word cannot be deciphered.
[4] Very doubtful. [5] Possibly *sri*.

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R



P



4. . . . . [ut mleḥ jāp ut] . . . . . [jāp ut] . . . . . .

5. . . . . [ḍeḥ sāl diṅkar ḍeḥ] . . . . . (ḍek klas thar sreñ) . . . . .

6. . . . . (lṅor) . . . . . [tūy blaḥ ॥ cip= piryām godhuli lagna] . . . . . .

7. . . . . (ket) [ḍek klas thar sreñ slūy ti] . . . . . .

8. . . . . (buṁnaḥ hurā ñaḥ) [ma lep kindaṁ sni' to' lṅor pkāw thar sirwiṅ pneṅ duleṅ sumbhuc duleṅ] . . . . . .

9. . . . . .(k) [ku ut jāp prāsāt mleḥ ॥ duṁpoḥ mirmok kintu'] . . . . . .

10. . . . . [ḍeḥ] (yuk jiñjuṅ brow) . . . .

11. . . . . [1]

R

1. [y ma ñin lak] . . . . . .

2. [mhākar th]ar ḅār lu[ṁpek ॥ ma] (ḍuk piñ) [2] . . . . . .

3. . . . . [ḅār ma tmūy na th]ar [yimās] (ma rap [3] pa pujāw) . . . . . .

4. [thar ॥ h]an [tirḍey hān hantūl] c[le]c [torin] (goḥ) . . . .

5. [kyāk] srī [moy ma tmūy] na [th]ar [y]i[māṣ ma] gñi [ku rat puṁ]-

6. re[y] ॥ [ḅār] lu[ṁ]pek [hantūl k](ḍ)i[p j]iñju[ṅ] tor[in] (goḥ rup)

7. de[wa]put thar [ḅ]ār [ma pa sādhukā]r [ku pkāw juṁwan thar] (han)

8. [pḍey to]ri[n goḥ ma nom ku bley] tu[lāy tinlaḥ] (brāt)

9. thar [॥ h]antūl cloṅ tori[n goḥ tar cinroḥ thar] (mimoy [4] ॥)

[1] Only doubtful traces of tops of letters are visible.
[2] Conjectural, though *ḍu* seems fairly certain.
[3] Perhaps *rup*.
[4] Conceivably *mirmoy*.

10. . . [thar yimās ma nom ku] d[indāy thar rup byāl thar] (ḅā)-
11. [r] (pa)[1] [tutāw ḅā]r lu[ṁpek hantūl byāl goḥ rup mhākar]
12. [thar ḅār hantū]l [mhākar thar ḅār goḥ rup ḅip thar ḅār]
13. [ma guṅ ku t]ar sla ma [tmuy[2] na thar yimās hantūl] (dirpoḥ)
14. [mh]ā[kar th]ar [ḅār goḥ tar cinro]ḥ tha[r ḅār ma nom cloṅ]
15. (torin)[ṅ][tirḍey hān] (goḥ) [pkāw dirrkas] (thar) . . . .[3]

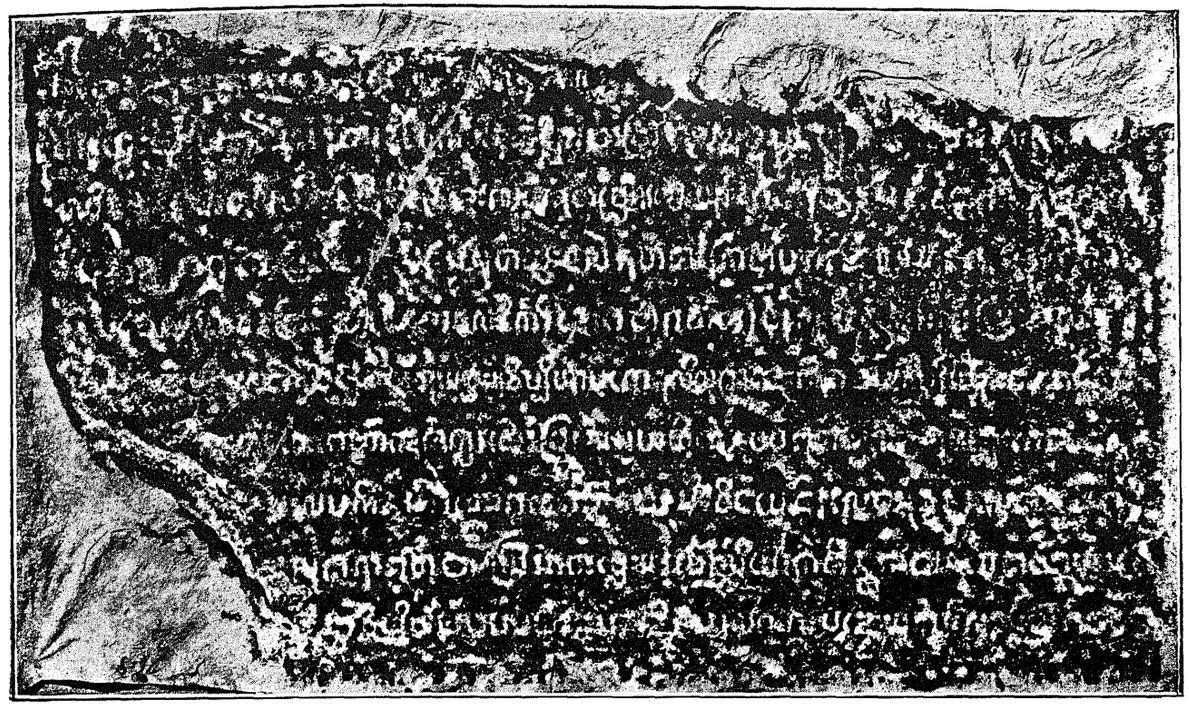
S

1. . . . . .
. . . . . .
2. . . . . .
. . . . . [clec] (diṅṅal) . . [clec] . . . . . .
3. . . . . [hantul[4] makar goḥ jiñjuṅ torin] (siṅghāsin dhar) [hantul[4] jiñju]-
4. [ṅ] (torin goḥ) . . . . . (goḥ [3]) [tuṁwiṅ tirtāw] . . . . (siṅghāsin goḥ) [rup ñaḥ ma rinleḥ]
5. (rup ñaḥ ma tik phaṁ) [rup jādisiṅ] . . . . . (ñaḥ ma) [rinleḥ goḥ] (c). . . . [ḅār] (luṁpek ku cloṅ) [hantul] (c). . . . . .
6. [goḥ hantul] . . . . [goḥ] . . . . [uppal] . . . . [uppal ḅār luṁpek goḥ klo' ḍey] . . . . . .
7. . . . . [ḅār luṁpek] . . . . (dirkas) . . . . (ut kwik) . . . . . .(n) [ut] (kwi)-
8. (k) . . . . . .(ṅ si). . . . . .(n) [hantul] (slar pi). . . . [ut ḅār luṁpek jādisiṅ]
9. . . . . (ci) . . . . . [jādisiṅ brow] (ma cuheṅ) [ḅār luṁpek] . . .(k) [dirlac ut ta goḥ]
10. [ci ḍeḥ] . . . . . [r] . . . . . [clec di]. . . . [clec] . . . . [jāp diṅkow]
11. . . . . (dirlac) [ḅār luṁpek ti] . . . . . .

[1] Looks like *par=*, with the *r* superscript over the *t* following, but I suspect that the supposed *r* is merely an accidental disfigurement. Cf. N 9.
[2] Possibly *tmūy*, though I can see no trace of the extra stroke.
[3] Only the top portions of the letters are visible in this line.
[4] Or *hantūl*, and so elsewhere in this fragment, which is in such a poor state of preservation that it is impossible to be sure of minute details like this.

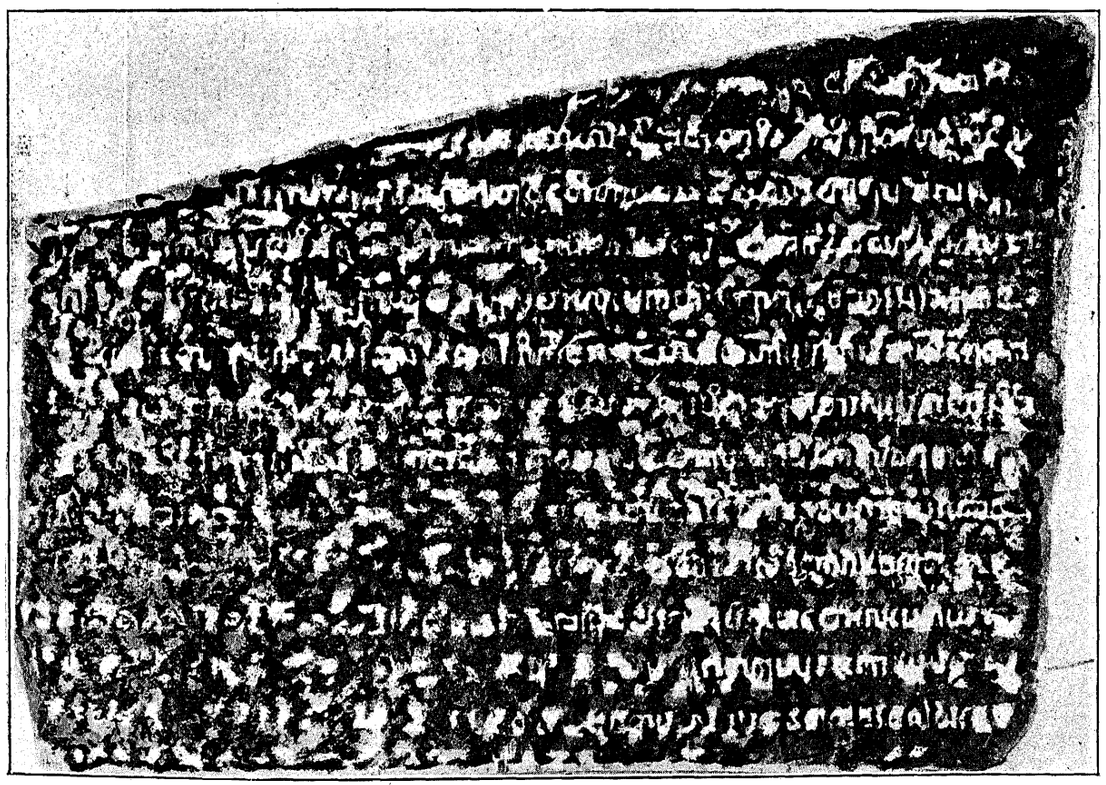
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Q



2 4 6 8 10

S



2 4 6 8 10 12 14

12. . . . . .
. . . . . (ma cuheṅ) [ḅār lumpek] . . . . . .
13. . . . . .
. . . . . [pan diṅkow] . . . . . .
14. . . . . (goḥ) . .
. . (taṁ) . . (clec) . . . . .(n taṁ) [clec diṅṅal] (taṁ clec)

Translation.

A

. . . . . (after sunset?)[1] . . . . . (made, in honour of Nārāyaṇa,[2] a decoration of plantains (such as is termed) "ox nose"?)[3] adorned[4] with young plantains (and) sugarcane . . . . . (spread mats?) . . . . . (l. 4) . . . made offerings of[5] golden flowers, altar candles, altar oblations,[6] boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels[7] with candles stuck in it, and thereupon (they) worshipped.[8]

At that time, too, our lord the Chief Monk (l. 6) Arahan[9] brought seven lords of the Church[10] . . . . . spread (leaves around on?)[11] the places (appointed) for the digging of the holes (for) the pillars of the two sides, the

[1] The time is somewhat doubtful, the reading being uncertain.

[2] The suggested reading *nār* is conjectural and it is not certain that it stands for Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* Vishnu. But cf. the references in the note on the text and compare them, as well as B 37, C 35, F 30, G 3, H 10, J 14, M 10, and P 8, with the parallel passages with *nek* in H 10, 15.

[3] The term "ox nose" is at present applied to a kind of streamer hanging down from a pole. The whole of this passage in parentheses has been conjecturally restored on the analogy of parallel passages. The sense of the word *cindran* is not absolutely determined, but it must have been some decorative arrangement. Its relation to the L.M. *brāt cheran*, a small sweet kind of plantain, is not clearly made out.

[4] I assume that *lubac* is the L.M. *labat*, not *laḅak*. If it were the latter, we might translate "hung with" instead of "adorned with." As either version would fit into the context, it is impossible to determine definitely which is the right one.

[5] Literally, "worshipped with," but the word is also used directly in the sense of "offer." Cf. E 14, H 8.

[6] These oblations probably consisted of food stuffs. The altar was probably a small portable wooden one.

[7] This descriptive phrase represents the term *pūṅ khal*. The vessels are small, sometimes cut out of wood, sometimes made of leaves. Cf. B 35, C 1, E 41, G 1, J 12, M 12, P 5.

[8] Alternatively this phrase (from "and") might perhaps be rendered "which they offered," but that seems somewhat superfluous and pointless.

[9] A Chief Monk is mentioned in Myazedi 18 and in I A 43 *seqq*. The one spoken of here, whose name was Arahan, is known from other sources. It would seem that in VI 26 the word *arahan* cannot be a proper name, being qualified by the word *guṁlun*.

[10] Buddhist monks.

[11] It is doubtful whether the word *sla* here means "leaves" or is to be taken with *sāl* to mean simply "spread," because the next word *kupar* is uncertain, both in meaning and reading: cf. A 10, 29.

yas pillars, the *atas* pillars (of?) the *siṅghāsin*,[1] and the pillars of the four pavilions, and the pillars of the ablution pavilion, and the *juṅ dal*[2] pillars, and all the *atas* pillars of the front.[3] All (l. 10) the men (who gave the lotus leaves for them to?) spread, sounded all the drums . . . . . ,[4] blew . . . . . ,[5] and all . . . . . other (l. 12) . . . . . .[6]

At sunset, *godhulī* (being) *lagna*,[7] the *saṅkrān* Brahmans,[8] who carried litters, beat the foremost[9] drum. The Brahman astrologers[10] went (and) drew water for the reciting of the *paritta*.[11] Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in)[12] vessels of gold, vessels (l. 15) of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where?) the blessing[13] (was to be given?): at the

[1] This passage teems with the kind of technical terms which constitute one of the great difficulties of the inscription. The distinction between *yas* and *atas* has not been determined. Perhaps it is one of position merely, the one word meaning "back" and the other "front." It is a curious coincidence (if it is one) that these words also mean "renown" and "fame" (I F 23; I A 10, B 9, C 15; V 45, 47), which meanings seem inappropriate here. The *siṅghāsin* was probably the throne room and I imagine that in that case it may perhaps be regarded as forming part of the "great pavilion" (*prāsāt jnok*) mentioned in A 16 and elsewhere. It does not seem certain that the *yas* and *atas* pillars here referred to are confined to those of the *siṅghāsin*, but it seems probable. Cf. B 24, D 15, 17, 40, F 13, H 2, 16, 42, J 15, 22.

[2] I am disposed to identify *dal* with L.M. *dow* and interpret it as meaning "central," but this is quite uncertain at present. The force of *juṅ* is not clear. Cf. A 17, B 9, 25, F 38, H 2, L 3, 7. Conceivably, the whole phrase means "central," so here (and elsewhere) the "central pillar," and in L 3, 7, the "central hall" and "central door." But it is difficult to make that meaning fit B 9, where *juṅ dal* follows *muk*.

[3] Conceivably we might translate "of that face." Cf. the use of *muk* in A 28, B 3-5, 8, 24-27, H 17, 45, J 15, 16, 22, K 18, L 12, N 1.

[4] Here follow a number of unexplained words doubtless having reference to various musical instruments and the sounds produced by them. Cf. A 33, F 34, G 4, H 46, K 5, and VIII A 6 tr. n. In III C 16 I conjecturally rendered *siṅgir* by "resounding."

[5] Here again musical instruments appear to be mentioned: cf. the passages cited in the preceding note. The word *tapiw* may perhaps mean "trumpet" or "clarionet." But in that case *piw* in G 4 must be something else.

[6] As to *wel*, see I B 21 tr. n.

[7] The term *lagna* generally means the position at the eastern horizon of some constellation mentioned, usually in this inscription one of the zodiacal signs. It does not appear, however, that *godhulī* is a constellation, but rather a mist or haze which at certain times of day (varying with the seasons) arises from the earth. In this case the evening is definitely indicated.

[8] The reading *saṅkrān*, though doubtful here, seems to be supported by E 27, J 2, 9, K 9, and L 19. Possibly it stands for Sanskrit *saṁkrānti*, and these particular Brahmans were specialists in calculating the times of the entry of the sun into the several signs of the zodiac. It seems to be a curious refinement in view of the mention of astrologers in the very next sentence.

[9] Or "the drum" (or "drums"?) "in front"; unless this is a technical term for some special kind of drum or for one that served some special purpose in this ritual. Cf. B 19, E 33, G 30, J 9, K 16.

[10] Literally it would be "astrologer Brahmans," *i.e.* the Brahmans who specialised in that science, the study of which was probably confined to Brahmans. Our idiom prefers the other order.

[11] A Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Cf. A 39 n.

[12] In this frequently recurring phrase there is no preposition expressed defining the relation between the water and the vessels. It is, of course, obvious, but the idiom is curious.

[13] Cf. A 39 n.

great pavilion, and the four *cindrow*[1] pavilions, and the ablution pavilion, and the *juṅ dal*[2] pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch (l. 18) shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church[3] who were to recite the *paritta*[4] outside and throughout the palace; (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders (l. 21) in reciting the *paritta* outside, together with the four thousand monks, ...[5] the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats,[6] eight (figured?)[7] cloths, (and) eight spades; water (in) a hundred and eight vessels (and) (l. 24) a hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the *paritta* within, at the dwelling places of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (l. 27) (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats,[8] a hundred and eight (figured?)[8] cloths, (and) a hundred and eight spades.

Towards the east side of the front[9] of the great hall, (they) made a sanctuary,[10] furnished with seats,[11] which (they) made fittingly, which (they) decorated (round about?)[12] with white (l. 30) cloth (and which they shaded?)[13] with white umbrellas.[14] Then (they) spread . . . .[15] rugs on the top of the seats.[16] Then (they) set (thereon) a golden statue of Buddha, a statue of the

[1] The word *cindrow* (or perhaps *cinrow*) is used in this inscription in two distinct sets of contexts. Here and in B 8, 23, and F 39 it applies to the four pavilions which were apparently at the four sides of the "great pavilion." In B 13, C 27, 34, D 23, E 30, F 23, 26, G 25, H 13, J 3, K 9, and L 20, it is applied to an article of dress. It is not clear whether the sense is identical, related, or quite different. In the second use L.M. has *carau*, but the meaning has not been determined (*Dhammaceti*, p. 88, l. 22). In this use it may refer to the material of the article of dress or to its form or its ornamentation.

[2] Cf. A 9 n. [3] Cf. A 6 n. [4] Cf. A 14 n.

[5] The illegible word is presumably the predicate here, *e.g.* "(they) provided the dwellings . . . (with) eight mats," etc.

[6] The word *snāl* defining the mats here (and in A 27 and E 41) is presumably a derivative of *sāl*, "to spread," and probably identical with L.M. *snā*, "the leather used by Buddhist priests to kneel upon," though there is nothing here to indicate that leather is the material of our mats. In L.M. *dakaw snā* is a general term for "mats."

[7] The reading and meaning are doubtful, but in the Kalyāṇī inscription the word *kṣū* occurs in this or a similar sense (either "painting" or "embroidering)." For "cloths" one might perhaps say "garments." [8] As in A 22, 23.

[9] Or, possibly, "at the eastern corner of the face." The word for "hall" here is *dirlec*; whether it is to be identified with the great "pavilion" (*prāsāt*) seems doubtful.

[10] Or "sacred dwelling" or "dwelling of Buddha."

[11] Or "a seat."

[12] Cf. A 6 n. My rendering is based on the idea that the doubtful word *kupar* may be identical with L.M. *gapaw*. Haswell has *gapaw ār*, "to go around."

[13] There is no question as to the general sense here, but some doubt about the precise reading.

[14] Or "a white umbrella," the number being left undetermined.

[15] The meaning of the doubtfully read *tasar* is undetermined. [16] Or "seat," as before.

Lord Gawaṁpati, with books of the Vinaya, Sutta, (and) Abhidhamma[1] . . . . (l. 33) . . . . . .

At three *pahir*[2] (they) sounded the drums . . . . . .[3] (and) blew . . . . .[3] (in honour of?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gawaṁpati and all the four thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader. The (l. 36) *sambeṅ jey sabhaṅ, sambeṅ kaṅsāsūr, sambeṅ rājasūr*, with all the *sambeṅ grī, sambeṅ leṅ, kalan yaṅ saṅ*,[4] (and) all the scholars, within (and) without, offered . . . .[5] golden flowers (and) altar candles, (and) reverently (l. 39) asked for the *saraṇasīla*[6] and the *paritta* of blessing,[7] within (and) without around all the four sides. At that time our lord the Chief Monk Arahan stood[8] at the western side facing towards the eastern side (and) holding a right-voluted[9] conch shell (l. 42), together with water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, which they arranged in front of our lord the Chief Monk Arahan.

Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the *saraṇasīla* and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks (l. 45) remained standing[10] within

[1] The three main divisions of the Buddhist Canon. The second half of the third name is not distinctly legible but can be safely inferred from the context.

[2] It would seem that theoretically the *pahir* or *pahar* consisted of 7½ *nāḍī*, each *nāḍī* being 24 minutes of mean time, so that the *pahir* was exactly three hours by the clock (a water clock in former days). Probably, however, the count began in practice at actual sunrise and sunset, and three *pahir*, indicated by three strokes on a special gong, meant that the time was just nine hours later, round about 3 p.m. or 3 a.m. (as here) but varying of course slightly according to the season.

[3] Cf. A 11 n. and the passages there cited.

[4] These are all titles of officials or functionaries. The titles *sambeṅ* and *kalan* also appear in old Burmese inscriptions, the former in the form *saṁbyaṅ*. It is probable that the *kalan yaṅ saṅ* performed duties which brought them into specially close relations with the monkhood (*saṅ, saṅgha*). The word *jey* is probably the Pāli *jeyya*, "elder, senior, master," and *sabhaṅ* means "festival," *grī* may be the Burmese for "great," *kaṅsāsūr* and *rājasūr* are plainly of Indian derivation and probably merely honorific titles. Cf. B 12, C 7, 33, F 21, 24, 25, G 9-11, 16, 31, 39, H 11, 17, 19, 21, 23, 31, 33, 44.

[5] The word rendered "offered" might be rendered "set." Cf. B 7, 10, 32, 36, 39, 40, 46, etc. The meaning of *sirwiṅ* has not been determined. In this inscription it only occurs as part of this formula (cf. B 7, 10, 36, C 2, 40, E 14, F 28, G 2, 40, H 8). Probably it is an epithet of the golden flowers. In that case it might be connected either with L.M. *sriṅ*, in the sense of "slender, delicate," L.M. *dawuiṅ*, "coiled, made into a circular ornament," or perhaps with L.M. *swiṅ*, "to wave ceremonially over an object which is to be blessed." If the last meaning is the right one, perhaps we must take the word with *pneṅ*, translating "waved altar candles."

[6] The *saraṇa* is the formula of adherence to the Buddha, the Law and the Church.

[7] Cf. A 15, 46. It is possible that the reference is to some part of the *Maṅgalasutta*, which was used as a *paritta*.

[8] It does not seem certain that *tāw* here means "to stand." It might simply mean "stayed, remained." So too in A 45 *infra*.

[9] That is, twisted in the opposite direction from the normal. Such shells, being very rare, were regarded as particularly precious and lucky, and were accordingly used at the anointment (*abhiṣeka*) of kings in India.

[10] Cf. the last note but one.

(and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the *paritta* of blessing. Having recited the *paritta* of blessing, at the auspicious time of three *pahir*, five *nāḍī*,[1] (at) night . . . . . .

B

. . . . . .

Then . . . . . the ground of the front of the middle of the eastern side, (l. 4) the front of the middle of the . . . . . .[2] side, the front of the middle of the western side, the front of the middle of the side of the front gable-end, (on?) the ground of the great pavilion: all these five spots[3] they proceeded to bathe[4] with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. (Having bathed them?) (they) spread mats, (and) (l. 7) offered . . . .[5] golden flowers (and) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers expert[6] in house-building worshipped (at) all the five places. Thereafter, on the ground of the four *cindrow*[7] pavilions and the ground of the front of the *juṅ dal*,[8] all those five places, (they) bathed with water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. (Having?) bathed (them), (l. 10) (they) spread mats, (and) offered . . . .[9] golden flowers (and) altar candles. The Brahman astrologers expert[10] in house-building proceeded to worship (at) all those five places (also?).[11]

On the second of the waxing (half) of the month of Kārtik, the day (being) Monday,[12] the *sambeṅ grī*,[13] *sambeṅ leṅ, kalan yaṅ saṅ*,[14] (and)

[1] Cf. A 33 n. The proceedings narrated in A 33-47 occupied two hours, roughly 3 to 5 a.m.

[2] Reading and meaning doubtful: see note on the text. I imagine the reference must be to the back of the building, which in that case was probably the southern end of it.

[3] Owing to the fact that most of l. 2 and the first half of l. 3 cannot be deciphered, it is not certain whether these five places are all mentioned in the text as we now have it: perhaps the first of them has been lost. I do not profess to understand exactly what they all represent, but have endeavoured to translate literally. Cf. B 26 *seqq*.

[4] By "bathe," here and elsewhere, is no doubt meant a ceremonial lustration.

[5] Cf. A 38 n.

[6] I presume this is the meaning; not "(and) the experts." Cf. the variant formula in F 25-26, 30, 31-32, G 3, H 6, 12, 14, and also C 4, 10, 12, 33.

[7] Cf. A 16 n. [8] Cf. A 9 n. [9] Cf. A 38 n. [10] Cf. B 7 n.

[11] The reading is doubtful and the precise force of *wel* (if it is to be read here) is not absolutely determined. See I B 21 tr. n. and cf. III A 23, VIII A 21, 26, B 4, IX A 12.

[12] If the year in which these events happened is A.D. 1101, the particulars of this date do not fit. It appears that Kārttika, as a mean lunar month, was intercalated in that year and the second waxing of the intercalated Kārttika was a Thursday, that of the true Kārttika a Saturday.

[13] The same as *grī* in A 37, the two forms being used interchangeably in this inscription (there may sometimes be a doubt as to which reading is the true one). Cf. C. 33, F 21, 25, G 16, H 11.

[14] See A 37 n.

all the Brahman astrologers (l. 13) expert in house-building, with the Brâhmans who were to carry the litters, wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, *sukhūy ulār*, (and) *kuchom* skirts of white (colour).[1] Then (there were) a hundred and twenty-six Môns,[2] who carried[3] the vessels of copper (and) vessels (of earthenware, with[4] ?) white *kuchom* skirts; (l. 16) then (followed) two litters, (which were ?) adorned with white cloth[5] (and) shaded with white umbrellas. (On) both[6] the litters they laid[7] the vessels of gold (and) silver, the vessels of copper which they had carried, (and) the vessels (of earthenware ?), a hundred and twenty.[8] All those vessels they adorned with (l. 19) flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ*,[9] (and they) beat the foremost[10] drum.

Then the Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water . . . (and bathed ?)[11] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*[12] pillars, and all the other pillars, together with all the appurtenances.[13] Then (they arranged) the side pillars, (l. 22) the *yas* pillars, the *atas* pillars, and the other twelve pillars (together in) one place, the . . . . appurtenances[14] of the great pavilion (in) one place, (those of) the four *cindrow*[15] pavilions (in four ?) places, (those of) the ablution pavilion (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the *siṅghāsin*[12]

[1] The words in italics (all referring to articles of costume) have not been strictly determined. Cf. A 16 n. and I C 24 tr. n. It would appear that *kuchom* indicates a long flowing loincloth such as was used by princes and high officials in state ceremonials. The word *ulār* probably represents Pāli *uḷāra*, "noble, excellent" (used of fine clothes). It seems probable, though not absolutely certain, that the epithet "white" applies to all the articles of dress specified.

[2] The reading here is not absolutely certain, but Môns are represented in this inscription as playing a fairly prominent part in the ceremonial. The present instance is the earliest mention of them in this collection of records. Cf. B 42, G 23, H 12.

[3] The reading is supported by the occurrence of the same word two lines lower down. It means, in particular, "to carry on the shoulder." [4] Or, perhaps, "wearing."

[5] The word is the same as the one for "skirt" in the preceding line. The primary meaning seems to be "cloth," and the litters appear to have been covered with white cloth or drapery.

[6] The reading seems to be, literally, "all the two litters." Perhaps this means "all over the two."

[7] Or "set."

[8] It is not quite certain whether a full-stop should not be put after "silver" and a comma (instead of a full-stop) after "twenty." Also it is doubtful whether instead of "the vessels . . . . . twenty" we should not simply say "those vessels (were) a hundred and twenty," reading *ta* instead of *ti*.

[9] This phrase occurs also in G 29, J 7 and K 14, and probably C 24, D 20 and L 24: in all these cases the reading is more or less doubtful. Whether *brāc* stands for "plantain" (which is elsewhere spelt *brāt*) and is further defined by *kmow*, or whether we should read *kmoc*, possibly in the sense of "grass," whether the doubtfully read *da* at the end of the phrase is the particle *da* or goes with the somewhat doubtful *caḍūñ* to make up the name of some unidentified plant of which the leaves were used decoratively, are points which have not yet been determined satisfactorily. Conceivably *kmow* goes with *sla caḍūñ*, meaning "bunches of *caḍūñ* leaves." Cf. K 15 n.

[10] Or "the drum" (or "drums" ?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

[11] Or, perhaps, "wherewith to bathe." [12] Cf. A 8 n. [13] Or, perhaps, "ornaments."

[14] See the preceding note. [15] Cf. A 16 n.

(in) one place, (l. 25) the pillars of the front of the (audience hall ?)[1] (in) one place, the *juṅ dal* pillars[2] (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the middle of the (eastern ?)[3] side (in) one place, the pillars of the front of the middle of the western side (in one place ?), the pillars of the front of the middle (l. 28) of the side of the front gable-end (in) one place. (All the *clec*[4] of ?) the eastern side they arranged (in) one place, all the *clec* of the . . . . . [5] side they arranged (in) one place, all the *clec* of the western side, (and) all the *clec* of the side of the front gable-end, they arranged, each (in) one place.

(At) all these seventeen places they made a decoration of plantains[6] adorned[7] with young plantains (l. 32) (and) sugarcane, (and set ?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,[8] (and) spread mats, (with) golden flowers, altar oblations,[9] (and) altar candles. Having (arranged them ?), they made, in honour of Nārāyaṇa,[6] a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose,"[6] adorned[7] with (l. 35) young plantains (and) sugarcane, (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels[9] with candles stuck in it, (and) altar oblations, (and) they . . . . . (brought ?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, spread mats, (and) offered . . . .[10] golden flowers (and altar candles ?). Then the Brahman astrologers worshipped Nārāyaṇa.[6] At the[11] auspicious time . . . . . (l. 38) . . . . . ,[12] *godhulī* (being)

[1] This interpretation seems probable, if the reading can be relied on. Cf. H 43.

[2] Cf. A 9 n.

[3] The reading is doubtful, but seems highly probable. Cf. B 3 *seqq.*, a fairly parallel passage. Here, as there, I have merely attempted a literal translation, without having a very clear idea of what parts of the buildings are denoted by the several technical terms.

[4] A *clec* was apparently an addition placed in front of a building and forming a covered, two-roofed or three-roofed, arched entrance to the building. It differed from a portico in that the latter is generally placed at the centre of the frontage, while a *clec* occupied (sometimes) almost the entire frontage. However, they seem in some cases to have been very numerous, *e.g.* III C 12, where, however, the reference seems to be to a number of distinct portions or sections of a building, each crowned with multiple superimposed roofs. Cf. also IX R 4, S 2, 14.

[5] The illegible word (or probably two words) would appear to be the same as in B 4.

[6] Cf. A 2 n. [7] Cf. A 3 n.

[8] I am inclined to think that the shells (or shell) contained water with grains of rice (that is white husked rice) and *dubbā* grass (L.M. *dajip*) in it. Another view is that the shell rested on a layer of grains of rice and throws doubt on the interpretation "*dubbā* grass." But some of the places where the latter word is mentioned seem to favour that interpretation. See particularly D 33, 34, 38, 40, 41. In the last three it would appear that flour (presumably mixed with water) was stirred with leaves of this grass for ceremonial purposes.

[9] Cf. A 4 n. [10] Cf. A 38 n.

[11] Or "an," if the precise time is not mentioned: the reading of the next few words is doubtful.

[12] It is doubtful whether, after "time," we should go on with "(and) beat the foremost drum," or with "at the stroke of four *pahir*, at sunset." See the note on the text.

lagna,[1] the expert[2] Brahman astrologers bathed[3] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars,[4] applying[5] water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver . . . . . (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[6] After that, they bathed . . . . . (l. 41) . . . . . (and) all the rest of the pillars (and) appurtenances.[7]

Then . . . . . (there was ?) Burmese singing, Môn singing,[8] *tircul* (?)[9] singing, ... singing . . . . .

(which were covered with ?)[1] white cloth (and) shaded with white umbrellas. The Brahmans who carried the litters (l. 27) wore *sukhūy cindrow*[2] (and carried javelins[3] and ?) went (in front ?). After that, ... the . . . . .[4] Brahmans went in front. (Then ?) they[5] went (and) drew water; and when the water had arrived, they arranged it.[6]

On the sixth (l. 30) waxing of the month of Phallagun, the day (being) Monday, (at) two *nāḍī*[7] precisely, they made (in honour of Nārāyaṇa ?)[8] a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose" adorned[9] with young plantains (and) sugarcane, spread mats, (and) offered[10] golden flowers, altar candles (and) altar oblations.[11] Then (l. 33) the *sambeṅ grī, sambeṅ leṅ, kalan yaṅ saṅ*,[12] (and) the expert[13] Brahman astrologers, wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, (and) *sukhūy ulār*, with *kuchom*[14] skirts of white. Then they went (and) worshipped (Nārāyaṇa ?).[15] (At) all the ten points[16] (l. 36) they made decorations of plantains adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane (and presented ?)[17] golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations.[11] Water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water in conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,[18] they arranged in readiness.[19]

At the auspicious time of two *nāḍī*, two *pāt*,[20] precisely, (l. 40) the Brahman astrologers offered[21] . . . .[22] golden flowers (and) altar candles, brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass, (and) sprinkled (and)

[1] Fairly certain. [2] Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

[3] The rendering is conjectural. There is no word for "carried," so far as I can see. I assume that the reading is *kdeṅ bnas* as in E 2 (E 33 *bnas kdeṅ*, F 48 *bnas kdāṅ*), which may be connected with L.M. *bnuh kaṇḍāṅ* (and *kanhāṅ*), "a kind of spear" (probably a "forked spear," I suppose with more than one point). Possibly it might mean that "the javelin men went in front," particularly if one read *goṅ*, "brave," instead of *kdeṅ*. But I do not favour this interpretation or reading.

[4] The word defining the particular kind of Brahmans here referred to is illegible.

[5] Probably = "people," not the Brahmans who carried the litters, though it may have been.

[6] Presumably in some definite place or places.

[7] This would apparently be about 6-32 a.m. on Monday, 24th February, or alternatively about 7-4 p.m. At the former hour the sixth waxing (which began 6 hours 52 minutes after mean sunrise) was not current, at the latter it was. See A 33 n.

[8] Cf. A 2 n. [9] Cf. A 3 n. [10] Or "set"; cf. A 38 n. [11] Cf. A 4 n.

[12] Cf. A 37 n. [13] Cf. B 7 n. [14] Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

[15] Cf. A 2 n. Here the reading is quite certain and only the interpretation is in doubt. It is possible that *nār*, when used after *lhor*, "to worship," is merely an auxiliary verb. But then, that interpretation will not fit the cases of *nār* coming after the preposition *han*, "to," "in honour of," and such a case occurred only four lines back. On the whole I incline to the Vishnu interpretation.

[16] Usually the reference is to eight points of the compass together with the zenith and nadir; perhaps it can be taken here in a less precise sense.

[17] Doubtful reading and meaning.

[18] Cf. B 33 n.

[19] Or "arranged near by."

[20] A *pāt* is one-fourth of a *nāḍī*, *i.e.* six minutes.

[21] Or "set"; cf. A 38 n.

[22] Cf. A 38 n.

worshipped[1] (at) all the ten points. Then (they) levelled[2] (l. 43) the ground (and) fixed the pegs.[3] At that time, too, they pounded *ginhāl*[4] (in order to spread ?)[5] the *biñcal*[6] of the pillars.

At the auspicious time of (one *pahir*, one ?)[7] *nāḍī*, precisely, they . . . . . the . . . . . .[8] of the pillars (l. 46) and they . . . . . At that auspicious time, too, they brought

D

. . . . . .
. . . . . (water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver ?)
. . . . . (l. 4) . . . . . (Then the Brahman astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass ?).[9] They . . . . . .
. . . . . (l. 7) . . . . (*nāḍī* ?) . . . . . (scholars ?). . . . . .
. . . . . they . . . . . .
. . . . . brought . . . . . (leaves and ?) *dubbā* grass . . . . . (l. 10) . . . . . .
. . . . (the Brahmans ?) . . . . . .
. . . . . Then they . . . . . .
. . . . . (brought ?) . . . . . (l. 13)
. . . . . (writing ?) . . . . . they wrote.

At the auspicious time . . . . . (other ?) . . . . . (monks who were to ?) recite the *paritta*[10] (around ?) all (the four ?) sides (and the *siṅghāsin*,[11] arranged within it ?).[12] On the . . . . . th[13] waxing of the month of Phallagun, the day (being Friday (l. 16) they ?) brought water (in) the vessels of gold (and) silver, they (entered and sprinkled on ?) the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas*[11] pillars (of ?) the

[1] Or "reverently sprinkled," taking *lhor* as used by way of auxiliary. The meaning of the word *sān* before *rumbas*, "to sprinkle," has not been determined, however.

[2] Doubtful: see C 23 n.

[3] The reading is certain here, and the sense nearly certain.

[4] Perhaps *gindāl*. The meaning has not been determined.

[5] Reading doubtful. [6] Meaning undetermined. [7] Nearly certain.

[8] The sense of *khāl sindra'* is undetermined. Cf. F. 4, 5.

[9] Up to here all is more or less conjectural. Cf. B 32, 33.

[10] Cf. A 14 n. [11] Cf. A 8 n.

[12] Or, perhaps, "kept watch within it."

[13] Presumably the "ninth," Friday, 28th February, A.D. 1102.

siṅghāsin, and all the other pillars. That day too, at an auspicious time after two *pahar*, they went (and drew water ?) . . . . . (writing ?) (l. 19) . . . . . (silk mat which ?)[1] . . . . . (Then they brought ?) eight vessels of gold, eight vessels of silver, a hundred and eight vessels of copper, (and) a hundred and eight vessels of earthenware. (In ?) the mouths of these vessels they (stuck flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ* ?).[2] Then they brought the vessels of gold (and) vessels of silver, (and) they laid (them) (l. 22) (upon four litters,[3] which ?) they adorned with white cloth (and) which they shaded with white umbrellas. Then the Brahmans, who carried the litters, all wore *sukhūy cindrow*.[4] The vessels of copper (and) vessels of earthenware, (they ?) . . . . . :.[5] (to) the Burmese who (bore swords[6] and who ?) carried . . . . . .[7] Those who carried (them) (l. 25) (wore ?) white *kuchom*[8] (skirts ?) (and) white hair bands.

Then the Brahman astrologers (who ?) . . . . (went ?) in front. (Then they went ?) (and) drew water. (The water having ?) arrived, they went in (and) arranged (it) in front of (the place where they were to write ?)[9] (l. 28) . . . . . At that auspicious time, too, (all ?) . . . . . .[10] (they ?) were to give (as) offerings (to Indra and[11] all ?) the gods, they made, and gave (as) offerings . . . .[11] the statues of Buddha (that are ?) in this city of Pagan, (both ?) . . . . . (and ?) . . . . (with) (l. 31) candles, (fried grain ?),[12] oblations,[13] (and musical instruments ?),[14] that day, too, they worshipped all.[15] (Then ?) (they) (gave offerings of treasure ?)[16] . . . . . (and set them in the ?) three places.

[1] Very doubtful. Possibly the meaning of *sut* here is Sutta. But even the reading is doubtful.
[2] Cf. B 19 n., C 25 n. [3] Cf. B 17 n. [4] Cf. A 16 n.
[5] The meaning of *ginlas* (or *ginlus*) has not been determined and there is a short word missing before it.
[6] The meaning is very doubtful, but seems more likely if it is possible to read *sindraṅ*. For "sword" Haswell gives L.M. *sjaṅ*. In Myazedi 29, *sinraṅ* means "act, deed," which seems inappropriate here. Could *rap sinraṅ* possibly mean "had charge of the works" ? Cf. F 23, 24, H 44.
[7] Meaning and reading of *dakep* are doubtful: in L.M. the word means "tongs."
[8] Cf. B 14 n.
[9] Or, perhaps, "in front of the three places"; cf. D 32.
[10] Probably the missing word refers to some kind of offerings to be used in the worship of these divinities. [11] The reading is doubtful here: see the text.
[12] Or "parched rice," a recognised form of offering, L.M. *baka*. [13] Cf. A 4 n.
[14] Very doubtful, though both *klo'* and *twiṅ* are used elsewhere in this connexion. It might mean that the ritual of offering was accompanied by instrumental music.
[15] Or, perhaps, "they worshipped everywhere," or "they performed all the rites of worship."
[16] The order is peculiar, the object preceding the verb. But as no subject is expressed and the object is expressed by two words (perhaps to be rendered "offerings and treasure") the order may be justified. Still, the *lacuna* throws doubt on the rendering.

At the auspicious time of four *nāḍī*, precisely,[1] they (pounded ?) the *dubbā* grass with all manner of fragrant perfumes. At six *nāḍi*, precisely, they put in (l. 34) the *dubbā* grass (and ?) . . . . . .[2] all the fragrant perfumes. At one *pahir*, precisely, they stuck up two white umbrellas for[3] the pillars of the two sides, one white umbrella for[3] the *yas* pillars, (and) one white umbrella for[3] the *atas*[4] pillars. (Then ?) the Brahman (l. 37) astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[5] Then (they) recited[6] (and) sprinkled. Then (they stirred ?)[7] with *dubbā* grass (and rice meal ?)[8] . . . . . the holes (for) the side pillars, and the holes (for) the *yas* pillars, and the holes (for) the *atas* pillars (l. 40) (of ?) the *siṅghāsin*,[4] they (stirred ?) with leaves of *dubbā* grass (and rice meal ?). Then they proceeded to bring . . . . . (and) proceeded to (stir ?). . . . . (stirred ?) the *dubbā* grass (and rice meal together ?). Rice (grains) . . . . . they put in at all the sides.[9]

The tenth waxing of the month of Phallagun, (l. 43) the day (being) Saturday, at the auspicious time of one *pahar*, six *nāḍī*, (Taurus ? being) *lagna*,[10] (thereupon) our lord the Chief Monk Arahan and all the exalted (ones[11] of the Church ?) . . . . . all . . . . . .

[1] Cf. A 33 n. As "two *pahar*" was mentioned in D 18, we must, I suppose, assume that the times now specified are after sunset. [2] Reading and meaning doubtful, perhaps "applied."
[3] Or "on." [4] Cf. A 8 n. [5] Cf. B 33 n.
[6] *I.e.* some form of ritual. The sprinkling was, of course, part of the ritual used in consecrating the building operations. Cf. C 42 n.
[7] Rendering doubtful. I assume that *girkar* is the L.M. *dakuiw*, *thakuiw*, but am not certain of it.
[8] Not quite certain, but assumed to be L.M. *wuih*, usually applied to broken rice steeped in water for milling or pounding, and to the batter or flour-like product. A sort of rice porridge, in fact. The Malay *tĕpong tawar*, a mixture of fine rice flour and water used in magical lustration ceremonies for averting evil influences and sprinkling on objects to be consecrated, is closely analogous. It is applied by means of a bundle of leaves.
[9] There are so many *lacunae* and doubtful passages in the above account that the details of the procedure are by no means clear. Provisionally I am disposed to think that it all refers to the places where the holes for receiving the bases of the various pillars were sunk. Into these holes the different substances, perfumes, etc., were probably put and stirred with bundles of *dubbā* grass (the rice porridge being added while this was being done).
[10] Presumably Saturday, 1st March 1102. The lunar date, "tenth waxing," ended about 10-45 a.m. that morning. If, as is to be supposed, the time mentioned is 5 hours 24 minutes after observed sunrise, that would make it about 11-11 a.m. mean time. Aries was *laṅna* (*i.e.* on the eastern horizon) till 11-45 a.m., when Taurus became *lagna*. It is possible that we ought to read *mesa*, "Aries," not *brisa*, "Taurus," but the latter seems to be indicated by the blurred and broken letters on the ink-impressions.
[11] Probably merely honorific for monks in general, not necessarily some that were more exalted than their fellows.

E

. . . . . At the (auspicious ?) time of . . . . . *pahir*, (three ?) *nāḍī* (precisely ?) . . . . . (carried javelins went in front (and) beat drums ?)[1] . . . . . pillars. . . . . (l. 4) (went (and) drew water ?) . . . . . (the *snāl*[2] ?) of the pillars, (they) . . . . . They made a decoration of plantains adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane,[3] (l. 7) spread mats, (and offered) golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations,[4] . . . . . (when the water ?)[5] had (arrived ?), ... (l. 10) . . . . . (Then ?) the Brahman astrologers (brought ?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water (in conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned ?) rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[6] Then (they) recited[7] (and) sprinkled, and bathed all (l. 13) . . . . . (the *snāl* ?) of the pillars. Thereafter, (they) spread mats (and offered ?) . . . . . [8] golden flowers (and) altar candles.

At the time of (dawn ?)[9] (on) Monday[10] . . . . (they (l. 16) pounded with stones ?)[11] all (the *snāl* ?) of the pillars.[12] At that time, too, (they erected ?)[13] . . . . . (the pillars at ?)[13] all the four sides. (The) . . . . . (side ?) . . . . . all the pillars . . . . . (l. 19) . . . . . the pillars . . . . . the pillars of the ablution pavilion[14]: all (those pillars ?) they . . . . . .

At full moon of the month of Phalagun, the day (being) Thursday (l. 22), (at one ?) *nāḍī* precisely,[15] they prepared[16] gold, they applied[17] (it ?)

[1] Cf. E 27 n. Here, too, no word for "carried" is legible. As to *klo'*, cf. VIII A 6 n. and the passages cited in IX A 10 n.

[2] The meaning of *snāl* here and in E 13, 16, has not been determined. One would suppose that it was something that was "spread" (*sāl*) over the surface of the pillars, perhaps a coating or covering of some sort. [3] Cf. A 3 n. [4] Cf. A 4 n.

[5] Conjectural, but probable, as a similar formula is used repeatedly elsewhere. However, the Brahmans bring water in the very next line, so it may be something else (or some person) that "arrived." [6] Cf. B 33 n. [7] Cf. C 42 n., D 38 n.

[8] As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one.

[9] Cf. C 12 n. [10] This would be 3rd March, but details are lacking.

[11] Or, perhaps, "pounded the stones of the *snāl*," if stone entered into the composition of the latter (E 4 n.). But the reading is also not beyond doubt.

[12] Or, perhaps, "the *snāl* of all the pillars." [13] The reading is doubtful. [14] Cf. A 8.

[15] The moment of the full moon of Phālguna occurred on Wednesday, 5th March 1102, at 7 hours 56 minutes after mean sunrise, *i.e.* 1-56 p.m. It could not be connected with Thursday. "One *nāḍī*" points to 6-11 a.m. Presumably the day was Thursday, 6th March, at 6-11 a.m., the morning following full moon.

[16] Or "made ready." But cf. C 39 n. I take this "gold" to be gold leaf for coating the pillars.

[17] Presumably by coating the pillars with it. But the *lacuna* leaves the meaning somewhat uncertain.

. . . . . on the *yas*[1] pillars. That day, too, (at two ?) *pahir*, (three ?) *nāḍī*, (they) put in[2] the (*yas* ?)[3] pillars. (At ?) that time, (l. 25) too, (they) bathed . . . . . .[4] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*[5] pillars, and all the other pillars. Then the (*saṅkrān* ?)[6] Brahmans decorated litters (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. (l. 28) Upon the litters they laid[7] vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) vessels of copper which they carried, thirty-three (of them).[8] The Brahmans who carried the litters wore (their ?)[9] *sukhāy cindrow*,[10] (l. 31) together with white *kuchom*[11] skirts (and) white hair bands.

Then the (*dakṣān* ?) Brahman astrologers[12] . . . . . (girdles (?)[13] and javelins[14] and) went (and) beat the foremost[15] drum, and then went (and) drew water. (l. 34) (After they had ?)[16] gone (and) drawn the water, they made, for[17] the pillars, decorations of plantains[18] (making) thirty-seven booths,[19] spread thirty-seven mats, (and offered) water (l. 37) (in) a hundred and forty-eight vessels, thirty-seven golden flowers, thirty-seven altar candles, thirty-seven altar oblations,[20] (and) water (in) the thirty-seven conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned (l. 40) rice (and) *dubbā* grass[21]; to Nārāyaṇa[22] (they offered)

[1] Cf. A 8 n.

[2] Presumably into the holes made to receive their bases.

[3] Or *atas*? There is a *lacuna* here.

[4] The meaning of *thiwās* has not been determined: the word occurs again, in a similar context, in E 45. One view is that it means "(and) swept," L.M. *twah*, but this would normally correspond with an E.M. form in *-as*, not *-ās*. Perhaps it denotes some part of a pillar.

[5] Cf. A 8 n. [6] Cf. A 12 n. [7] Cf. B 17 n.

[8] I think the translation is right, but it does not seem clear whether there were thirty-three vessels in all, or thirty-three of each sort, or merely thirty-three copper ones, the number of the gold and silver ones being left to the imagination. Further, it might be possible to render the passage: "Upon the litters they laid the vessels of gold (and) silver. The vessels of copper which (they) carried were thirty-three (in number)." If we assume that the stop after *sreñ* is wrong, one might with less hesitation adopt the version given in the translation. [9] See the note on the text.

[10] Cf. A 16 n. and I C 24 tr. n. [11] Cf. B 14 n.

[12] The reading and meaning of *dakṣān* are doubtful: possibly "of the right," or "of Southern India." In this place the word for "astrologer" for once precedes the word for "Brahman," contrary to the usual order observed in the inscription.

[13] The reading and meaning of the word left out before "girdles" being doubtful, some doubt is also thrown on the latter. The last part of it might possibly be the L.M. *khalā*, "to lean on," and not "girdle" (*mekhalā*) at all. If the version adopted is right, the missing word probably meant something like "were girt with" or "wore."

[14] Cf. C 27 n. [15] Or "the drum" (or "drums"?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

[16] The meaning of *kindrow* is not quite certain, but I connect the word with *krow*, "behind, after" (F 17), and *krāw*, probably "hereafter" (VIII A 30, B 1, 2).

[17] That is, I presume, "in honour of," not that the pillars were necessarily to be housed in the booths; though, for aught I know, they may have been. [18] Cf. A 3 n.

[19] Literally, "dwellings." I suppose small decorative sheds are indicated. The word is used here like a sort of numeral coefficient following after *brāt cindran*. Cf. H 10 n.

[20] Cf. A 4 n. [21] Cf. B. 33 n. [22] Cf. A 2 n.

mats,[1] golden flowers, altar candles, (and) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with candles stuck in it.[2]

All these they arranged (and) placed (l. 43) in readiness[3]; (and) when the water which they had gone to draw, had arrived, at the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,[4] they bathed . . . . . [5] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas*[6] (l. 46) pillars, and all the other pillars around all the four sides. At that time, too, (they) applied . . . . . [7] . . . . . (At that time, too, ?) . . . . . .

F

. . . . . (On the . . . . . waning?), the day (being) Friday, too, at one *nāḍī*, (Pisces being *lagna*?)[8] . . . . . the palace. (In) each place (l. 3) they buried gold leaf, silver leaf, (and) copper leaf. (In) all the ten places they thus buried gold leaf, silver leaf (and) copper leaf, all three in each case.[9] That day, too, they . . . . . [10] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas*[6] pillars. Then they . . . . . [11] all the other (l. 6) pillars. At that time, too, they wrapped the bases of the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars; they spread gold leaf, silver leaf, (and) copper leaf (on them). (On) all those pillars they spread (them in) three layers equalling in extent the whole bottom[12] of the pillars. They wrapped (the bases of the pillars) with cloth whereon they (l. 9) wrote a "writing of success."[13] The thread wherewith they bound up the pillars, tender maidens, young damsels,[14] daughters of Brahmans, had spun (it and) made

[1] Cf. A 22 n. [2] Cf. A 5 n. [3] Cf. C 39 n., E 22 n.
[4] Cf. A 12 n. [5] Cf. E 25 n. [6] Cf. A 8 n.

[7] Cf. E 22 n. If the doubtful reading *mat* is right, *lak* may mean "(they) inlaid jewels." But it is not clear that the word here is not the same as the one at the end of E 22, which does not seem to be *mat*.

[8] On Friday, 7th March 1102, which was the second waning of Phālguna, Pisces (*mīna*) was *lagna* till 7-6 a.m. "One *nāḍī*" after observed (or true) sunrise would be 6-11 a.m. Cf. A 12 n., 33 n.

[9] I take this to be the force of the doubled *pumpi*, if that is the true reading.

[10] The sense of *khāl* has not been determined: cf. C 45 n., E 5.

[11] Cf. the last note.

[12] In I 4 25 *kintāl* (L.M. *gatā*) is applied to the soles of the feet. Whether it here means the under surface of the base of each pillar or includes the whole surface of such base, I am not quite sure.

[13] The text has *jeyyalekha*, of which this seems to be a possible meaning. (Another is "record of victory.") I presume that some auspicious formula is indicated.

[14] Perhaps one should add "of high degree," in order to bring in the associations of the word *kumārī*.

(it on) a hundred and eight spools.[1] Then the Brahman astrologers recited[2] (and) sprinkled, and after that they bound up the pillars.

That day, too, at three *nāḍī* precisely, Pisces (being) *lagna*,[3] they set up the pillars of the two sides (l. 13), the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars (of?) the *siṅghāsin*,[4] (vertically in their holes?).[5] That day, too, at one *pahar*,[6] six *nāḍī*, the lord abounding in piety[7] rode on an elephant. From . . . . . [8] in front of the Jetawan[9] (he) made the elephant enter in front of the . . . . . [10] of Pagan (l. 16) within the (lower?)[11] walls. The palanquin men with the (riding?) litters entered behind the riding elephants.[12] (Alongside of?) the leading elephant, (went) a white elephant named Erāwan(a)-mahāwijeyyabajrabhūm, which was completely arrayed with all (sorts of) ornaments made of shining gold (l. 19) set with gems of divers kinds, on both sides, (and) a riding horse completely arrayed with ornaments (and) trappings of shining gold, set with gems of divers kinds (appertaining thereto?).[13] All the *sambeṅ grī*, *sambeṅ leṅ*, (l. 22) (and) *kalan yaṅ saṅ*,[14] both those who came with our lord the king of the Law,[15] and those who bore

[1] Or, conceivably, "(of) 108 strands," which practically comes to the same thing. For "wherewith they bound up" one might perhaps say "which they wound round," if the thread is conceived as apart from and used to bind the cloth. [2] Cf. C 42 n., D 38 n.
[3] Cf. F 2 n. "Three *nāḍī*" would be about 6-59 a.m. [4] Cf. A 8 n.

[5] The meaning of *han tiṅgūr* has not been absolutely determined; I assume *tiṅgūr* to be connected with the *tugur* (or *tugūr*) of III C 15 and L.M. *ḍagū*, "straight." [6] Cf. A 33 n.

[7] That is, the king: he has the same title in I D 44; and cf. also I A 9. We may assume that this was a courtly formula, like "our most religious and gracious king," "his gracious Majesty," and the like.

[8] The meaning of *diṇḍār* (or *riṇḍār*?) has not been determined. It seems barely possible that it may be the L.M. *kanā*, *kaṇā*, "shed," "pavilion," but I am not prepared to accept this identification without further evidence.

[9] No doubt a building, and probably a monastery, named after the historical one where Buddha sometimes resided: cf. I A 15. It is mentioned again in IX G 22.

[10] The meaning of *raṅ kinlūṅ* has not been determined. It may refer to some building (as, apparently, does the word *raṅ* in G 48), perhaps a reception hall, and that seems to be the more likely interpretation. On the other hand we may be tempted to compare the *raṅ tlūṅ* of VIII A 10 (where it appears to mean "came," though the passage is unfortunately preceded by a *lacuna*) and of IX A 14 (where it certainly means "brought"): cf. L.M. *raṅ kluṅ*, "to go out to meet," *raṅ kluṅ naṅ*, "to bring." In that case it might possibly mean that the king rode his elephant in front of the concourse of the people of Pagan who had come to attend him. But in that case one would have expected a word for "people."

[11] The reading is doubtful but probable.

[12] Or "elephant," there being no plural particle, so that it may refer exclusively to the elephant on which the king rode. But then, why style him "the leading elephant" immediately afterwards, if there were no other riding elephants? Possibly *kinta* may mean merely that alongside the king's riding elephant, "which led the procession," came the white elephant and the caparisoned horse.

[13] I take *cuhāṅ* to be the L.M. *cheṅ*. Perhaps, however, we should translate: "With the leading elephant . . . . . went alongside." It seems highly probable that the white elephant and the horse were in fact led alongside of the leading elephant, the one on the right and the other on the left. [14] Cf. A 37 n. [15] Cf. I G 3.

swords,[1] all wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow*, *sukhūy ulār*, *kuchom* skirts, (and) white hair bands.[2] Then those who bore swords,[1] the *sambeṅ* (l. 25) *grī*, *sambeṅ leṅ*, *kalan yaṅ saṅ*, *trāp duṁsac*, *kla pnāñ*,[3] (and) the Brahman astrologers, who were versed in house-building,[4] wore loincloths, *sukhūy cindrow* (and) *sukhūy ulār*, (adorned ?)[5] with all (sorts of) ornaments, together with white skirts, white *kuchom*, (and) white hair bands. (They) offered (l. 28) . . . . . .[6] golden flowers (and) altar candles, (they) made obeisance[7] (and) asked a boon[8] from our lord King Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarāja, abounding in piety,[9] . . . . . .[10] Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building went (and) worshipped Nārāyaṇa[11] in the ancient manner,[12] and (l. 31) offered[6] water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building all came (and) (made lustrations ?),[13] putting the *paritta*[14] water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver in the holes,[15] and put five (sorts of) gems (in each of ?)[16] the holes, together with boiled rice (and) fresh (l. 34) milk.[17] Then (they) sounded all the drums . . . . . blew . . . . . ,[18] (and) all the host shouted.[19]

[1] Doubtful interpretation. Cf. D 24 n.

[2] It seems possible that "white" may apply to all these articles of apparel; as to which, cf. B 14 n.

[3] It is possible that *trāp* goes with *saṅ*; and if *saṅ* stands for "clergy," *trāp* may mean "of the Lord," *i.e.* "of Buddha." Alternatively, *trāp duṁsac* may mean "the chiefs of the *duṁsac*." But as the sense of *duṁsac* (or *ruṁsac*) has not been determined, the point remains in doubt. Cf. H 34, 44. The next two words, literally "tigers of the army," presumably denote military officers.

[4] Cf. B 7 n.

[5] The reading and meaning are almost certain, and they make good sense. Cf. G 25.

[6] Cf. A 38 n.

[7] Or, perhaps, "worshipped." But from its close juxtaposition with the next word ("asked") I think it must be inferred that the two are to be taken together and *lṅor* here merely indicates the respectful manner and attitude accompanying the making of a request to a royal personage.

[8] Or, perhaps, "permission, authority." It would depend on the meaning of the words left untranslated, *infra*.

[9] Cf. F 14 n.

[10] The reading and meaning of *birboy salār* are doubtful. It has been suggested that they mean that the king was asked as to "where they should place" the offerings mentioned in the preceding line. If the true reading is *satap* (not *salār*), presumably the meaning is that the king was really and truly pious (cf. L.M. *satap*, "upright, righteous") and we might render the phrase, "in accordance with righteousness."

[11] Cf. A 2 n.

[12] Taking the reading *tuṁlā* to be for *tuṁlār*, this seems to be the meaning, unless it can be interpreted by "as before."

[13] The force of *sān* is undetermined: cf. C 42 n. The word is generally accompanied by *rumbas*, *ruṁbas*, "to sprinkle," but that does not suffice to decide its meaning.

[14] Cf. A 14 n. and C 7.

[15] No doubt the holes made to receive the bases of the pillars. I imagine that the water was poured or sprinkled into these holes, and to make that clearer I have put "from" vessels of gold and silver.

[16] The reading is not quite, but nearly, certain.

[17] Perhaps the boiled rice was boiled in the fresh milk. But cf. F 41 n.

[18] Cf. A 11 n. To this must be added that *guṁriṅ* means "to make a noise," and *mhāsār*, "a great sound."

[19] Rather doubtful, but one does not see what else it can mean. Cf. K 7.

At the auspicious time of two *pahir*, Hasta (being) the lunar mansion (and) Gemini (being) *lagna*,[1] (they) built up the side pillars, (l. 37) the *yas* pillars, (and) the *atas* pillars.[2] On the lotus bases of those pillars they wound white cloth. Then, the *juṅ dal*[3] pillars, the pillars of the great pavilion, the pillars of the four *cindrow*[4] pavilions, the pillars of the ablution pavilion,[5] and all the pillars, they bound up (l. 40) with white cloth, (and) having put the five (sorts of) gems and put boiled rice with fresh milk,[6] they built them all up. At the time of the building of the palace,[7] gifts (and) presents, (for example of ?)[8] gold, silver, pearls, (coral ?),[9] the seven (sorts of) jewels,[10] of divers (l. 43) kinds, they came (and presented ?)[11] . . . . . (to ?) King Śrī Tribhūwanādityadhammarāja . . . . . the palace of Jeyabhūm.[12] On (the pillars ?) . . . . . (l. 46) . . . . . (upon ?) the litters they laid[13] vessels of gold (and) silver, vessels of copper, vessels of earthenware (which they ?) carried, (and) the javelins[14] they arranged in readiness.[15] At the auspicious time . . . . . .

G

(offered boiled rice) in cup-shaped vessels together with candles,[16] offered[17] water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, spread mats, (and) offered . . . .[17]

[1] Cf. A 12 n., 33 n. The time was apparently six hours after true sunrise, *i.e.* about 11-47 a.m. On that day (cf. F 2 n.) Mithuna was *lagna* from 11-16 a.m. to 1-16 p.m., but the lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*) Hasta was no longer current, having ended at 3-30 p.m. on the preceding afternoon. This is one of the several cases in these dates which seem to throw some doubt on the correct identification of the year or the applicability of the reckoning employed. Cf. E 22 n.

[2] Cf. A 8 n. [3] Cf. A 9 n. [4] Cf. A 16 n. [5] Cf. A 8.

[6] Cf. F 34 n. But the reading here supports the translation given and is rather against the alternative suggested in the note.

[7] Or "while the palace was being built." I take *cruṅ* to be (at any rate primarily) a verb, though as such it may also perhaps be capable of being used as a verbal noun. Cf. G 19.

[8] Cf. I C 26. Literally the words seem to mean "beginning with," and the usage is parallel to that of the L.M. *ma patam*, *ma ptam*.

[9] Doubtful reading and meaning, but cf. L.M. *gwā*, *dwā*, and perhaps Pāli *pavāḷam*, from which the Môn forms may have been derived.

[10] Cf. III C 19, VIII A 15 tr. n.

[11] The reading is not quite certain, but nearly so.

[12] Cf. VIII A 2. [13] Cf. B 17 n. [14] Cf. IX C 27 n. [15] Cf. C 39 n.

[16] Cf. A 4 n. It would appear from that passage (and others there cited) that the candles were stuck in the vessels (probably in the rice which they contained). Here the words "offered boiled rice" are conjecturally inserted from the preceding line, which is missing.

[17] Cf. A 38 n.

golden flowers (and) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building worshipped Nārāyaṇa.[1] When (they) had worshipped Nārāyaṇa, (l. 4) at the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*[2] (they) beat drums . . . . . (and) blew . . . . . .[3] Then the Brahman astrologers went (and) bathed the side pillars, the *yas* pillars, the *atas* pillars,[4] the pillars of the pavilions, bathed[5] the pillars of the ablution pavilion, (l. 7) and all the pillars together. Having bathed (them), (they) spread mats, offered[6] golden flowers, altar oblations,[7] (and) altar candles, (and) worshipped[8] (at) all the pillars.

On Saturday the second waning, after three *pahir*,[9] the *sumbeṅ* (l. 10) *kaṅsāsūr, sumbeṅ rājirsūr, sumbeṅ ripusaddano, sumbeṅ mhāchattī, sumbeṅ prajñālaṅkār*,[10] and the Brahman astrologers, sprinkled with *paritta*[11] water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they dug holes wherein to bury four treasures (l. 13) at the four sides of the *yas* pillars: within four copper chests they put gold, silver, (and) all (sorts of) jewels of divers kinds, which (they) wrapped up with white cloth. At the auspicious time of three *pahar*, one (l. 16) *nāḍī*, (Cancer ?) being *lagna*,[12] all the *sumbeṅ grī, sumbeṅ leṅ, kalan yaṅ saṅ*,[13] (and) the Brahman astrologers, proceeded to sprinkle[14] with *paritta*[15] water (from) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then buried the four treasures (at) all four (l. 19) (sides ?).[16]

Also, (on ?) the days when the palace of Pagan was being built,[17] both (on) every holy[18] day of the waxing and (on) every holy day of the waning (moon), our lord the Chief Monk Arahan[19] with all the lords of the Church (l. 22) entered (and) dwelt inside the Jetawan.[20] From

[1] Cf. A 2 n. [2] Cf. A 12 n. [3] Cf. A 10 n., 11 n. [4] Cf. A 8 n.

[5] Cf. B 4 n. It is not clear whether the preceding word should be plural, and it seems possible to take the two together in the sense of "the bathing pavilion." But this does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere and appears to be a less probable rendering. [6] A 38 n. [7] Cf. A 4 n.

[8] Or "worshipped all the pillars." They may have made obeisance to the pillars after their ceremonial lustration and consecration, as mentioned above.

[9] Cf. A 33 n. This would be nine hours after actual sunrise, presumably. But Saturday, 8th March 1102, was the third waning, the second having ended at 1-13 p.m. the previous day.

[10] Some of these titles are doubtfully read: see the text and notes thereon, and cf. A 37 n.

[11] Cf. A 14 n.

[12] Cf. A 12 n., A 33 n. The *lagna* is doubtfully read.

[13] Cf. A 37 n. [14] Cf. C 42 n. [15] Cf. A 14 n.

[16] Conjecturally restored on the analogy of F 13. In both places the word (*dis*) refers primarily to the four quarters, the four principal points of the compass (or rather of the heavens).

[17] Cf. F 41. Here the word *cruṅ* seems to be used distinctly as a verb.

[18] That is, the *uposatha* days, of which there are four in a lunar month: the eighth waxing, full moon, eighth waning, and new moon.

[19] Cf. A 6 n. [20] Cf. F 15 n.

sunset of the day that (they) entered (and) dwelt there, children[1] of Môn chiefs and children of . . . . . chiefs . . . . . (and) the scholars wore (l. 25) *sukhūy cindrow*[2] adorned[3] (with) all (sorts of) ornaments, together with white skirts, white *kuchom*,[4] (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. Upon (the litters they laid ?)[5] (l. 28) vessels of gold (and) silver and vessels of copper (and) earthenware which they (carried ?).[6] In the mouths of these vessels they stuck flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ*.[7] Then they beat the foremost[8] drum. Then the children of the chiefs,[9] with the scholars (l. 31) (and) *yaṅ saṅ*,[10] went (and) drew water. When the water (had arrived),[11] they arranged water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,[12] they arranged (it) at the houses[13] where the (l. 34) *paritta*[14] was to be recited.

At the time of midnight, our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, with the lords of the Church who were to recite the *paritta*, entered (and) dwelt in the houses where the *paritta* was to be recited. Then (l. 37) the children of the chiefs[15] brought water (in) the vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) the conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass, (and) reverently presented (it to) each (of them). Then the scholars and *yaṅ saṅ*[16] (l. 40) offered . . . .[17] golden flowers (and) altar candles, (and) reverently asked for[18] the *paritta*. When (they) had reverently (asked for it), then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan with the exalted (ones)[19] of the Church recited the *paritta*. When (they) had recited the *paritta*, (l. 43) then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, with the exalted (ones) of the Church who had also recited the *paritta*, brought *paritta* water (in) conch shells with[20] cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass. (l. 46) Then (they) entered

[1] Presumably sons of chiefs or notables are meant. But the phrase might be interpreted to mean leading men of Môn race (not merely their sons). Immediately afterwards one would expect Burmese to be mentioned, but the reading (which is not clear) does not seem to admit of this.

[2] Cf. B 14 n. [3] Cf. F 26. [4] Cf. B 14 n.

[5] The reading, though not quite clear, must represent something of this kind. Cf. B 17 n.

[6] Probable, as being supported by parallel passages: cf. B 15, 18, E 29, F 48.

[7] Cf. B 19 n. [8] Or "the drūm" (or "drums"?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n.

[9] Cf. G 24 n. [10] Or "the *yaṅ saṅ* scholars"? But cf. A 37 n.

[11] A restoration supported by several parallel passages. [12] Cf. B 33 n.

[13] Or "house"; but in view of G 36 I think the plural must be intended, though there is no plural particle here. [14] Cf. A 14 n

[15] Cf. G 24 n. [16] Cf. G 31 n. [17] Cf. A 38 n.

[18] Or "made obeisance (and) asked," as I have rendered it at F 28. They would, of course, make the usual obeisance to such a high ecclesiastical dignitary.

[19] Cf. D 44 n. [20] Literally, "which were with."

(and) sprinkled (and) scattered (it broadcast ?)[1] around (all the four ?) sides of the palace. Then they went out from thence. Then they stopped in front of the hall.[2] Then they gave *paritta* water (to ?) . . . . . .

H

. . . . . (arranged ?) a decoration of plantains[3] for[4] the side pillars, the *yas* pillars (and) the *atas* pillars (of ?) the *siṅghāsin*,[5] for the pillars of the ablution pavilion, for the *juṅ dal* pillars,[6] (and) for (the pillars of the four pavilions.[7] At ?) each of (these ?) (they) spread mats, (offered ?)[8] golden (flowers ?),[9] altar candles, (and) altar (l. 4) oblations.[10] They arranged water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) (water) (in) (the ?) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[11] At the auspicious time of (one ?) *pahir*, one *nāḍī*, precisely, then the Brahman astrologers, who were versed in house-building, brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (l. 7) (and) water (in) conch shells, which they arranged (on the ground. Then they ?)[12] sprinkled[13] all the pillars. After that, they offered . . . .[14] golden flowers (and) altar candles (everywhere ?).[15]

On that Sunday, too, at the auspicious time of one *pahir*, (two ?)[16] *nāḍī*, precisely, (l. 10) (they) worshipped Nārāyaṇa.[17] To the Nāgas[18] (they) made a decoration of plantains (for ?)[19] a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness ?)[20] golden flowers (and) altar oblations.[21] Then the *sambeṅ*

[1] The meaning of *rinṣāc* is undetermined. As regards the procedure, it seems likely that they sprinkled the water and scattered the grains of rice.

[2] Probably of the monastery, as I presume it to be, where they lodged on these occasions: cf. G 22.

[3] Cf. A 3 n.

[4] That is, "in honour of." Or it may be, "at" or "on," and so in the rest of this passage.

[5] Cf. A 8 n.

[6] Cf. A 9 n.

[7] Cf. A 8. Presumably these are the four *cindrow* pavilions of A 16, set at the four sides of the principal or great pavilion.

[8] Cf. A 38 n.

[9] The words in parentheses in the preceding passage are nearly certain.

[10] Cf. A. 4 n.

[11] Cf. B 33 n.

[12] Or, perhaps, "which they arranged around. Then they."

[13] Cf. C 42 n.

[14] As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one.

[15] Or, perhaps, "they all offered . . . . golden flowers (and) altar candles."

[16] The reading is doubtful. The date was presumably the fourth waning of Phālguna, 9th March 1102.

[17] Cf. A 2 n.

[18] The interpretation is not quite certain. Possibly the reference is to the cosmic dragon discussed in Halliday, *The Talaings*, pp. 25-27. But there is some appositeness in propitiating the Nāgas, as guardians of the realms below ground, when one is about to invade their domain by digging holes.

[19] The reading is doubtful, perhaps it should be *moy*, "one," in which case the words "dwelling place" would perhaps be toned down to the mere value of a numeral auxiliary. Cf. E 36 n.

[20] Cf. C 38 n. Here the alternative meaning "set near by" seems rather more likely.

[21] Cf. A 4 n.

gri, sambeṅ leṅ, (kalaṅ yaṅ saṅ ?),[1] the Burmese[2] Brahman astrologers versed in house-building, (and the Môn ones ?) versed in house-building, wore loincloths, (l. 13) *sukhūy cindrow*, (and) *sukhūy ulār*, with white *kuchom*[3] skirts (and) white hair bands. Then the Brahman astrologers versed in house-building offered[4] water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas. At that time, too, they put . . . . . sand on (l. 16) the places where (they) were to dig the holes for the pillars of the two sides, the *yas* pillars (and) the *atas* pillars (of ?) the *siṅghāsin*[5] and the places where (they) were to dig the holes for the pillars (on) all the faces of the four sides. Then the *sambeṅ prajñālaṅkār*[6] brought (a ?)[7] gold peg (fixed with seven ?)[8] silver cords. Then the Brahman astrologers, (having recited (l. 19) . . . . . ?),[9] offered[4] water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then the *sambeṅ prajñālaṅkār* (leant on ?)[10] (the peg ?) and having (leant on it ?) they (pressed ?)[11] the gold peg . . . . . (and) (patted ?)[12] the sand smooth.[13]

When they had (patted it ?) smooth, then the *sambeṅ prajñālaṅkar* (l. 22) brought gold leaf which (they ?) adorned with . . . . . (leaves of the red *bil*, and ?)[14] thread which (tender maidens ?),[15] young damsels,[16] daughters of Brahmans (had spun ?) . . . . . .[17] Then the *sambeṅ prajñālaṅkār* stuck . . . . . (with ?) . . . . . (l. 25). Then . . . . . .

[1] Cf. A 37 n. The reading here is supported by other passages and is almost certain.

[2] Alternatively, "the Brahman astrologers, the Burmese who (were) versed in house-building, (and the Môns ?) who (were) versed," etc. But on the whole it seems more likely that the version in the translation is right and that a distinction is being drawn between Brahmans of the Burmese part of the country and Brahmans of the Môn portion.

[3] Cf. B 14 n.

[4] Cf. A 38 n.

[5] Cf. A 8 n.

[6] Cf. A 37 n.

[7] The numeral is not quite certain, nor is it clear whether the word *tak* that immediately follows is to be taken to mean "fixed with," or possibly as a mere numeral auxiliary, in which case one would simply say "with."

[8] The word "seven" is not quite certain.

[9] Reading doubtful.

[10] I have assumed a connexion with L.M. *phalaṅ* (cf. *dacun balaṅ*), which is by no means certain. It has been suggested that the right meaning here is "pulled." All this also refers to the recurrence of the word in this same line.

[11] Doubtful reading and meaning. It has been suggested that the word means "pulled up" or "pulled out."

[12] It has been suggested that the phrase means that they "polished (the peg) smooth with sand." But in that case one would expect a preposition for "with." The word is repeated in this line.

[13] Or "level," and so below.

[14] Very doubtful. If rightly read, it is presumed that *bil* represents the *bilva* or *vilva*, L.M. *bi*, "Bengal quince." The epithet "red" is also doubtful.

[15] Doubtful, but it occurs in the parallel passage, F 10.

[16] Cf. F 10 n.

[17] Cf. F 10, from which the words "had spun," here illegible, have been supplied. From this point on there is a big gap affecting the text down to l. 31.

(a spade with a turned handle ?) [1] . . . . . the holes for the male [2] (l. 28) (side ?) pillars. Then . . . . . (a spade with a turned handle ?), they (asked of ?) [3] . . . . . (brought a spade with a turned handle ?) . . . . . the *yas* pillars.[4] When (they had built them up ?),[5] (l. 31) the *sambeṅ* (*leṅ* and *kalan*[6] and ?) all the Brahman astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water in conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass,[6] (and) sprinkled[7] on the places where (they) were to dig the holes for the male[8] side pillars.

Then the *sambeṅ prajñalaṅkār*, *sambeṅ* (l. 34) . . . . . ,[9] (and the chief ?)[10] architects, took the lead.[11] Next, the *kalan siy* dug the holes for the male side pillars. When the Brahman astrologers had sprinkled[12] on the places where they were to dig the holes for the female side pillars, the *kalan keṅ* dug. (l. 37) At the places for the holes of the *yas* pillars, the Brahman astrologers recited[13] (and) sprinkled,[12] and the *kalan sā* brought a spade with a turned handle[14] (and) dug.[15] They dug (and) excavated,[16] (giving twelve strokes ?)[17] (at) the four places (which they ?) dug (and) excavated, (giving one stroke at each place ?).[18] (l. 40) As they dug (and) excavated at the holes for the male side pillars, so also they dug (and)

1 See the note on the text. L.M. *but* means "to turn with a lathe." Conceivably *tar buuut* might mean "a drill," but in view of H 38 I think it is more likely to describe the kind of digging instrument or spade (*kwīr*) employed on this occasion.

2 In the *Lokasiddhi*, quoted in Halliday, *The Talaings*, pp. 24, 25, the principal posts of a house are named "king post," "queen post," "minister post," etc. In Burmese treatises on architecture these wooden pillars are distinguished as "male" and "female" timbers, the latter being somewhat larger at the bottom than at the top, whereas the former are of uniform thickness throughout, not tapering like the others. Probably this is also the distinction referred to here.

3 Doubtful reading. 4 Cf. A 8 n. 5 Doubtful reading, but cf. A 37 n.
6 Cf. B 33 n. 7 Cf. C 42 n. 8 Cf. H 27 n. 9 See the note on the text.
10 Cf. F 25 n. The present passage seems to support the second alternative suggested in that note. 11 Cf. A 20. 12 Cf. C 42 n.
13 Cf. H 19, where, however, the reading is not quite certain. 14 Cf. H 26 n.
15 It is curious that there is no conjunction or other word introducing *kir*. Could it be a mere numeral auxiliary here? That seems rather improbable.
16 L.M. *dacuim* appears to mean "to scratch up," *e.g.* earth in digging, so the pair of words really only means "to dig," though I have added "excavated." No doubt *kil*, "to give," which follows them, really adds nothing to the sense (any more than it does in H 40), but I have retained it in its primary meaning for convenience of rendering. 17 The meaning is not quite certain.
18 In this whole passage there is some doubt as to the reading, particularly the word "which" in H 39, and I am not quite sure what it really means. Are we to suppose that there were three persons, each of whom delivered a stroke of the spade at each of four different places? Or that twelve persons delivered, each of them, one stroke at each of the different places?

excavated at the holes for the female side pillars, at the holes for the *yas* pillars (and) at the holes for the *atas* pillars (of the ?) *siṅghāsin*,[1] (and) at the holes for the *atas* pillars of the audience (l. 43) hall.[2]

At that time, too, (at) all the sides, the Brahman astrologers recited (and) sprinkled.[3] Then the *sambeṅ* (and ?) *kalaṅ yaṅ saṅ* (and the ?) *trāp dumsac*[4] who bore swords[5] . . . . . they[6] also around all the fronts of the four sides (l. 46) . . . . . (beat ?) drums . . . . . blew . . . . . .[7] On that day, too, at one *pahir*, two (*nāḍī* ?)[8] . . . . . .

J

. . . . . .[9] the day (being) (Wednesday ?),[10] the *saṅkrān*[11] Brahmans (wore loincloths (l. 3) (and) *sukhūy cindrow* ?) together with (white *kuchom* ?)[12] skirts (and) white hair bands. (They) (decorated ?) litters with (white cloth and ?) shaded (them) with white umbrellas. Upon (the litters they ?) laid[13] (l. 6) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and earthenware, which they carried ?). In the mouths of these vessels they (stuck flowers of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍāñ* ?).[14] At the auspicious time (they went (and) beat ?) (l. 9) the foremost drum.[15]

Then the *saṅkrān* Brahmans went (and) drew water, (and) when the water had arrived, they made in honour of Nārāyaṇa[16] a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose"[17] adorned with young plantains (l. 12) (and) sugarcane (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels[18] with candles stuck in it, spread mats, (and) offered[19] golden flowers, altar oblations,[18] (and) altar candles. (Then ?) the Brahman astrologers went (and) worshipped Nārāyaṇa. Having offered[19] (l. 15) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (they) spread mats (and) offered[19] golden flowers, altar oblations, (and) altar

1 Cf. A 8 n. 2 Cf. A 28 n., B 25 n. 3 Cf. C. 42 n.
4 Cf. A 37 n., F 25 n. 5 Doubtful interpretation. Cf. D 24 n.
6 Or, very likely, "their . . . . ." 7 Cf. A 11 nn. 8 Cf. A 33 n.
9 See the note on the text.
10 The reading is not quite certain, but see J 31 n. 11 Cf. A 12 n.
12 Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n. The words in parentheses accompanied by marks of interrogation throughout this passage have been restored on the analogy of parallel passages and are fairly certain.
13 Cf. B 17 n. 14 Cf. B 19 n. 15 Or "the drum" (or "drums"?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n.
16 Cf. A 2 n. 17 Cf. A 3 n. 18 Cf. A 4 n. 19 Cf. A 38 n.

candles at (the front?) of the *siṅghāsin*[1] and all the faces of the four sides.[2] (Then?) the Brahmans (l. 18) all went (and) worshipped.[3] When (they) had worshipped, (the Brahman astrologers?) brought water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[4] (l. 21) Then they sprinkled[5] on (the ground where they were to?) dig[6] the holes for the pillars of the front of the *siṅghāsin* and the holes for the pillars of the faces (around all?)[7] the four sides.

At the auspicious time of (five?) *nāḍī*,[8] (l. 24) (one?) *pāt*,[9] precisely, (Aries being?)[10] *lagna*,[11] they dug all these holes. At that time, too, ... the holes for the four *atas* pillars of the great pavilion,[12] they dug. (l. 27) At that time, too, they set up all the (other?)[13] pillars of the (four?)[14] sides. That day, too, at three *pahir*, (two?)[15] *nāḍī* . . . . . ,[16] Leo (being) *lagna*, they set up the *atas* pillars (l. 30) of the corners.

(On) the eighth waning of the month of Phalagun, at dawn[17] (on) Friday,[18] . . . . . .

K

. . . . . (all four sides?),[19] they (l. 3) . . . . . .

[1] Cf. A 8 n.

[2] The word rendered "front" is the same as that which I have translated by "faces," viz. *muk*, literally "face." I presume it to mean a side or façade of a building, facing in any direction. The word also occurs in A 9, 28, B 3-5, 8, 24-27, H 17, 45, J 22, L 12, and probably N 1. I am not quite clear as to what difference, if any, there is between it and *tlaṅ*.

[3] Or, perhaps, "the Brahmans went (and) worshipped everywhere," *i.e.* at each of the places above referred to. Cf. D 31 n., H 8 n., L 4 n.

[4] Cf. B 33 n. [5] Cf. C 42 n.

[6] In view of what follows, this seems to be the right rendering, but one would have expected *skīr* (as in H 16, 17, 32, 35, etc.) rather than *kīr*.

[7] Or "at all." The reading is not quite certain.

[8] Cf. A 33 n. [9] Cf. C 39 n.

[10] The reading is not certain, it might be "Taurus." [11] Cf. B 38 n.

[12] The reading "four" is not quite certain. Assuming it to be right, one might conceivably take it with "pavilion." But it seems clear that there was but one "great pavilion," flanked by four subsidiary ones: cf. A 16 n.

[13] This rendering assumes that the *cmeṅ* of the text is an error for *c-eṅ*. If it is not, I do not know what the word means. [14] Doubtful reading. [15] Or, perhaps, "five."

[16] The word *cmeṅ* occurs here again in quite a different connexion, and perhaps in a different sense. [17] Cf. C 12 n.

[18] This would presumably be Friday, 14th March 1102. But the eighth waning of Phālguna ended 2 hours and 12 minutes after mean sunrise (*i.e.* about 8-12 a.m.) on the preceding day.

[19] Doubtful reading.

. . . . . At the auspicious time of five *nāḍī*,[1] precisely, ... (being) *lagna*,[2] they beat all the drums . . . . . (l. 6) . . . . . , blew . . . . . .[3] (and?) the whole host shouted.[4] Then they (set up?) . . . . . (and rose and dug?).[5] That day, (l. 9) (too?), the *saṅkrān*[6] Brahmans wore *sukhūy cindrow*, together with white *kuchom*[7] skirts, (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth, (and) shaded (them) with (l. 12) white umbrellas. Upon the litters (they) laid[8] vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) vessels of copper (and) earthenware, which they carried, (and) in the mouths of the vessels they stuck flowers of the *brāc* (l. 15) *kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ*.[9]

At the auspicious time of (two *pahir*?), one *nāḍī*, (they) beat the foremost[10] drum. Then the (*saṅkrān*?)[11] Brahmans went (and) drew water (wherewith to?)[12] bathe the (*atas*?)[13] pillars of the *siṅghāsin*[14] (l. 18) and the pillars (of the faces of the four sides and?)[11] the pillars . . . . . .

L

The (Brahman)[15] astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver. At the auspicious time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,[6] they bathed the *juṅ dal* hall[16] (l. 3) and the *juṅ dal* door,[17] and then they went (and) offered[18] altar candles everywhere.[19]

On the thirteenth waxing of the month of Cey, the day (being) Wednesday, at the auspicious (l. 6) time of one *pahir*,[20] five *nāḍī*, precisely, they set up the *juṅ dal* door . . . . . .[21] On the third waning of the

[1] Cf. A 33 n. [2] Cf. B 38 n. [3] Cf. A 11 n.

[4] Cf. F 35 n. [5] There are two or three doubtful words here.

[6] Cf. A 12 n. [7] Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n. [8] Cf. B 17 n.

[9] Cf. B 19 n. There seems to be a stop here between *brāc* and *kmow*. Unless that is a mere error, it is an indication that the two words cannot be taken closely together.

[10] Or "the drum" (or "drums"?) "in front." Cf. A 13 n. [11] Almost certain.

[12] Almost certain: at any rate there is no doubt as to the general sense.

[13] Nearly certain. [14] Cf. A 8 n.

[15] The word for "Brahman" must have ended the preceding line.

[16] The same word (*dirlec*) occurs in A 28, while H 42 has the variant spelling *dirlac*. The meaning "hall" is not absolutely certain.

[17] Cf. A 9 n. Perhaps, therefore, we should translate, "the central hall and the central door."

[18] Cf. A 4 n.

[19] Or, perhaps, "and they all . . . . candles." Cf. D 31 n., H 8 n., J 18 n.

[20] The thirteenth waxing of Caitra, as a mean *tithi*, expired 16 hours and 30 minutes after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 2nd April 1102. The time given here is 5 hours, presumably after true sunrise, *i.e.* 10-49 a.m., which fits in correctly.

[21] The meaning of *prāp* is undetermined. Perhaps it means "in its place."

month of Cey, the day (being) Monday, at the auspicious time of one (*nāḍī*, (l. 9) precisely ?), Aries (being) *lagna*,[1] they (chiselled ?)[2] the . . . . .[3] pillars . . . . (at all ?) the four places.

(On the) fifth waning of the month of Cey, the day (being) Wednesday, (and) Gemini (being) *lagna*,[4] they (set up the ?) . . . . . (pavilion ?) (l. 12) . . . . . *siṅghāsin*[5] with the *triṅ jiṅ muk*[6] around all (the four sides ?). On that Wednesday, too, at an auspicious time after three *pahir*, (Virgo being ?) *lagna*,[7] they (set up ?) . . . . . (l. 15) . . . . . (at ?) all (the four sides ?). (On that fifth waning of ?) the month (of Cey, too, the day (being) Wednesday ?), ... , (Scorpio being *lagna* ?),[8] (they) dug the holes for the . . . . . pillars . . . (l. 18) . . . . . (to dig the steps ?)[9] . . . . . (the *saṅkrān*[10] Brahmans wore *sukhūy cindrow* together with white *kuchom*[11] skirts (l. 21) (and) white hair bands. (They) decorated litters with white cloth (and) shaded (them) with white umbrellas ?).[12] Upon the litters they laid[13] (vessels of gold ?) (and) silver, (and) (vessels of copper (and) earthenware, which they carried. In (l. 24) the mouths of these vessels they ?) stuck flowers (of the *brāc kmow* (and) leaves of the *caḍūñ* ?).[14] At the auspicious time . . . . . .

M

. . . . . altar (oblations,[15] and altar)[16] candles . . . . At the auspicious time . . . . . (l. 3)

[1] The third waning was current for some hours after sunrise on Monday, 7th April 1102. The time here is presumably 24 minutes after observed sunrise, *i.e.* 6-11 a.m. The sign mentioned was *lagna* till about 6-14 a.m. [2] Meaning not quite certain. [3] Perhaps we should supply "side" here.

[4] The fifth waning was current for about half the day, from dawn, on Wednesday, 9th April. Mithuna was *lagna* from 9-6 to 11-6 a.m. on that day. [5] Cf. A 8 n.

[6] The meaning of this expression is undetermined. It has been suggested to me that the first word may be identical with L.M. *truiṅ*, "to wander about," and the second with L.M. *juiṅ*, "foot," so that the meaning would be something like "the ambulatories of the four sides," something like cloisters or covered walks, in fact.

[7] The time given is after 2-47, and (it may be presumed) before 3-11 p.m., when the first *nāḍi* would strike. The sign named was *lagna* from about 3-6 to 5-6 p.m.

[8] The several preceding phrases in parentheses, though queried, are reasonably certain. The zodiacal sign named was *lagna* from about 7-6 to about 9-6 p.m. that day.

[9] Or "stairs." But the meaning is not quite certain.

[10] Cf. A 12 n. [11] Cf. A 16 n., B 14 n.

[12] The preceding lengthy passage in parentheses is fairly certain, being supported by many parallel passages. [13] Cf. B 17 n. [14] Cf. B 19 n.

[15] Cf. A 4 n. [16] The preceding words in parentheses are restored from parallel passages.

. . . the Brahman astrologers brought water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, (and) water (in) conch shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dubbā* grass.[1] Then they . . . . . .[2] the steps.[3] Then (they) offered (l. 6) (golden flowers and ?)[4] altar, (candles ?),[5] and at dawn[6] (on) Friday . . . . . beat all the drums[7] . . . . . Next (they) set up the pillars of the steps and (l. 9) . . . . . (at the ?) four sides.

On the twelfth waning of the month of (Cey ?),[8] the day (being Wednesday ?),[9] they made in honour of Nārāyaṇa[10] a decoration of plantains (called "ox nose" ?)[11] adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane, (l. 12) (and) (within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with ?) candles (stuck in it ?), spread mats, (and offered[12] golden flowers, and ?) altar (candles ?). Then (the Brahman astrologers ?)[13]

N

(the front of the gable-end ?) . . . . . all the bases (on ?) . . . . . (l. 3) . . . . . set[14] . . . . . (of ?) the *siṅghāsin*,[15] which was made of shining gold, (which was set with gems ?)[16] of divers kinds. Around the . . . . .[17] of the *siṅghāsin* (there were ?) (l. 6) figures of men who danced, figures of men who beat drums, (and) figures of men who . . . . . ; (at) the four corners, four figures of lions. Around the . . . . . [17] of the four sides, four figures

[1] Cf. B 33 n.

[2] Presumably the illegible passage stated that they sprinkled the ground where these structures were to be erected. [3] Cf. L 18.

[4] Conjecturally restored on the analogy of other passages. [5] Conjecturally restored.

[6] Cf. C 12. [7] Cf. VIII A 6 tr. n. [8] The month is quite conjectural.

[9] Or, perhaps, "Monday." [10] Cf. A 2 n.

[11] Cf. A 3 n. This and the next few passages in parentheses with question marks are conjectural restorations, but fairly certain ones. [12] Cf. A 4 n.

[13] The word "astrologers," if it occurred at all, would be in the next line, which is missing.

[14] Or "inlaid," perhaps with jewels. Cf. E 22 n., 47 n.

[15] Cf. A 8 n. [16] Conjectural restoration, but fairly certain.

[17] The word *tuṁwiṅ* appears to mean "something which surrounds." In I F 17 I have rendered it (in the variant spelling *tuṁwīṅ*) by "enclosure." The reading of the next word is not quite certain, and if it is rightly read *tirtāw* (as in S 4), I am not quite sure what it means here. Generally it appears to mean "dwelling-place, abode," as in I D 13, F 12, 21. Here, perhaps, it means "site." In some way or other, we must, I suppose, imagine that round the *siṅghāsin* there was something (possibly an entablature, frieze, or the like) on which there were the figures mentioned in the following line, probably in relief rather than in the round. But as it is not quite certain whether *siṅghāsin* means "throne room" or "throne," it is difficult to form a clear conception of what the arrangement was really like.

of lions, all (made of pure[1] shining gold?) (l. 9) Golden *dindāy*,[2] golden figures of *byāl*[3] (on) both sides (stood?)[4] above an elephant's head[5] which was made of gold. Above (the *byāl*?) (were) archway *makaras*[6] of gold, above the archway *makaras* of gold . . . . . (l. 12) with (bulbs?),[7] flowers, (and) fruit . . . . .[8] Above the fruit (and?) water-lilies, two golden (figures of geese?),[9] holding pearls, (on) both sides; in the middle a great waterlily flower . . . . . (l. 15) . . . . . .

O

. . . . . all . . . . . Then they . . . . . (l. 3) . . . . . all (the four?) doors, they built up. . . . . (and then?)[10] they (spread mats?) (and) they (offered[11] golden (l. 6) flowers?) altar (oblations[12] and?) altar candles. Then the Brahman astrologers (who were versed in?) house-building[13] . . . . . .

On the third waning of the month of . . . . . ,[14] the day (l. 9) (being) . . . . . at three *pahir*, five *nāḍī*,[15] . . . . . .[16] (being) *lagna*[17] at that time (too?) . . . . . all . . . . . .

[1] Cf. I E 5, 7. In I E 40 and VIII A 12, 29, the word appears to mean "only."

[2] Meaning undetermined: cf. VIII A 18. It seems to have been some ornamental feature of the architecture here. Perhaps the phrase should be rendered: "the *dindāy* (were of) gold."

[3] Meaning undetermined. Perhaps from Sanskrit *vyāla*, which means "snake, beast of prey, tiger, hunting leopard, vicious elephant," etc.

[4] Reading and meaning are not quite certain. If correctly read, it is the same phrase that has been conjecturally rendered "to make a stand" in I G 6.

[5] Or "the head of an elephant": it is not clear whether a whole elephant or only the head of one was portrayed here.

[6] The *makara*, a mythical marine monster, is a common theme of architectural decoration, often in highly elaborate forms, and particularly over arched openings, such as doors. Something of the sort seems to be indicated here.

[7] Both reading and meaning are somewhat doubtful.

[8] Possibly the doubtful word here is the name of the "bilva" or "vilva" (cf. H 22 n.), with which Kyansitthā had, through his mother, an ancestral connexion (cf. VIII B 16) that may help to account for its appearance here.

[9] Or "teal ducks." There is not much doubt as to the reading, cf. the very similar passage, R 12, 13.

[10] All the passages in parentheses accompanied by queries are somewhat doubtful.

[11] Cf. A 38 n. [12] Cf. A 4 n. [13] Cf. B 7 n. [14] Possibly Āṣāḍha.

[15] Cf. A 33 n. [16] Possibly Scorpio. [17] Cf. A 12 n.

P

. . . . . the day (being) Friday, at three *nāḍī*,[1] (l. 3) . . . . . within it . . . . . they made a decoration of plantains (called) "ox nose,"[2] adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane, (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels[3] (l. 6) with candles stuck in it, ... spread mats, (and) offered[3] golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations,[3] (and) they offered[4] water (in) vessels of gold and silver. (Then?) the Brahman astrologers worshipped Nārāyaṇa,[5] (l. 9) (and) having worshipped, (arranged?)[6] gold leaf, which they (fitted together into?),[7] a *kyek srī*[8] . . . . . (the *siṅghāsin*?),[9] they made a decoration of plantains adorned with (young plantains and?) sugarcane, (and) within it they spread mats . . . . . .

Q

. . . . . (water in vessels of gold and silver?)[10] . . . . . (l. 3) . . . . . they . . . . . all. They . . . . . all, (at) each . . . . . each . . . . . they spread mats, they . . . . . (water in vessels of gold and silver?) . . . . . (l. 6) . . . . . (worshipped?) . . . . . At the time (when) *godhulī* (was) *lagna*,[11] . . . . . (brought?) water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper, (and) earthenware . . . . . (the Brahman astrologers?) who were versed in

[1] Cf. A 33 n. [2] Cf. A 3 n. [3] A 4 n.

[4] This is a different word from the preceding "offered." Cf. A 38 n.

[5] Cf. A 2 n. [6] Doubtful reading.

[7] The meaning of *sisip* has not been definitely determined.

[8] This was apparently some ornamental architectural feature, the precise nature of which I have not been able to ascertain. Generally the word means "glory," and it may here refer to something like a halo. Cf. R 5. [9] Cf. A 8 n.

[10] This fragment is in a particularly bad state of preservation and all the passages in parentheses with question marks are more or less doubtful, though supported by the analogy of other parts of the inscription. [11] Cf. A 12 n.

house-building,[1] offered . . .[2] golden flowers, altar candles, (and) altar oblations[3] . . . . . (l. 9) . . . . . and all the pavilions.

(On) the seventh waxing of the month of . . . . . they (set up the female pillars ?)[4] . . . . . .

R

set[5] . . . . . golden *makaras*[6] (on) both sides, which (were completely ?)[7] . . . . . (l. 3) two . . . . . made of shining gold, (which held (and) offered ?)[7] . . . . . of gold.

In the middle, above the arched *clec*,[8] . . . . . a *kyāk srī*[9] made of shining gold (and) adorned with noble gems. (l. 6) (On) both sides, above the capitals[10] of the archway pillars, two golden (figures ?) of devas in the act of blessing,[11] with golden flowers (in) bouquets within the arch, together with hanging[12] pearls, (and) golden (plantain ?)[7] leaves. (l. 9) Above the apex of the arch (was) a golden scroll,[13] . . . of shining gold, together with golden *dindāy*.[14] (Two ?)[15] golden figures of *byāl*[14] (stood on ?)[16] both sides. Above the *byāl* (were) two golden figures of (l. 12) *makaras*; above the two golden *makaras*, two golden figures of geese[17] holding stalks[18] (and) leaves made of shining gold; above (the trunks ?)[19] of the two golden

[1] Cf. B 7 n.
[2] As regards the omitted word, cf. A 38 n. The word for "offered" here is a different one.
[3] Cf. A 4 n. [4] Cf. H 28 n.
[5] Cf. N 3 n. [6] Cf. N 11 n. But here the word is spelt *mhākar*.
[7] Doubtful reading. [8] Cf. B 28 n. [9] Cf. P 9 n.
[10] Literally, "heads," though there is some slight doubt as to the reading.
[11] Or "approving."
[12] The meaning is doubtful. Possibly it means "pearl tracery," or the like. I imagine a connexion with L.M. *talāi*, "to droop, as the branch of a tree," but perhaps we should compare the *tinlāy* of VIII A 18.
[13] The precise meaning of *tar cinroḥ* is doubtful. It appears to have been some ornamental feature placed high up in the decorative scheme here described. If *mimoy* (or *mirmoy*) is to be read after it, it would seem to imply something like "in each case," as if this decorative scheme were repeated in several parts of the building.
[14] Cf. N 9 n. [15] Doubtful reading, though nearly certain.
[16] Cf. N 10 n. [17] Cf. N 12 n. [18] Doubtful meaning.
[19] The reading is not quite certain.

makaras, two golden scrolls forming the apex (l. 15) (of an arch ?).[1] In the middle (a golden ?) waterlily flower . . . . . .

S

. . . . . a *clec* (of mirrors ?)[2] . . . . . a *clec* . . . . . (l. 3) . . . . . above the *makaras*[3] (were) the pillars of the arch[4] (of the *siṅghāsin*[5]; right ?) above the pillars of the arch . . . . . Around the . . . . . [6] (of the *siṅghāsin* ?) (were) figures of men who danced, (figures of men who beat drums ?),[7] figures of lions . . . . . the (men who ?) danced . . . . . (on) both (sides of the apex ?)[8]; above the . . . . . (l. 6); above the . . . . . lotus . . . . . (and) lotus . . . . . [9] (on) both sides . . . . . [10] in . . . . . (on) both sides . . . . . (waterlilies ?) . . . . . (all) . . . . . [11] . . . . . all . . . . . above (the three ?)[12] . . . . . (on) both sides, a lion (l. 9) . . . . . an (attendant ?)[13] lioness (on) both sides . . . . . the hall,[14] all these they . . . . . a . . . . . *clec* (and) a . . . . . *clec* (at) each corner . . . . . .

[1] The reading is quite conjectural. Assuming it to be right, I do not take this *torin* to be the main primary arch of the structure termed *clec* here described, but the arched apex or finial of the decorative scheme grouped over it.
[2] As to *clec*, cf. B 28. If the next word is correctly read, it may refer to the method of ornamentation by inlaying small pieces of mirror glass.
[3] Cf. N 11. [4] Or, perhaps, "porch." [5] Cf. A 8 n.
[6] Cf. N 5 n. The reading seems to be pretty certain here.
[7] Cf. N 6, which supports the doubtfully read passage here.
[8] The translation "apex" may not be applicable here. The word *cloṅ* is applied to pagoda spires, and the like, and here it is not quite clear what we have to deal with. Cf. R 14.
[9] Possibly lotus buds and lotus flowers, or some particular species of lotus. The word seems, however, to be specially applied to the blue lotus, though also to other waterlilies.
[10] The meaning of *klo'* here is not certain. A possible connexion with L.M. *kla'* suggests itself; but that means "garden," and unless figuratively applied to this floral decoration it seems out of place here.
[11] Here there appears to be a word, *kwik*, which may mean "ponds" and seems to occur again after the next "all." It gives rise to the same sort of difficulty of interpretation as the word *klo'*, above, and the reading is doubtful.
[12] Doubtful reading. The next word seems to be *slar*, of which I cannot give the meaning.
[13] Cf. F. 21 n. Here we have *cuheṅ*, a variant spelling of the word I rendered "appertaining thereto" or, alternatively, "alongside." [14] Cf, A 28, H 42, L 2.

. . . . . hall (on) both sides . . . . . (l. 12) . . . . . .
. . . . . (appurte-
nant?)[1] (on) both sides . . . . . .
. . . . . four corners . . . . . .
. . . . . (the base?) . . *clec* . . . . . .
(the base?) of the *clec* of mirrors, the base of the *clec*

No. X.

THE SHORTER INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGÔN PAGODA, PAGAN.

Descriptive Account.

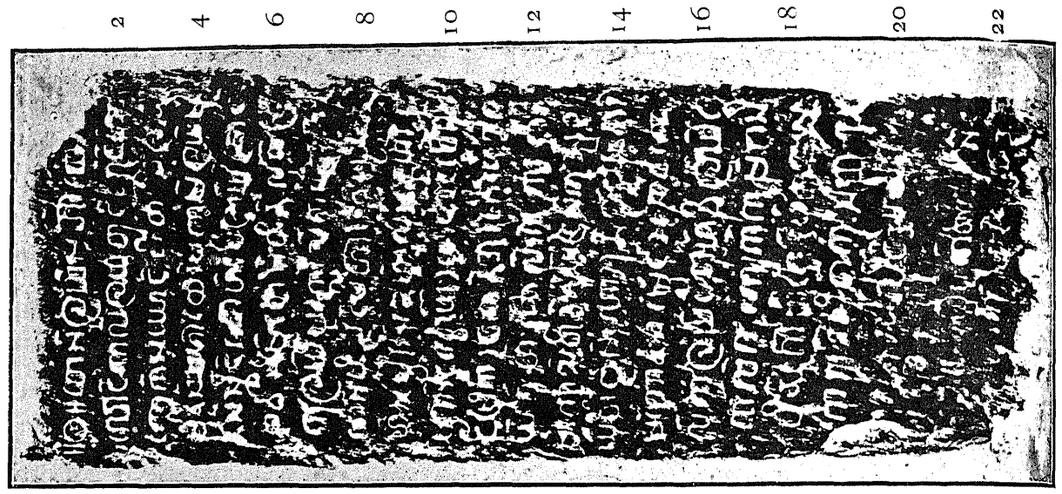
60. This is an inscription of four lines written immediately below the bottom lines of Faces E–H of No. I, in that order. Just below it, again, on Face F, is a short Burmese record which has already been published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, where it has been dealt with under No. I (1)-(8). The lines of No. X are of the same length as those which precede them, and the letters are of much the same type but not so regularly formed and in some cases slightly larger. The spelling of some of the words is incorrect and ll. 2 and 3 are in part badly preserved and of doubtful interpretation. In fact, like many short inscriptions, this record presents some serious difficulties, quite out of proportion to its length. It registers a royal donation, probably of lands, to the pagoda. Possibly ll. 2 and 3 may contain some of the proper names of the lands so granted; but on the other hand, some of the words used seem to be descriptive, and it is doubtful whether the symbols that have been taken to be numerals are rightly so interpreted. Further, the reading *Ƒeyabhuṁ* in l. 2 is not quite certain. Assuming it to be correct, it seems reasonable to suppose its identity with the *Ƒayabhūmi* of VIII A 2, which is there located to the North-East of Pagan and the *Ƒeyabhūm* of IX F 44.

61. This brief record naturally tells us little that is new. It is chiefly interesting as evidence that the impulse which caused so many Môn inscriptions to be set up in the reign of Kyansitthā did to some slight extent survive him. But it is impossible to say for how long, for the royal donor King Śrī Tribhuwanādityapawaradhammarāja (in this record apparently spelt °*ādityā*°) cannot be identified. This royal name was borne by at least

[1] Again the same word, as in the preceding note.

No. XI.

AN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT KYAUKSE.



No. X.

THE SHORTER INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.



four kings of Pagan, viz. Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-60), Narapatisithu (1167–1204), Nandaungmya (1204-27), and Uzana (1243-8). The Burmese inscription engraved immediately below No. X is dated in the year 611 of the common Burmese Era (A.D. 1249-50), and its style of writing is decidedly different from (and in my judgment, less archaic than) the style of Nos. I and X, which latter have much more in common. No. X, therefore, must fall somewhere between 1112 and 1248, and probably nearer the earlier than the later date.

Text.

1. [॥ o ॥ smiṅ] Ś[r]ī Tr[i]bhuwanādityā[p]awara[dh]amma[r]āja ॥[1] ti (m)a[2] k(e)l [d]ān (ı)[3] ku gy[e]k[4]
2. [J]eya(bh)u(ṁ)[5] ti ma rhāk gu[6] pok (ta)w[7] 1000 ı ti [ta]k (sṅ)iy[8]
3. (70) ı ti (m)rī (6)ooo ı [ti] . . . . (ra) . . (dā)n (5)oo ı ā(gh)ā (p)awa[9]
4. (. .)[10] smiṅ (m)a[11] prey mā cut ḍek ॥ o ॥ ৲ ॥ ৲

Translation.

King Śrī Tribhuwanādityāpawaradhammarāja, the lands which (he) gave[12] as a (pious) donation to the pagoda[13] of Jeyabhuṁ,[14] lands which . . . . . ,[15] 1000[16]; lands (for) building (houses?),[17] (70?); *mrī*[18] lands,

[1] Or ° *rājā* ı.

[2] No crossbar visible: looks like *pa*. The next symbol is blurred and has a mark above it: perhaps we should read *parña kal* instead of *ma kel*.

[3] There ought not to be a stop here, and it is doubtful whether in fact there is one.

[4] Misspelling for *kyek*.

[5] Conceivably *jeyacu*.

[6] Perhaps a misspelling for *ku*, or else it forms a word with the next syllable.

[7] Conceivably *wāw*.

[8] A blur below the *s* (which letter is itself not quite certain) is my only justification for assuming the former presence of a subscript *ñ*.

[9] These two words are very doubtful. The *gh* might be a *y* and the *p* an *m*. Either way, I can make little or no sense out of them.

[10] There is a space here, but it is uncertain whether anything was ever engraved on it.

[11] No crossbar visible: looks like *pa*.

[12] The reading is doubtful. Alternatively, "gave arable lands," but in any case the syntax is peculiar and was perhaps influenced by Burmese. Normally the object does not come between subject and verb in Early Môn.

[13] Or "Buddha."

[14] Doubtful reading.

[15] I can make no sense of the omitted words: *rhāk* presents an unusual combination of letters. Mr. Halliday suggests that it may be for *cāk*, "to break up"; *pok* might mean "to open"; *taw* is a doubtful reading.

[16] All the supposed numerals are more or less doubtful. Assuming them to be rightly read, it is to be supposed that they refer to the areas of the lands according to some understood unit of measurement.

[17] Conjectural reading. Perhaps *tak* is an error for *dak*, which really means "to build." Cf. the converse case of *gyek* in l. 1.

[18] Meaning undetermined.

(6000 ?); lands . . . . . (pious donation ?),[1] (500 ?); . . . . . .[2] The exalted king bowed[3] down (and) poured out water.[4]

No. XI.

An Inscription found at Kyauk Sè.

Descriptive Account.

62. This inscription covers a surface of 3 feet 9 inches in height by 1 foot 5 inches in breadth, as measured on the ink-impression. It is in a bad state of preservation, the stone on which it is engraved having evidently weathered considerably, and the last few lines are practically illegible. The letters are of much the same type as those of the other inscriptions in this Section, but are rather variable in size, ranging between ¾ inch and 1⅛ inch in height. Letter *t* is 1 inch to 1⅛ inch long, and the normal interlinear space is about the same, save that after l. 20 there is a space of nearly 2 inches and after l. 21 less than an inch. The text has been determined from three ink-impressions.

63. It records the foundation of a *baddhasīma* at Kyauk Sè, in the inscription called Klok Sa, which spelling affords some indication as to the contemporary pronunciation of that place-name. The *baddhasīma* in question was set up by the Chief Monk of the locality with the assistance of certain other persons specified in the record, whom he apparently dedicated to that service. Further, a grant of land made by some local official or officials to the founder was by him transferred to his foundation. The Chief Monk records these facts in this inscription, the legible portion of which apparently ends with the usual wish that the merit accruing from the deed may enure to the benefit of all sentient beings.

64. So far as it can be deciphered, this inscription contains no date, but by virtue of some of its spellings it may be inferred that it is later than those which precede it in this Section[5]: such a form as *jra'ku* reminds one more of 15th century orthography than of the 11th century form *jirku*. But in other words the spelling is still quite archaic; and the point must not be

[1] Very doubtful reading.
[2] The meaning of the omitted words is undetermined. Perhaps *pawa* (if rightly so read) means "deed." [3] The word *mā* is defined in Haswell's vocabulary as "to kneel, with the head bowed down."
[4] As a libation, calling the earth to witness the grant.
[5] But apparently it was set up before the fall of the Pagan kingdom (*circa* 1300 A.D.): see ll. 4, 5.

unduly pressed. Apart from its bad preservation, which throws considerable doubt on a good deal of its contents and particularly on the reading of the proper names in it, this record does not offer many difficulties; but on the other hand it contributes very little in the way of new lexicographical material.

Text.

1. ‖ o ‖ wo' ey mahāthe[r] . .
2. loṅ [k]āl ey tlūṅ dmoṅ (han)
3. Klok Sa yoṅ wo(') ey
4. [mun]as [m]ahāther [B]ukām e[y] mu-
5. nas smiṅ (g)o[h ‖ ma ey croṅ]
6. [b]a(d)dha[si]m [wo' tinlūy jra](')-[1]
7. [ku ey] (ma)[2] [kloñ] (ku kyek)[3]
8. [wo' piñjaṅ Mahā](de)[w] (ı mba ḍe)-
9. h ı [mbo' ḍeh ı l](wa')[4] [ḍeh ı] . .[5]
10. [mbo'] (Ṅa) [Lwoy] ı (Ya Wāṅ kon)
11. [Ṅa Mrik ı] (Ṅa Ga)[n[6] Dā ı] (goh da) [e]-
12. [y cu]t [kel] (ı)[7] [ku kyek] (..)[8]
13. (ma)[9] kloñ tin[lū]y jra['']ku(') e-
14. y t[i] b[ñ]a' [m]ahā(dā)n (7 bnaṅ kar)[10]
15. [ma] (k)on [sambeṅ daleṅ k]e-
16. l ku e[y] (go)h ci ey
17. kel [ku ky]ek k(u)m rāsi
18. [pu]in go[h] (jen pūjāw)[11] . .(m)[12]
19. . . . . [carit] ku sa(kala)[13]
20. (satwa[14] guṁ)l(ui)ṅ da (‖ o ‖ . .)
21. . . . . .(k) [t]. . . . . '
22. . . . . .(n). . . . . .

[1] The ' is very doubtful, but cf. l. 13.
[2] Possibly *pa*.
[3] Or *ku kyāk*, but cf. l. 12.
[4] Or perhaps *la'*, or possibly even *mbe'*.
[5] I am not certain whether the illegible character here is a monosyllabic name, or merely the first half of the *o* of the initial word of the next line. Such a division sometimes occurs and it seems probable here, though on the other hand it is odd the person's own name should be omitted.
[6] The *G* might be *K*, and the *a*, *u*.
[7] There should be no stop here, but there seems to be one.
[8] It is doubtful whether there was anything here; perhaps merely a stop.
[9] Possibly *pa*.
[10] Very doubtful reading.
[11] Very doubtful reading, though *jen* seems probable.
[12] Very doubtful.
[13] Probable.
[14] Purely conjectural.

Translation.

I,[1] the Chief Monk ..loṅ,[2] when I came to dwell at[3] Klok Sa,[4] I (l. 4) informed the Chief Monk of Pagan, I informed the king there,[5] that I was building a *baddhasīma*. These (are the persons) who together with[6] myself worked (for this temple?)[7]: (l. 8) the junior monk Mahādew,[8] his father, his mother, his (grandfather?),[9] (. . ?) the mother of Ṅa Lwoy, Ya Wāṅ, son[10] of Ṅa Mrik, Ṅa Gan[11] Dā: these I (l. 12) dedicate to the temple, who worked together with[12] myself. The great (donation?) of (7 measures of?)[13] arable land, which the *ḳon sambeṅ daleṅ*[14] gave (l. 16)

[1] My rendering hardly gives the force of *wo'*, which seems to go with *ey*, "I," making something like "I here." It seems a curious construction, and possibly one could interpret it to mean: "This (is) I, the Chief Monk," who is recording these matters. But cf. l. 3, where this would hardly fit in.

[2] Presumably this is part of the Chief Monk's name or possibly the name of his former place of residence.

[3] The preposition is very doubtfully legible, but seems to be required here.

[4] I take the syllable *yoṅ* which here follows to be a variant spelling of the particle *yaṅ*, not as part of the name of the locality. If it were the latter, it would be possible to take *wo'* with it and not with *ey*, and the objection to the alternative rendering in note 1 above would be removed.

[5] Presumably this is the force of the (doubtfully read) *goh*. If it were permissible to neglect the stop after it, we might omit "there" and proceed: "and then I built a" (or "this") "*baddhasīma*." If *wo'* "(this)" is construed with *baddhasīma*, we should then have to proceed: "(The persons) who," etc., "(for this temple?) (were) (l. 8)," etc.

[6] One of the chief difficulties in this inscription is the sense to be attached to the word *tinlūy*, which also occurs in l. 13. It might perhaps mean "on behalf of." I have been unable, as yet, to trace it elsewhere. If it were possible to find some other meaning for it which would enable *wo'* to be construed with *baddhasim* (as "this *baddhasīma*"), it would be more consistent with the stopping, which is, however, somewhat erratic anyhow. If we read *pa* instead of *ma* in l. 7, we must translate: "(that I) caused to work (for this temple?)," etc. It also depends on the meaning of *tinlūy* whether such a rendering is at all possible. On the whole, *ma* seems the more probable reading.

[7] The word *kyeḳ* (cf. ll. 13, 17) means any worshipful thing or person, very often "Buddha"; here presumably it refers to the *baddhasīma*.

[8] This name, like most of the proper names in the inscription, is rather doubtful: in all these cases the text should be referred to. The word rendered "junior monk" is *piñjaṅ* (L.M. *payyaṅ*), plainly identical with the Burmese *paṅcaṅ*: (ပဉ္စင်), which Judson in his dictionary refers to *paṅca aṅga*, on account of the five qualifications of a monk there enumerated. The E.M. spelling is peculiar.

[9] Doubtful reading and meaning. If one read *mbe'*, it might perhaps mean "elder sister."

[10] Or "child," the sex not being indicated. [11] As to this name, see the note on the text.

[12] See note 6 above. If we read *pa* instead of *ma*, the meaning would be "to work," instead of "who worked."

[13] Very doubtful reading and meaning. I conjecture that *kar* (if rightly so read) is a unit of measurement, probably referable to the amount of land that could be sown with a certain quantity of grain, or worked by one man, and I suppose the word to be connected with Sanskrit *karma*. This is in some degree confirmed by the *Akkharavidhāna* of the Môn *Abhidhānappadīpikā* in its explanation of the Pāli *karīsaṁ* as "one *bnaṅ*, a piece of land suitable to be sown with four ambaṇas."

[14] I do not know whether *ḳon* is to be taken as "son," "child," or "children," of the *sambeṅ daleṅ*, or as making the latter pair of words (which apparently are an official title) into a plural. I am inclined to prefer the last alternative. For the title, cf. IX A 35–37; *daleṅ* is presumably the word for an altar, often a portable one, elsewhere *duleṅ*, M.M. *dalāṅ*, but whether the *leṅ* of IX A 37 is a shortened form of the same word, I cannot say.

to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?)[1] . . . . . (conduct?) for (all (l. 20) beings?).[2] . . . . . .

POSTSCRIPT TO SECTION I.

65. The above record concludes the list of those which can with certainty be classed as Early Môn inscriptions in the present collection. The Môn text of the Myazedi inscription, which really belongs to the same category, has been dealt with in *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 53-8, but should be read in connexion with the inscriptions of this Section. In point of date it comes between Nos. IX and X above. The numerous but very short inscriptions of the Ānanda pagoda plaques (*ibid.*, Vol. II) also fall into the Early Môn period; and there are a few Môn inscriptions in Siam, as yet unpublished, which seem to belong to the same or (in one case at least) an even earlier epoch.

[1] The reading is very doubtful here, but I think "offering" is fairly certain; very likely what I have rendered "worshipping" really also refers to the offering, that is to the creation and endowment of the foundation recorded in this inscription.

[2] Doubtful reading. See § 63 *ad fin.*

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VOLUME III PART II

Archaeological Survey of Burma

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

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MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

Section II—The Mediaeval Môn Records

No. XII

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYĀṆISĪMĀ, PEGU

BY

C. O. BLAGDEN

RANGOON

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVT. PRINTING AND STATIONERY, BURMA

1928

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

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VOL. II—PART II

THE TALAING PLAQUES ON THE ANANDA PLATES

By CHAS. DUROISELLE

RANGOON

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING AND STATIONERY, BURMA

1924

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

SECTION II.—THE MEDIEVAL MÔN RECORDS.

No. XII.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYĀNĪSIMĀ, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

66. These inscriptions, originally engraved on ten upright stones, which are now represented by many more or less disconnected fragments, consist of two main parts: a Pāli text and a Môn version of the same followed by certain supplementary matter also in Môn. Only the Môn portions are dealt with here. The Pāli text, with a translation and some notes, as well as an Introduction, was published in 1893 by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XXII); and in the following years he appended thereto some valuable additional notes, under the title *Some Remarks on the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions* (*ibid.*, Vols. XXIII and XXIV). Both publications were also issued in separate form, the second one being further supplemented by a transcript in the Burmese character of the actual Pāli text, as it survives in a fragmentary state on the stones. For the text, as originally published, was based on two palm-leaf manuscripts, not on the stones themselves, the learned editor not having been able to use these owing to lack of time. Mr. Taw Sein Ko's labours have very greatly facilitated my task, and I have not hesitated to borrow freely from him when the necessity arose. I make this summary acknowledgment here, to cover all my indebtedness in this respect, rather than fill up space unnecessarily by repeating it in connection with every individual case. His treatment of the whole subject

also dispenses me from much that I might otherwise have had to say here and that too is a just cause for gratitude on my part. I must add tha without his translation of the consecutive Pāli text before me I could no in the absence of other assistance, have produced an intelligible version c the Môn fragments at all, so far as the first six faces of the record ar concerned.

67. The Pāli text occupies three out of the ten stones on which th whole record is engraved; the remaining seven contain the Môn version an supplementary matter. Speaking of the stones, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in hi Introduction to the Pāli text, states that "when whole, their average dimen sions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inche thick," and that there were "70 lines of text to each face, and three letter to an inch." This, however, seems to be merely an approximate statement for the number of lines varies on the different faces. All the stones hav been broken into many fragments, of which about half seem to be lost. I has been my duty to piece together the Môn portion that is still availabl on thirty-three fragments. This was no easy task, and without the help o Mr. Taw Sein Ko's translation of the Pāli text, it would, at the time wher I took it in hand, have been (for me at any rate) a perfectly impossible one The general correspondence of the two texts may be indicated thus:—

Pāli Text.	*Môn Text.*
First stone, obverse (North)	Fourth stone, obverse (North), Face A.
First stone, reverse (South)	Fourth stone, reverse (South), Face B.
	Fifth stone, obverse (N.), Face C, to l. 48.
Second stone, obverse (N.)	Fifth stone, obverse (N.), Face C, from l. 49.
	Fifth stone, reverse (S.), Face D.
	Sixth stone, obverse (N.), Face E, to l. 38.
Second stone, reverse (S.)	Sixth stone, obverse (N.), Face E, from l. 38.
	Sixth stone, reverse (S.), Face F, to about l. 42.
Third stone, obverse (N.)	Sixth stone, reverse (S.), Face F, from about l. 42.
	Seventh stone, obverse (N.), Face G.
	Seventh stone, reverse (S.), Face H, to l. 8.
Third stone, reverse (S.)	Seventh stone, reverse (S.), Face H, from l. 8.
	Eighth stone, obverse (N.), Face J.

The end of the Pāli text almost coincides with the bottom of the obverse face of Stone 8 (Face J of the Môn version). Thus the latter version takes up 50 per cent. more space than the corresponding Pāli, which is on the whole decidedly more concise. The supplementary matter, which has no counterpart in the Pāli, is distributed as follows:—

Eighth stone, reverse (S.), Face K.
Ninth stone, obverse (N.), Face L.
Ninth stone, reverse (S.), Face M.
Tenth stone, obverse (N.), Face N.

The final end of the record occupied some lines on the reverse of the tenth stone, but the upper part of the stone has disappeared, as has also happened in other cases.

68. In every case the bottom portions of the several stones, being still fixed in the ground in their proper relative positions, served as definite *datum* points, to which the separated fragments had to be adjusted. As a rule the text has been determined from two sets of ink-impressions and photographs of one of these sets. In one case [H (a)] a missing fragment of stone is represented only by an old ink-impression found in the office of the Archaeological Survey Department. In two other instances [A (b) and L (b)] similar old ink-impressions have preserved for us more of the original text than can now be seen on the stones themselves. These ink-impressions, made many years ago, had been produced as negatives by inking the face of the stones, and consequently had to be deciphered and photographed by transmitted light. As the paper was very brittle, and in fact already broken in some places, this could only be done after they had been carefully restored at the British Museum; but by these means a considerable part of the text has been preserved which would otherwise have been altogether lost. I am much indebted to Mr. Taw Sein Ko and his successor in office, Professor

C. Duroiselle, for information given by them which has greatly assiste in determining the order of the severed fragments of this record. Owi their help, always readily given, and to the existence of a parallel version of the greater part of the Môn text, I succeeded in distributi the fragments satisfactorily among the several faces to which they orig belonged. It has, therefore, been possible to take these original fac units, denoting them by capital letters of the alphabet, and to indica small letters the actual fragments now existing. I have noted the pre of gaps occurring between the fragments, and also the size of such when it could be determined with a reasonable approximation to acc But in many cases nothing like an accurate indication could be giv only a comparison with the Pāli text and its translation could enable c estimate, and that not very closely, the amount of matter that hac lost. Having regard to the fragmentary state of the stones, which are sorts of irregular shapes and sizes, I have not thought it worth wl give here a full statement of their several dimensions. It suffices to sa the length of the lines, actually occupied by lettering, as measured c ink-impressions of the few bottom portions of stones where some lin completely preserved, varies between 3 feet (M) and 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches intermediate cases being 3 feet 3 inches (K) and 3 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (and J).

69. The principal inscription was engraved in or after the year 8 the Burmese Common Era (= 1479-80 A.D.), the latest date mentior it, and is therefore one of the later 15th century records. I have ta here, out of its chronological order, for reasons of practical convenienc is so long that it seemed best to give it priority of place, as otherv would perhaps have been necessary to split up the text of it betwee parts of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, with much resulting inconvenie the reader. Further, as the Pāli text served in some measure to chec meanings of many of the words in the Môn version, there seemed tc special reason for dealing with it before proceeding to the other Me Môn records, in which some of these words might be expected to As regards the general character of these records, their script, sp and peculiarities of language, I may refer to what has been said in 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, and 17, reserving more detailed comment later occasion. In the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, the letters, which (as com with the Early Môn script) have a very modern appearance, measure

$\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. Letter *t* is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long. The interlinear space is about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. The spelling is very irregular and shows the characteristics of a stage of transition. Thus one gets doublets such as *Siṅghuir* and *Siṅghuiw*. It is evident that final *r* and *l* were no longer sounded. Sometimes, as in the above case, *r* is written where *l* would have been etymologically correct; sometimes, as in the name of the month *mruikkasuil*, the reverse happens; but often *w* replaces both letters, as it normally does in Later Môn. In fact the spelling of Medieval Môn is about as chaotic as English spelling was in the Elizabethan age. But even from its very irregularities we derive valuable information as to the changes which had occurred and were proceeding in the pronunciation of the language, as the above cases clearly illustrate. Similarly, it is evident that by this time the inherent *a* in many closed final syllables had acquired the sound of an open variety of *o* (something like English *aw* in "law," or perhaps *o* in "not"). This is proved by such spellings as *gah* (E.M. *goḥ, goḥh, goh*), while in a few cases we see that usage was still fluctuating and the sound is represented occasionally by the *anusvāra*, even in syllables where the final consonant is not a velar (*e.g.* N 13–15, *dakår, cwår, dandår*). Again such alternative forms as *tradah* and *tadah* indicate that the old infix *-ir-* was obsolescent in the 15th century: in the modern form of the language it survives in extremely few words, whereas in our Early Môn inscriptions it is common enough. But I hope to deal with these matters more fully after the other 15th century inscriptions have been edited, rather than base any final conclusions on the evidence of a single record, even though it be as long as the present one.

70. The surviving fragments of the Môn text of this record seldom constitute a continuous and intelligible narrative for more than a few consecutive lines. While for the most part resisting the temptation to restore in the text by conjectures of my own the parts that are lost, save where such restoration was practically certain, and the fact has been duly noted, I have felt bound to do something to render the English translation readable. Accordingly, in Faces A–F, I have used Mr. Taw Sein Ko's English translation of the Pāli text as a sort of mortar to cement together the fragments of the Môn stones, without doing violence to the one or to the other more than the circumstances necessitated. Certain trifling verbal alterations have been made in the Pāli portions, in order to adapt them to the terminology which I had adopted in translating the Môn. The portions of text

introduced from the Pāli have, in the translation, been put within sq brackets, in order to distinguish them from the surviving Môn fragme This process of dovetailing had, however, its limitations. The Môn tex by no means a close rendering of the Pāli (or *vice versa*). On the contr it is often more like an expanded paraphrase. In a good many cases I l found it impossible to fit the Môn fragments into the framework of the version and have been compelled to present them in my translation in t fragmentary state and relegate the more or less corresponding passage Mr. Taw Sein Ko's version of the Pāli into footnotes, where they will s as a commentary to make the general course of the mutilated Môn more intelligible than it would otherwise have been. All this has invo an immense amount of trouble, and I have often had occasion to ana matize with heart-felt sincerity the vandals, whoever they were, who their worst in breaking up this record.

71. The Text was already set up in print, the Translation based upo and its Pāli counterpart (so far as the latter extended) was complet manuscript, and a Descriptive Account had also been prepared, when important discovery was made which threw a flood of light on Faces C N, inclusive. My friend Mr. Robert Halliday, to whose continual assista in the interpretation of the Môn inscriptions I am so deeply indeb happened to read some portions of the Text over with a Môn monk, U Tl wuntha by name, who presently identified them with the contents of a pa leaf manuscript which he had formerly read. This manuscript, which wa work on *sīmās*, was found shortly afterwards in the Kahnyaw monastery Kahnyaw village, Bilugyun, and another copy was discovered in the Berr Free Library, Rangoon. Mr. Halliday was good enough to have the manuscript (which I have called A) copied and personally to collate wit the text of the second one (B). It turned out that the manuscripts inclu that portion of our record which began at the end of Face F and contin beyond Face N to the conclusion of the whole record. A comparison the surviving portions of the fragmentary stone text showed that the ma script copies, though by no means exact verbatim ones,—inasmuch as spelling has been modernized and there are a great number of mi interpolations, omissions, and alterations—are nevertheless substantially copies of the stone original, made at a time when the latter had not b broken in pieces and was still in a relatively good state of preservat

Consequently the evidence of these manuscript copies was at once seen to be of very great value, and it has been considered imperative to print the continuous text of the manuscripts at the foot of the corresponding fragmentary Text of the stones and to rewrite the translation of Faces G–N accordingly. The introductory portion of the manuscript text, giving merely a very brief abstract of the main contents of the first part of the record and adding nothing thereto, has not been reproduced, nor has the conclusion, which deals with a number of *sīmās* unconnected with our subject. I have not attempted anything like a critical edition of the manuscript text, a task which would have been beyond my power, especially as only two manuscripts are available: my purpose has been merely to use them as secondary evidence complementary to the Text of the stones themselves. The discovery of this new material has, of course, inevitably caused some delay in the publication of our record, but has enabled me to produce a much more satisfactory treatment of it than would otherwise have been possible.

72. The principal inscription, besides being very long, is also to a large extent highly technical in character, being mainly concerned with minute details of Buddhist ritual, which (it is to be feared) will be of no very great interest to the general reader and are already on record in the Pāli text and its translation. The chief importance of the Môn version is linguistic; it illustrates in considerable detail an interesting stage in the evolution of the language, more or less intermediate between the Early Môn of Kyansitthā's inscriptions and the language of the present day. Still it may be convenient to mention here, very briefly, that its main purport is to relate the reintroduction, by the pious and learned King Dhammacetī of Pegu,—in these inscriptions always referred to by his other name, Rāmādhipati,—of a canonically valid monastic succession from Ceylon, where he held that such a succession had been preserved, while in Lower Burma the monastic order had long been split up into schismatical sects. The technical validity of such succession depends not merely on the ordination in due form of all concerned in handing it down by successive ordinations, but also on the previous proper consecration of the places where the ordinations are carried out. This condition involves many refinements, discussed at some length in our record, into which I need not enter here. Suffice it to say that when an adequate number of validly ordained monks had become available, King Dhammacetī caused them to consecrate in due form a *sīmā*, or

ordination site, at Pegu, to which he gave the name of Kalyāṇīsī remembrance of the fact that the monks whom he had sent to (had received their reordination in a *sīmā* on the Kalyāṇī River i island. Subsequently a large number of ecclesiastics of the Môn ki submitted, on their own motion, to reordination at the hands of the who had been reordained in Ceylon, thus healing the existing s and reuniting the Order on the basis of a canonically valid succession. king also, with the approbation of the Order, issued a set of rules to that, for the future, ordination should only be performed on suitable p and that monks who did not conform to the canonical rules should lea Order and become laymen. The principal inscription closes with a p of some length wherein it is pointed out that in this course of conduct Dhammacetī was but following the great examples set by Buddhist mo of olden time.

73. It would seem that in the reformations of Buddhism the civil frequently took a very leading part, and that the problem of the re between Church and State, never entirely settled in Medieval and M Europe, was solved *ambulando* in Buddhist Asia, whenever there w orthodox monarch with power to carry out his ideas. It will be remem however, that in Dhammacetī's case there were special circumstances. had been a monk himself, and his romantic history, including the cele incident of his escape from Ava with the Môn princess whose daugh subsequently married and whom he succeeded on the throne of the kingdom, is too well known to require repetition here. It is no w therefore, that when he was king his influence over the ecclesiastical of his realm was very strong, though it must be noted that our insc throughout represents him as making suggestions, rather than issuing instructions, to the Order. If we take this as a fair statement c situation, it represents a nicely poised balance of power, avoiding e astical autocracy on the one hand and Erastian absolutism of the authority on the other.

74. The general headings of the chief contents briefly referred to are distributed in the principal inscription as follows :—

From the missing beginning of the record to A 15. King A reformation of the Buddhist Order; and the mission of Soṇa and Utt Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

A 16–20. Decline and fall of Thatôn; and introduction of purified Buddhism into Upper Burma.

A 20—B 31. Origin and consequences of the schismatical divisions of the Order in Burma, with special reference to the Môn country.

B 32—D 51. King Dhammacetī's considerations as to the pre-requisites for the healing of the schisms (viz. canonically valid reordination, involving duly consecrated *sīmās* or ordination sites), with a review of the Sinhalese reformations.

D 52—E 39. King Dhammacetī requests a group of monks to proceed to Ceylon for reordination. Arrangements for the journey; and departure of the monks in two ships.

E 39—F 21. Arrival of the ships in Ceylon; reception by the king of Ceylon, reordination of the monks, and departure of one party of them, who returned in safety to Rangoon.

F 21–42. Shipwreck of the other party of monks and ultimate return of some of them.

F 42–55. King Dhammacetī's reception of the first party of monks.

Missing portion and G 1–12. Preparations for the consecration of the Kalyāṇīsīmā. Dhammacetī's considerations as to the conditions for the valid consecration of *sīmās*.

G 12–35. Details of the actual consecration itself.

G 35—H 41 and part of the missing portion. Reordination of many monks by the monks reordained in Ceylon.

Part of the missing portion and J 1–26. Dhammacetī's message as to the qualifications of future candidates for ordination. Deprivation of monks who would not conform. Number of the monks reordained and novices newly ordained.

J 26–44. Conclusion: a review of former reformations and an aspiration that in after times all impurities in religion might be cast out by future kings and monks.

75. As indicated above, the story of the ecclesiastical mission to Ceylon is prefaced by a good deal of historical matter relating to earlier periods in the long history of Buddhism, and particularly to its vicissitudes in Ceylon and its introduction and development in Burma. The precise position of Suvaṇṇabhūmi is not beyond doubt, but its early missionaries, Soṇa and

Uttara, have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their brar the Church; and though the tale has been embellished with many lege accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be disn as being altogether devoid of foundation. Evidence is gradually accumu from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian infl made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christia or possibly even two or three centuries before that date; and there to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist m being sent there at a relatively early period, though it may well be haza at present to attempt to fix that date exactly. Subsequently the eccl tical relations of Burma were mainly with Ceylon and particulars are of several cases of monks from the former country visiting the latter, a some instances being ordained there. It is an interesting example c solidarity of the Buddhist world of those days that one of the Ceylon r who, in his turn, went to Burma and settled there, subsequently sail Malayadīpa and for a time became the spiritual preceptor of the king o country. This is reported to have happened towards the end of the century, and probably Malayadīpa represents the historic state of Śrī V centring at Palembang in Southern Sumatra, which is known to flourished as a Buddhist kingdom from the time of the Chinese p I Tsing (who visited it late in the 7th century) down to well in the century. It is unfortunate that the Môn text fails us here, for we shoul to know the vernacular equivalent for "Malayadīpa." But perhaps we legitimately infer it from the "Glass Palace Chronicle," which is in based on our record and gives it as "Mallayu island" (p. 145). Ou contains Môn forms of other geographical names. Thus "Rāmaññac the Pāli name for the Môn kingdom of Lower Burma at that peri regularly rendered by "this Môn (*rman*) country of ours," which incide furnishes us with an acceptable etymological basis for the Pāli Similarly, where the Pāli has "Kamboja," the Môn has "Krom." Kroms are mentioned on pp. 22, 45, of the composite volume *Sudha vatīrājāvaṁsa* (Pak Lat, A. Budh. 2453). The second of these pas speaks of an army of them as coming from Chieng Mai, so that they probably Laos or Shans rather than Cambojans. But the point is do and has been learnedly discussed by Professor G. H. Luce in the *Jo of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 39–45.

76. In the notes appended to my translation of the principal inscription I have drawn attention to any substantial differences between the Môn and Pāli texts that I have noticed; and in such cases I have also endeavoured to see to what extent either of them was in agreement with the fragmentary Pāli text of the first three stones. But I have not attempted a thorough-going collation of this latter text with that of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, as (apart from my want of qualifications for such a task) it did not appear to come within the scope of my work as editor of the Môn fragments. It would seem desirable that some Pāli scholar should eventually undertake it.

77. The entirely new matter contained on Faces K–N requires special mention. These faces contain fragments of three inscriptions which may be described as appendices to the principal inscription and are so closely connected with it that they are most conveniently included under the same general heading. The distribution of this supplementary matter on the last four stones has already been indicated in § 67. The fortunate discovery of the manuscript copies mentioned in § 71 has revealed its full purport, the beginning (and a good deal more) of each appendix having been lost on the stones themselves. The first one relates that after the consecration of the Kalyāṇīsīmā, and (according to the manuscripts) beginning with the year 838 of the Common Era (1476-7 A.D.), a number of other *sīmās* were consecrated by the monks who had been reordained in Ceylon. This inscription then resolves itself into a long list of such *sīmās*, distributed over various towns and villages of the Môn kingdom; and, subject to the loss of a few lines on the top of Face L (which are, however, preserved in the manuscripts), it continued in this strain till it came to an end on the 19th line of that face. Though in the main a mere catalogue, it has a certain topographical interest; and possibly local enquiry may enable some of these sacred sites to be identified even now.

78. The second appendix (Face M) describes the ceremonial that took place (according to the manuscripts in the year 839 of the Common Era, 1477-8 A.D.) in connection with the planting of a Bodhi tree and the enshrining of a relic and certain sacred statues in a *cetiya* in the immediate vicinity of the Kalyāṇīsīmā. It seems probable that the Bodhi tree had been raised from seed brought back from Ceylon by the ecclesiastical mission, as mentioned in the principal inscription (Face F 51-2). As regards the relic, which is termed "relic of the exalted Buddha," I am not quite clear

in my mind as to what it really was. The Pāli version of the inscription (third stone, obverse) speaks of "an image of the Holy Relic"; but the corresponding Môn passage (l.c., *supra*) says about it, and it looks as if some words had been accidentally omitte On Face M we repeatedly find the words *dhāt patimārup*, whic mean either "relic consisting of an image" (*i.e.* of the above mention Tooth, of Ceylon), or "relic and image." As our text in M 19, 23, separates the two words by a double stop and in M 22 by the ex *kwom ku*, "together with," I have treated them in my translation separate objects. Probably the "image" was the replica of the Hol in any case; the relic may have been some object closely associat Buddha. It is interesting to note that the festival given in connect the ceremonial enshrining of these objects included dancing, sword p the like, and subsequently the sacred objects received the solemn that is usual on occasions of royal anointment (M 31-2). This in ends with l. 39 of Face M.

79. The third appendix (Face N) records in considerable de elaborate arrangements made (according to the manuscripts in the y of the Common Era, 1479-80 A.D.) in connection with the ordin monks of six hundred and one *sāmaṇeras* (deacons or novices), those mentioned at J 25 in the principal inscription. They were div six companies, each of which was put in charge of a prince or ot personage, who marshalled them; and they went in procession, in order, to the place of ordination. The end of the record, as show manuscript copies, ran over into the upper part of the reverse face 10, but is not represented in the surviving fragments, as the uppe that stone (as well as of several others) is lost.

80. Seventeen of the leading verifiable dates in the principal in have been calculated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned a "Indian Chronology" and "Indian Ephemeris," and a list of them on p. 58 of the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Burma* (1922), while some explanatory statements are given on the same Report. Owing to an unfortunate inadvertence, Nos. 1, and 6 of the list have been attributed to the wrong A.D. years, therefore quite incorrect. No. 1 is of the Burmese year 837 (1475 and Nos. 3–6 are of the year 838 (1476-7 A.D.), and all fiv

1476 A.D. This unfortunate error led Mr. Swamikannu Pillai to contradict the distinct statement of our record (both Pāli and Môn) that the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalated in the year in which date No. 4 falls, as was in fact the case. I have endeavoured in the notes to the Translation to give the equivalents of the leading dates of the record. But nothing very material from the historical point of view turns on any of its verifiable dates, as they merely record the precise times of incidents in the sending of the ecclesiastical mission to Ceylon (January, 1476), its adventures there in the spring and summer of that year, and the events that subsequently occurred, particularly the consecration of the Kalyāṇīsīmā (November, of the same year).

81. The most important date in the whole record is, perhaps, the one which states that 2002 years of the Buddhist Era had elapsed when Dhammacetī ruled at Pegu (B 32; and in the Pāli, first stone, reverse), the Pāli also adding that it was the year 820 of the Burmese Era (1458-9 A.D.). This does not agree with the reckoning in Phayre's *History of Burma*, which on p. 84 gives 1460 A.D. and on p. 290 the Burmese year 822 as the date of Dhammacetī's accession to the throne, while the Môn chronicles give other, divergent, dates. On this point the contemporary evidence of our record must be preferred. But as to the earlier dates that it contains, one cannot be sure that its authority for them is anything better than tradition and it seems hardly worth while to discuss them here. The one already referred to in § 75 in relation to the voyage of a Ceylon monk to Malayadīpa is connected in the Pāli text (first stone, obverse) with an event that fixes it in the reign of King Narapatijayasūra, *i.e.*, according to Phayre (*op. cit.*, p. 289), A.D. 1167–1204 (cf. A 37–42); and the date given for the establishment of Pāli Buddhism at Pagan consequent on the Burmese conquest of Thatôn is the now generally accepted one, A.D. 1057 (A 19, and Pāli first stone, obverse). But Phayre (*op. cit.*, pp. 22, 37, 281) gives dates for the accession and death of the conqueror Anawrahta which are evidently derived from a different line of tradition and are certainly wrong. The date given in our record is at any rate compatible with the information hitherto made available from the 11th century inscriptions, and may be regarded as a good provisional approximation, until more precise evidence is produced.

82. In my translation I have generally given the proper names of persons in the form which they bear in the Pāli text. Where the Môn form

differs, it can be found in the Môn text. I must here again record my grateful acknowledgments for the invaluable assistance of my friend Mr. Robert Halliday in providing me with the meanings of many Môn words that were not to be found in Haswell's *Vocabulary* and were not sufficiently determined by their context.[1] In a few cases where some doubt remained in my mind as to whether my own rendering of an ambiguous passage or Mr. Halliday's alternative version was the right one, I have ventured to put one of the two into the translation while relegating the other to a footnote, in the hope that future research may decide which, if either, is correct. The meanings of a certain number of words still remain undetermined, and on these I trust that we may get further light some day as research in Môn texts, ancient and modern, goes on and develops.

Text.

A

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[2]

1. . . . . .
. . . . . .
[Moggaliput]ta[ti]ssama[hā]the[3] [twah t]u(y)[4] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

2. . . . . .
. . . . . kuim
low ı rau tila pu[iy] mahāthe Yasa ı . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Mr. Halliday's own Dictionary, issued after my translation of the text (as originally drafted) had been done, has been of great help to me in rewriting the second part of the translation in the light of the new M.S. material.

[2] The beginning of the inscription, amounting to about ten lines, is lost. The two fragments here following do not join exactly at any point and both margins are missing. Accordingly, the dots are only an indefinite indication that something is lost, both at the beginnings and ends of the lines and in the middle between the two fragments, where they form two incomplete portions of a line. Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 1, continuing to l. 30. Fragment *a* begins at l. 8 and goes on to the end of the piece.

[3] The first three syllables have been restored from the Pāli version. [4] Or *ku*?

3. . . . . .
. . . . . [c]w[o]h
sun gah ı nū mwoy crawek kitu [m]āk ı cuiw ku cuip bape[ṅ] (kitu)[1] . . . . . .

4. . . . . .
. . . . . [Moggal]-
i[putt]atissamahāthe[2] ı bicāranā mwoy tuy ı pḍay kā anāga[t] . .
. . . . . .

5. . . . . .
. . . . . (nā)
[pḍ]ay thān paccantaraḥ ta gah . . . . . .[3] tila puiy
Mahindathe [ga]h ı . (w) . . . . . .

6. . . . . .
. . . . . dah
tau raḥ rman ra ı ı pḍay kāla (tu)y tila puiy tipuin the ḅā ma
twah bgaḥ So[ṇathe Uttarathe][4] . . . . . .

7. . . . . .
. . . . . [bāya]p[5]
kyāk Kelāsapow ı [mwo]y lapāk gah ı tau latu tmo[' ı mwo]y
lap[āk] . . . . . .

8. . . . . gah ı het
ñaḥ . . . . . (i) . ruih kwon
smiṅ ma dah . . . . . .[6] ı rakuih brau ma tau pḍay mahā-
sami[t] tuin tluṅ tuy (ı) . . . . . .

9. . . . . .[kwo]n
smiṅ mwoy ktuiw dah rakuih [brau] . . . . . smiṅ gaḥ
tuy ı kwom ku pariwā masun klaṁ gah tuin tluṅ nū mahāmi[t][7]
ra ı khā ga[h] . . . . . .

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] The first two syllables have been restored.
[3] Here there are some letters looking like a repetition of *ta gah* (or perhaps *tawah*?) followed by something else, possibly merely ı ı.
[4] Restored with the help of the Pāli version.
[5] Conjecturally restored, following the Pāli.
[6] The first part of the missing passage looks something like *suit* or *puih*.
[7] Error for *mahāsamit*.

10. . . . . gah da[h jā]d[isui]ṅ ḅā ı ma gap gwow sphek gmåk ma gluiṅ nū . . . . . gamluiṅ to' gah (pa) tuy bak bdau kle' rakuih ta gah ra ı khā gah rakuih . . . . . .

11. . . . . (ha) mik kuiw rakuih . . . . . .[1] gah go' plan (b)w(ā)y (k)r(au) gah ı uit janok . . . . . .' gah tila puiy [ti]puin the ḅā cut lar pumaṅ pumwoy tuy ı ku mānih [gamluiṅ][2] . . . . . .

12. . . . . [k]u[i]w dhar Brahma[jāl]asut (tuy) ı [la]jjuṅ saḍik kuiw ñaḥ gamlui[ṅ] tuy ı pa[n] (lṅ)i(m) . . . . [saraṇ]asīla[3] ra ı pḍa[y] k[āl]a gah ı mānih turau cwoh lṅim gah [ı go' graṅ ket] . . . . . .[4]

13. . . . . [lṅi]m masun klaṁ tit pa gam-[ī ra] ı (pa) [t]aṁ n(ū)[5] gah [h]eṅ samat kwon ṅāk t(u)y[6] ma (dah)[7] . . . . . (thā)n raḥ rman gah ı het [ma] ha mik kuiw ka(nd)o(k) k[l]a barhu(m[8] rap) [gah] ı a . . . . . .

14. . . . . kḍuip rakuih jaku jādisuiṅ (gah[9] da)ḥ k[ṣū] tuy ñaḥ la(w tlu)ṅ[10] tau latū (kḍuip) . . . . . (h) ı atuiṅ ru[p] gah kuim ı la[tū k]ḍuip [t]mo' [Tui]k Ga[lā] (ı jaweh)[11] . . . . . .

15. . . . . (h) nwo[m t]au ı ı pa taṁ nū ti[la] puiy [ḅā ma tlu]ṅ p[t]an [sāsa]nā [pḍay thā]n [ḍu]ṅ rman (gah) . . . . . (ı) guiw tau pḍa[y] ḍuṅ rman l[ukau kā ma lo'] san heṅ ra ı khā kāla ma jliṅ . . . . . .

[1] The illegible part ends, apparently, in *h* and looks rather like *toh* (which would probably be an error for *to'*). But it may be some other word.
[2] The last syllable has been restored.
[3] The first two syllables have been restored.
[4] Probably the first of the lost words would be *dhar*.
[5] There is no *ū* visible.
[6] There seems to be a trace of a *u*.
[7] Very doubtful, though the first letter must be *d* or *a*.
[8] The final might be *p*. The next word is also doubtful.
[9] Here there may be a stop, there being a small space available.
[10] The initial might be *k*, and there is no *u* visible.
[11] Very doubtful.

16. . . . . ma da[k]o' ta[y]ān[1] ā [t]a(nah) [ku]im [lo](ṛ ı) [y]ay (dwī kyā)m[2] to' ga[h] . . . . . [l]or ı het bhay [k]anwor ba[y]uiw ma jno[k ma k]tuiw dah kuim [law] ı . . . . . .

17. . . . . gah tuim[3] [lo]r ı [thā]n raḥ [ḍuṅ] rman gah ı ma [ḍu]in [ḍuin ā ku][4] dar[h]a[t] gah da[h] uiw ra ı . . . . . [uiw da] ci ı gam[-]ī tu[y] ma nisray t[au] raḥ rman ı ma (tau)[5] [t]au [pḍay thān] raḥ r[m]an ga[h] ı . . . . . .

18. . . . . (h) ı ha [sam]ah ratha [tuy] ı (sāsanā) [ma ḍuin] ḍuin [ā k]u darhat [g]ah dah ā ra ı[6] . . . . . (Sūriyakumā)[7] [ma du]ṅ yamu smiṅ Manohor ma pkaṅ ra[ṅ t]au ḍuṅ [Su]dhui[m gah ı sāsanā] . . . . . .

19. . . . . [kyāk[8] tr]ay [ma pa] par[i]nibbān ı dah lṅim t[urau klaṁ cn]ā[m] (ı) [sāsanā ma ta]n ḍuṅ rman da[h] lṅim (pi)[9] . . . . . [kyāk tr]ay ma pa parinibbān dah lṅim [turau k]laṁ mwoy cnām ı pḍay sa[kk]arāt[10] . . . . . .

20. . . . . [t]wah bgaḥ ḍuṅ Arimaddanapur ra ı ı [nor] (cnām[11] sāsanā ma) [cuip] ḍuṅ Pukām gah ı da[h] . . . . . [5]3[2][8] khā gah s[m]iṅ Sirisa[ṅghab]odhi-Parakkamabāhu ı ma caaḥ sāsanā . . . . . .

[1] Looks like *tahān*, but I think it must be the equivalent of L.M. *kayān, kayyān*, "to dispute."
[2] Very doubtful, especially the *d*, the *i* (which might be *i*), and the *y* (which might be *s*). Before the *d* there may be a stop. But probably the expression represents the L.M. *yai jī khyām*, "plague, pestilence."
[3] Error for *kuim*.
[4] The *u* is not clear.
[5] Very doubtful: the initial is probably *t*, but there may be something subscript, and the vowel is quite uncertain.
[6] The first letter of this missing passage appears to be *d* or *a*.
[7] Traces of the last two syllables are visible: the rest has been restored from the Pāli.
[8] Restored.
[9] Very doubtful. But in view of the traditional chronology, as embodied in the Pāli version, the time would be 1382 years after the Council which sent out the missionaries and 1364 years after the establishment of Buddhism in the Môn country. Apparently the Pāli does not give the figure here.
[10] Here appear to have followed numerals, the Pāli having 419.
[11] Very doubtful.

21. . . . . kāla gah ı mahāthe Uttarā[juiw ı acā[1] sm]i[ṅ Pukām ı s-ā[2] l]aṅwor (c)e(tī)[3] . . . . (tko)[' Siṅ]ghuiw gaḥ tuy ı kwom [ku saṅ g]am[lu]iṅ cui[h ā ḍo]k [kḥaṅ p]ḍay . . . . . .

22. . . . . puiy[4] kwan rman ı twaḥ mahāthe Ar[iyawaṁsa[5] ı mahā]the [A]ri[yawaṁsa] tun gah ı . . . . . [mahā]the Krabaṅ[6] dam[y]oṅ [tu]n gah ı twaḥ mahā[the Prā]ṇada[s][7] . . . .

23. . . . . lokījjhān ı [tila] puiy t(au) Sudhuim (ı) . . . . . .[8] [t]i[la puiy ā] twah tnaṁ jray . . . . . (tu)y ı cau piṇḍapāt pḍay ḍuṅ [Sudhuim kuim] ı tradah [t]ila puiy tu[y] ı [y]aḥ . . . . . .

24. . . . . [ñ]aḥ ḍuṅ S[udhui]m ma ā banik pḍay [thān] (Magadha)[9] . . . . i . . (t) . . . ma ā [ñ]āt tuy . . . . . ı [ñ]aḥ ma [tim] tradah tila [puiy] (ma)[10] [go]' lok[ījjhā]n rwoṅ ı (na)[11] gati . . . .

25. . . . . [sāma]ṇī mwoy kwān [ñ]aḥ twān Cha[pat] (pḍay raḥ Kusim)[12] ga[h] ı [b]ak ā [t]ila puiy (th)e . . . . . [Siṅghuiw[13] gah ı] saṅ gamluiṅ ma tau pḍay tko' Siṅghuiw smān cat ḅat m[w]ay . . . .

[1] The last syllable of the name and also the word *acā* are illegible, but the restoration is supported by the Pāli.

[2] The stop and the *s* are not quite certain.

[3] Only the *e* is preserved: the rest has been restored from the Pāli.

[4] It may be supposed that this word was preceded by *tila*.

[5] Although it occurs twice in this line, the last syllable of this name is doubtful. But it is supported by the Pāli.

[6] Or conceivably *°buṅ*. The Pāli form is *Kappuṅganagara* in the MS. But this does not appear to be the reading of the inscription itself, which has *bb* for *pp* and no visible *u*. So probably *Krabaṅ* is right after all.

[7] Possibly we should supply *sī* to end the name, as in the Pāli form in the inscription itself. (The MS. has *°si*, apparently.)

[8] The first part of the undeciphered passage looks rather like *yaḥ yaḥ*.

[9] Very doubtful, but supported by the Pāli.

[10] The *ma* is by no means clear: so far as appearances go, it might be *sa* or ı ı.

[11] Very doubtful.

[12] Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli version, but very doubtful.

[13] Only the last three letters are visible, but the restoration is a safe one.

26. . . . . [Mahinda]th[e][1] ma tluṅ ptan sāsanā pḍay [t]ko['] Siṅghuiw . . . . . ti[la p]u[iy to]' . . . . . [Soṇa]th[e][1] Uttarathe ma ā ptan sāsan[ā pḍay] Suwaṇṇabhuṁ kuim ci gaḥ tuy ı . . . . . .

27. . . . [kwān[2] ñ]aḥ Chapaṭo ga[h] ı mhāthe Uttarāj(uiw) gah . . . . . [kyāk] p[day] tk[o]' (Siṅghuiw)[3] . . . . . [kuim][4] ı dapuin kwon ñaḥ Chapaṭ[o] (gah khā) [t]ala puiy ma[hāthe] . . . . . .

28. . . . . (h) ı ña[n ku k]alo jñāt (pu)i(y san dah uiw da ci ı) [ñātipalibodha[5] sdah] . . . . . ' drasok cuit sda[h] tau ku ey ḍi[k t]un ı ey ḍik sdi . . . . . .

29. . . . [S]iṅghuiw ra ı [da]puin gah kat [b]atwon [uit] tuy (ı) . . . . . tuy he(ṅ) . . . . . . (mahāthe Chapaṭo)[6] ñaḥ gaḥ ı ı mahāthe Chapaṭo gah ı kāla tu[y] . . . . . .

30. . . . y ı mahāthe Siwili kwon ñaḥ Tāmal(itthī)[7] . . . . . [mahā]the Tām(a)li[nda][8] . . . . . (Kāncīpura[9] mway ı) [mahā]the Rāhula (kwon) . . . . . .

31. . . . . y ı ti[la pam]ray masun ḍok [k]ḅaṅ [tuy c]au tlu[ṅ cuip] ḍuṅ Kusim ra ı ui(t) . . . . . .

32. . . . . (ta)g(u)in Pukā[m c]nām gah ı [ha] ga[tāp tuy ı mwo]y wah taguin pḍay wīhā (ta)[10] . . . . . .

[1] Both these conjectural restorations are based on the Pāli and are practically certain.

[2] Conjecturally restored. Perhaps the spelling here should be *kwon*.

[3] Conjecturally restored. [4] The initial letter is doubtful.

[5] Hardly legible, but supported by the Pāli.

[6] Conjecturally restored. The last of the missing words apparently ended in *d* or *o*.

[7] Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

[8] Or *°mu°*. The last syllable is restored.

[9] Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli, and extremely doubtful except the *ī* (which is certain).

[10] Or possibly *ka*. Presumably this is the first part of the name of this *vihāra*.

33. . . . . (Pukā)m[1] ra ı mahāthe Uttarāj[ui]w [tun ler ı kiā tila puiy] to' . . . . . .

34. . . . . (to)' [ra ı yo]' tila ta' [ı akhā[2] tuy] a[cā puiy ma ā] . (i) . . . . . .

35. . . . . (tila[3] pu)iy mahāthe [arhan] (ḅā ı ma) hi[mu] Soṇathe ı Utta[rathe][4] . . . . . .

36. . . . . m-aḥ[5] ma da[h] a[dhī]pat da[h] u[iw[6] da ci ı puiy] ha mik h[uy][7] . . . . . .

37. . . . . [sa]kkarāt [5]43[8] ॥ [h]eṅ ı s[āsanā nū S]i[ṅ]ghu[i]r ı ma . . . . . .

38. . . . . (tila)[9] [pu]iy to' [ñ]aḥ mas[u]n ga[h bwoy] r(aw)eṅ[10] ma(r)[11] . . . . . .

[1] Conjecturally restored, with the help of the Pāli version.
[2] Or, less probably, ı *khā*.
[3] Conjecturally restored. [4] Restored.
[5] Apparently the first syllable of this word has been lost. One is tempted by the Pāli version to restore *bam-aḥ*, but this would be an unusual spelling for "Burmese," L.M. *bamā, khamā*.
[6] Looks more like *uiṗ*. [7] A pretty certain restoration.
[8] The first numeral is quite obliterated. I follow the Pāli.
[9] Conjecturally restored.
[10] The *ra* may be *rau* and the *weṅ* may be *geṅ*. Possibly the two syllables (if the first is *rau*) form two words.
[11] Doubtful, but probable.

39. . . . . [mahā]the Rā[hula ñā]t [k]et bhaṇḍayā brau . . . . . .

40. . . . . chī daw [tau kuim ı ch]ī dar [ha mān t]uy ı ı ti(la)[1] . . . . . .

41. . . . . k n[-]ā tuy [ı Rāhulathe ḍ]ok k[ḅ]aṅ ā (cuip)[1] . . . . . .

42. . . . . [y p]abeṅ [t]uy ı Rā[hu]la-[th]e pa [gihī]bho(w) . . . . . .

43. . . . . khā gah Siwi[l]i[mahāthe] ı Tām[u][i]ndama[hāthe][1] . . . . . .

44. . . . . h tipuin [S]i[wili-the ı ku Tāmuli]nda[th]e[2] . . . . . .

45. . . . . [ı rau wo' gaḥ t]un ı ma pa ñāti(saṅgaha)[3] . . . . . .

46. . . . . [na sda]nd[o]' [batwon san] . . . . . .

[1] Restored. [2] The *u* is doubtful.
[3] Conjecturally restored: *saṅg* seems to be traceable on the ink-impression. The Pāli has *ñātisaṅgahaṁ*.

(Fragment *c*.)[1]

47. . . . . .
. [Tā]m(u)l[indathe] (gah) ꣸ paā . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . .

48. . . . . (k)w(on) . . . . .
. . . jmāp dakā upaḥ a(th)in amāt . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .

49. . . . . (ti)la to' gah dok . . . . t tau ꣸
da[kā] to[' tak pa](t) . . . . . .
. . . . . .

50. . . . . [ti]la puiy Siwilithe ꣸ do(k)
[T]ām[u]lindathe tun ꣸ yo' [t]ila . . . .[2] pa[ccay] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

51. . . . . wihā kambā twaḥ tila gah . .
daḥ so' ꣸ iṅah Siwilithe ga[ḥ ꣸ rau] ww[o]' [T]ām[u]l[indathe][3]
. . . . . .
. . . .

52. . . . . ha go' pa wacīwiñat so' ꣸ het
dratuy mramar [s]āsanā [ma sdaḥ] (ey)[4] [la]r (cuit)[5] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

53. . . . . [Tā]m[u]lindathe gaḥ ꣸ sāk gah ra tila
[ey] gaḥ mā [ī] (sabhau)[6] ñaḥ [tu]y (ma tau tau)[7] [pḍay dando']
(batwon)[8] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece. The left-hand margin being preserved, the amount missing at the beginnings of the first nine lines has been approximately calculated; but the dots at the ends of the lines are only a rough estimate.

[2] This missing piece looks like *pa cau*.

[3] Restored.

[4] This might be read *yra* or *yrau*.

[5] Restored; the *i* is certain and the *cu* probable.

[6] This looks as if it might be *sanā*.

[7] Very doubtful. At first I was inclined to read *samaratha* (with the sense of "agree"), but after repeated and careful examination of the photograph and ink-impressions I concluded that this was not tenable. Another conceivable reading is *ma kat*, "who (have) learnt."

[8] Conjecturally restored.

54. . . . . [ka]m saraṅ tanoh ra ꣸ ey ler spa ket [k]am
saraṅ tano[h] ra gaḥ tu[y ꣸ pa t]aṁ [nū gah tila pui]y
Siw[ilithe][1] . . . . . .

55. . . . . saṅ to' ḍah pan buk ra ꣸ tila saṅ to['] tuy ꣸
[ma d]ah tnow [sāsanā ma tui]n [nū] Su[dhuim] ler mwoy bu[k]
. . . . . .

56. atu(iṅ) . . . . . [t]now ma tuin nū Sudhuim gah ꣸ tila to' tnow
ñaḥ ma cuip klā da[h] uiw ci (ı) arhe' sā bamā to' gaḥ ꣸ [ti]la
[to' ñaḥ pi buk tno]w ñaḥ ma cau nū Siṅghu[iw] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

B

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[2]

1. . . . . (mahāthe)[3] [p]ṣ[ā krom] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

2. . . . . [n tanā] am(hu)[4] a[m]rā jamn[ok] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

3. . . . . [n] tu[y m]a da[h] bwok mahāthe pṣā [krom]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

4. . . . . ꣸ bwok saṅ ma[hā]the pṣā krom ñaḥ (ma) . .
. . . . . [pṣā krom ñaḥ] (gaḥ) . . . .(kr) . .
. (ma) lo' a . . . . . .

[1] Restored.

[2] There are about a dozen lines missing between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *a* is to the left and runs from l. 1 to l. 27. Fragment *b* begins at l. 4 and continues to l. 40. The gap between the two fragments has been approximately measured; but as both margins are lost, the amount missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively, could not be estimated, and the dots in those positions merely indicate that an indefinite number of letters has been lost.

[3] Practically certain, though only the last syllable is preserved.

[4] Conceivably *ambu*.

5. . . . . [m] gaḥ tun ı bwok saṅ krom ñaḥ ma gaḥ ı pa[1] he[t] . . . . . [t]uy ı [ma] d[ah] bwok mahā[the psā] krom ga[h] . . . . . .

6. . . . . [bwok][2] saṅ tray arhan gamluiṅ ma tau pḍay raḥ rman kuim ler ı bwo[k] (saṅ)[2] [krom ga]ḥ tuy ı rman gamluiṅ to' [g]a(ḥ ci)[3] ı [ı kh]ā gah pḍay ḍuṅ . . . . . .

7. . . . . [Siṅghui]r ler mwo[y] bwok ı dah ā ḥā bwok ra ı ı pḍay ḍuṅ Ma[ttma] tun gah ı bwok saṅ krom [le]r [mwoy b]w[o]k ı bwok s[aṅ] . . . . . .

8. . . . . bwok ı bwok saṅ Siṅghuir tu[y] ma dah [t]nor Siwi[lithe le]r mwoy bwok ı ı ñ(ām[4] saṅ) [Siṅghuir tu]y ma dah bwok . . . . . .

9. . . . . l(e)r[5] ı cui[r] yāt ma hāp puṅ ı khā ñaḥ ma niman tanā tun ı (pḍay) [sṅi thān ñaḥ ha go]' hāp ı cau [hāp] (wihā)[6] [kuim] ı [tila p]uiy [to' gah] . . . . . .

10. . . . . bwok saṅ Siṅghuir tuy ma dah tnor t[w]aḥ mahā[th]e [Tāmal]in[da ler] mwoy bwo[k ı ñām bwo]k saṅ acā am[āt p]rer[7] cuir [ma gaḥ] . . . . . .

11. . . . . Buddhawaṁsamahā[the] ma gaḥ gah ı acā gna[k]yāk pḍa[y] Mat[tma] ā tko' Siṅghuir tuy ı kaleṅ (cau[8] tluṅ cuip) [ḍu]ṅ Ma[ttma] (yra)[9] ler [ñ]aḥ ma ā cuip (ra) . . . . . .

12. . . . . [kaṁ]m saraṅ ku ñaḥ ı [p]aā[10] kaṁm saraṅ tanah heṅ ı [bwok] tila puiy ga[h ler Si]ṅghuir [mwoy b]w[ok] ‖ bwok tila pui[y] Mahāsā[m]i[mahāthe][11] . . . . . .

13. . . . . [m]w[o]y bwok ‖ het gah ra pḍay ḍuṅ Mattma gah ı [bwok] saṅ [krom] mwoy bwok ı bwo[k Siṅ]ghuir [mas]un bwok ı turau bwok dah (uit)[12] . . . . . .

1 Or possibly, but wrongly, *ba*.
2 Restored, but practically certain.
3 Very doubtful.
4 Conceivably *ñaḥ ma*, and the next word is extremely doubtful.
5 Or *lar*.
6 Or *bihā*.
7 Conceivably *brer*, the more usual spelling (L.M. *brew*, "silk cloth").
8 It is doubtful, owing to a flaw, whether *cau* (or any other word) is here at all.
9 This may be read *ey*, but I do not see how that could come in here.
10 Looks like *ma ā*, which can hardly be meant.
11 The last four syllables have been conjecturally restored.
12 Or *uiw*?

14. . . . . [k]uim ı ha go' [hu]y kam[1] saraṅ kwom ku raṅ sko[' h]eṅ [d]ah uiw da ci ı dah uir nānā[nikā]ya [heṅ ra ı] uit pḍa[y] nikā[ya] tila puiy . . . . . .

15. . . . . [m]a dah tau b[y]a[t]ta [p]aṭibala ma st[lu]ṅ[2] cat ḅat k . . . [ka]m sar[e]ṅ[3] ma gaḥ gah ha mwoy [heṅ ra ı] tila to' tuy ı ma dah bwok bwok ga[h] . . . . . .

16. . . . . [byatta paṭi]bala[4] ra gaḥ tuy ı tila puiy to' gah paā . . . . . [ma samut] sim ma kuiw upasa[mpada ı pa]ā [kam-tanah h]eṅ (ra) [ı] ı akhā [gah] tila p[uiy] . . . . . .

17. . . . . [h] ı al[um] gā[m]asim tu[y] ma cuin dah t[au] . . . . . go' sodhanā [t]uy [ayām] pḍay [t]mo' ni[mit] gah ku[i]m ı so[dhanā] . . . . . .

18. . . . . [k]am ma pa taṁ ku upasampadakam ga[h] . . . . . (to)' laṅguiw tun (gah ı ma) [sodhanā] alum gāmas[im] heṅ ma daḥ ı (ket) ma i . . . . . .

19. . . . . [h gāma] kuim[5] lar laksan ma (thuik)[6] . . . . . thuik dah wis[u]ṁ[g]āma kuim lor ı laksan ma iṅah gah [ha] go' cat ḅa[t] . . . . . .

20. . . . . .[7] bway ma ji[p] kli[p][8] tuy ı ñām . . . . . [ni]sray ke[t tu]y [ı pḍay] khana ma pa kam ma [s]amut sim [gah] ı yām thān ma daḥ c[u]i[t] . . . . . .

21. . . . . (k) maṅ laṁ ma daḥ cuit gah ı trawuiw . . . . . (da)h wi[suṁgāma heṅ] gaḥ tuy ı pḍay thān ma ha mwā[y ku] wi[su]ṁgāmalakkha[ṇa] . . . . . .

22. . . . . [so]dhanā ket tuy ı samut . . . . . h kui[m ler ı kam ma pa t]aṁ ku upasam[padakam gah paā] heṅ ra ‖ tila p[uiy] . . . . . .

1 Conceivably *kaṁm*, though I can see no *anusvāra* symbol.
2 Practically certain, though the *lu* is of peculiar shape owing to deficiency in interlinear space.
3 Error for *saraṅ*.
4 The first four syllables have been restored.
5 Between *ui* and *m* there seems to be a small original flaw.
6 Conjectural, the only certain thing being the *i*. The initial might be *t*, or *th*.
7 Here there is something that might be *k* or *kā*.
8 Looks like *jim kliw*.

23. . . . . y sīm[āsaṁka]rado[sa[1] ma] da[h] . . . . . (m ma dak) rwoṅ[2] ꞉ pḍay baddha[sim ku gāmasi]m [gah ler ꞉] . . . . . .

24. . . . . (sīmāsaṁ)karadosa[3] ha dah ꞉ pḍay . . . . . [cuip[4] tuy] a[khā] ma dak baddhasim ꞉ pḍa[y] gā[m]asi[m g]ah ꞉ (gāmasim)[5] . . . . . .

25. . . . . [wū]du[i]h[6] [gah ꞉] rukkhasākhā(disambandha)[7] . . . . . ke[t k]wo[m k]u gāmasim [ma dah da]tau ba[ddhasi]m ma sdak (wwo') . . . . . .

26. . . . . (') [꞉] ma sodhanā gāmasi[m] . . . . . [gāma]sim [ma dah] datau baddhasi[m m]a sda[k] w[w]o[' k]uim ꞉ sodhanā [t] . . . . . .

27. . . . . [u]pasam[pa]da(kam) . . . . . [tun gah] ꞉ yā[m] na[dīla]k[khaṇa jā]tassa[rala]kkha[ṇa] ga[h] (dah) . . . . . .

28. . . . . [tuy] ma (dah) [an]va[ḍḍhamāsaṁ] ꞉ anudasāhaṁ ꞉ [anupañcāhaṁ] . . . . . .

29. . . . . [jātassa]ra tu[y] (꞉ ha) [mwoy] ku na[dī]lakkhaṇa [꞉ j]ātas[saralakkhaṇa][8] . . . . . .

30. . . . . [heṅ] ra [꞉ tila to' la]ṅguiw tun gah ꞉ (sodhanā)[9] . . . . . .

[1] After the *k* there seems to be an original flaw; or else we must read °*kā*°, which would be an error for °*ka*°.
[2] Written in abbreviated form, as if it were *ṅrwo*, with superscript *ṅ*.
[3] The first three syllables have been restored.
[4] Possibly *cuit*.
[5] Very doubtful.
[6] The first syllable has been restored.
[7] The last four syllables have been restored.
[8] The last three syllables have been restored.
[9] Restored.

31. . . . . (nwom) . . . . . [go]' [sag]ut kle' ꞉ so[dhanā] . . . . . .

32. . . . . [pa parinibb]ān[1] (gah) . . . . [ḷ]ā l[ṅ]im ḷā cn[ām k]u[li] (lwon) . . . . . .

33. . . . . (bedāgama)[2] [t]akka byā[karaṇa-chanda-s]attha alaṁk[āra][3] . . . . . .

34. . . . . [bhās]ā [ma ka mwoy] (ma)[4] [ḍok peṅ tau kwom] (ku) . . . . . .

35. . . . . [Mu]tti[mamaṇḍal][5] (gah) [babwoy[6] dhar][7] . . . . . .

36. . . . . [tila ñ]aḥ Rā[mādhipati][8] . . . . . .

37. . . . . [cuin skuim] (tau) [k]w[om] (ku) sa[mp]atti ma[s]u[n] . r . . . . .[9] . . . . . .

[1] The first three syllables have been restored.
[2] Restored with the help of the Pāli version.
[3] Possibly *alaṁṅkāra*. Alternatively this might be written *alāṅkāra*, but I do not know whether the *anusvāra* symbol (if present at all) is intended to indicate a modified sound of the vowel.
[4] Or ꞉ ?
[5] Or °*maṇḍala*, if the supposed *virāma* is an accidental mark.
[6] Or *ꝑabwoy*, possibly.
[7] The next word seems to begin with *bo* (perhaps *bodhi* ?) or *bwo* (perhaps *bwoy*).
[8] The last two syllables have been restored.
[9] Possibly *prakā* or *tradaḥ* ?

38. . . . . [sampa]t[t]i [p]i [n]w[om] . .

39. . . . . win[ay] . . .

40. . . . . [r] . . . . .

(Fragment *c*.)[1]

41. . . . . [r] . . . . . [y]

42. . . . . (bac)āranā[2] ma gluiṅ gluiṅ ku (leh) . . . . . .

43. . . . . [truh] brau gamluiṅ lew kuiw dah ı [tr](adah)[3] . . . u . . . . . .

44. . . . . (leh) tau lew kuiw dah ı tradat[4] ma dah thā[n] dra(t) . . . . . .

[1] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece. Both margins being lost, it is impossible to calculate exactly the number of letters missing at the beginnings and ends of the lines, respectively, but a comparison with A (*c*) makes it clear that the ends of ll. 53 and 54 come very near to the margin.

[2] This doubtful reading receives some support from the Pāli version. The usual spelling is *bi*°, but I see no trace of the *i*.

[3] Probable, though not quite certain.

[4] Error for *tradah*.

45. . . . . (sim mā) [ı yā]m trawuir thān tuy ı gāmabhojaka ma k[e]t . . . . . .

46. . . . . (gah) [kui]m akhwon adān laceh laṅ[gu]iw[1] ga[h ı] smi[k kuiw] ñaḥ (c)-(āṅ) . . . . . .

47. . . . . (w) kui[w ta]n[o]h gah cha ḍeh ma ca twān tami ma [g]o' [bak][2] ket akhwon a[dān][3] . . . . . .

48. . . . . twah tuy ma ñ[aḥ] . . . . . (w) . (r) s[t]a[w]ui[w] (ra[4] ma) ket akhwon gah kuim lor ı pḍay [w]isuṁgāmakhet tu[y] ı ma cuin skuim (tau) . . . . . .

49. . . . . lo ra[5] ı thān laceh [yā]m ma daḥ cui[t gah] (ı) [ke]t ke[t tu]y yata[6] [g]am-ī to['] ı smik kanaṁ sim ra ı akh[ā ma m]ik kanaṁ ga(h) . . . . . .

50. . . . . c-āṅ wūduih ı rukkhasākhādisambandha ga[h sag]ut kle['] tuy [h]eṅ ı wūduih thān [la]ceh ma mik samut sim ga[h t]ui[w] n[i]mi[t ra] ı khā . . . . . .

51. . . . . dr[ep] ā ga[h ı] sjuiṅ na stim ra da[h] mā ı ta[m]e[ṅ saṇṭhā]n [ma c-]ā[ṅ] ā nū saṇ[ṭhān ma pa] ta[ṁ] ku [p]i t[l]aṅ ı pan tlaṅ [ga]h ḅuin ha mw[o]y ku[im] ı pḍay . . . . . .

[1] Possibly *laṅgwuiw*.

[2] Or *ḅat*? But this would mean "to measure, to estimate the amount of."

[3] Conjecturally restored.

[4] Very doubtful.

[5] Possibly *lor*, but I see no *virāma*.

[6] Perhaps *yati*. But cf. D 47, 48, G 29.

52. . . . . [t]au ‖ ḅuin ha go[’] daḅut nimit ma gluiṅ kuim ‖ tarau dare[p] ga[h] sw[ā] na sti[m] ra [y]o[w] dah mā ‖ mik pa ra ‖ siṅghā[t]aka-saṇṭhān (t)u[y] (gah) . . . . . .

53. . . . . (।) [pan] tlaṅ jamliṅ kui[m lor] ‖ n[im]i[t] pan kuim daḅut ‖ sm[ik[1] pa ra] saṇṭhān masun [t]laṅ mā ‖ ni[mi]t ma[s]un [d]aḅut ‖ smik pa ra [t]ameṅ tame[ṅ s]aṇṭhān [ma glui]ṅ mā ‖ nimit [ma] (pa taṁ ku) ni[mit] . . . . . .

54. . . . . [ñ]aḥ swā na stim tarau darep [s]i[m g]ah kuim ‖ tameṅ saṇṭhān ler ha mwoy ‖ ni[m]i[t] ma glui[ṅ] ler sdaḅut mā ‖ phuiw [m]a daḅut nimit ma gluiṅ gah ha mwoy ra ❀ [2]

C

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[3]

1. . . . . (ṅ) ma pha[h] (sāk wo’)[4] . . . . . .[5]

2. . . . . (॥) [j]m[āp j]m[āp] lap[āk ki]tu he[ṅ ‖] mw[oy leh bray gū][6] . . . . . .

[1] Looks like *smit*.

[2] Here there is a decorative mark, like a four-petalled flower, apparently indicating the end of a paragraph. It seems probable, therefore, that there was nothing more in this line. In the bottom margin, between the double marginal lines, some letters have been inscribed, which do not seem to have anything to do with our text. I can only make out *kusalā dhammā*.

[3] Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 1, continuing to the end of this piece. Fragment *a* runs from l. 3 to l. 41. About ten lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece.

[4] Conjecturally restored.

[5] The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of the lines has been estimated in so far as the circumstances permitted, there being only one margin preserved.

[6] The last three words have been conjecturally restored.

3. . . . . [mwoy] . . . . . [ratha] sammādhārāpawecchana[1] gah ‖ puwa bray ma [gū][2] . . . . . .

4. . . . . [sammādhārāpawecchana[3] gah ‖ p]u[wa] b[ray ma gū gah ler] (॥) . . . . . ‖ ‖ [lw](on kā)[4] lapāk kitu tu[y] ‖ b[r]ay ra gū [m]. . . . . .

5. [bray gū k]u[im lar] ‖ [pi p]i tṅey mwoy le[h] bray [gū kuim lar ‖] (ḅā ḅā tṅey)[5] mwoy [l]eh [bray] gū [k]uim lar ‖ ruih[6] tadap (tṅey)[7] . . . . . .

6. [h sama]wu[t]ṭhi [gah] ‖ pḍa[y] pan ki[tu ma tadak k]u wassa[kāla gah] . . . . . (t)u(n)[8] [pḍ]ay thān ma dah [c]n[i]h kuim lar ‖ thā[n] ma [h]a se[ṅ] . . . . . .

7. [la t]uy ‖ twāk [tlo]’[9] ā kruṅ ga[h] ra ‖ khā gah sapui[ṅ] gam-ī [brau] . . . . . [m mwo]y la[p]uh ḅā la[pu]h [k]uim [l]ar [y]ar ra s[t]ḍek ma gaḥ (।) . . . . . [sama]-[10]

8. [w]u[t]ṭh[i gah] pi sāk dah uir da ci ‖ pḍay kāla samawuṭṭhi tuy ‖ [lapāk][10] lapāk kitu bra[y] ma gū [m]w[o]y le[h] ga[h ‖] yarau [pḍay] (pan kitu ma tadak ku wassakāla gah)[11]

9. [sapuiṅ gam-ī br]au ma twāk clo[’ ā gah] ra tḍek mā ‖ kru[ṅ g]ah mā [mahāna]d[ī] heṅ ra ‖ pḍay k[ā]la [s]amawuṭṭhi tuy ‖ cah ca[h tṅ]ey [bray] (ma gū mwoy leh gah ‖ yarau pḍay pan)[11]

[1] Substituting *v* for *w*, this is also the reading of the Pāli original on the stone, but the MS. from which Mr. Taw Sein Ko’s first transcript was made seems to have had *sammādhārāpaccheda*(*vasena*).

[2] Conjecturally restored.

[3] The first five syllables have been restored.

[4] Very doubtful, though the vowel after *lw* is certainly either *o* or *e*.

[5] Conjecturally restored, but practically certain, from the Pāli version.

[6] Perhaps wrongly written *ruit*.

[7] Conjecturally restored. But there may have been another *tadaḥ* in front of it.

[8] Very doubtful, except the *u*.

[9] The initial does not seem to be *k*, as in L.M. *klo’*, nor yet *c*, as in ll. 9, 10, *infra*.

[10] Restored.

[11] Both these portions have been restored. The second one is practically certain, but the first is conjectural.

10. [kitu] wa[ss]akāla gah ᵻ sapuiṅ dapuin brau ma twāk clo' gah ra yar [tḍ]e[k ma] gaḥ ᵻ kruṅ gah mā ma[jjh]imanadī ra ᵻ pḍay kā samawuṭṭhi tuy masun ma[s]u[n tṅey] (bray ma gū mwoy leh gah ᵻ sapuiṅ)[1]

11. [dip]u[i]n br[au ma] twāk clo' gah ra yar [t]ḍ[ek] ma gaḥ ᵻ kruṅ ga[h] mā kru[ṅ sam]at ra ᵻ yarau pḍay kruṅ [mwo]y tun gah ᵻ pḍay kā ma dah [sama]wuṭṭhi ga(h sapuiṅ dipuin brau ma twāk clo')[2]

12. [g]ah [tḍ]ek ᵻ [khā kāla] ma da[h] dubbuṭṭhi tun gah ha tḍek ᵻ dubbu[ṭṭhi] gah ha seṅ [k]u[3] bnat [dah u]ir da ci ᵻ gah kruṅ ma phah sāk ga[h] ler ᵻ ha . . . . . .

13. gah ᵻ pḍay kāla ma dah samawuṭṭhi gah ᵻ sapuiṅ tipuin brau ma [twā]k clo' gah ᵻ ha [t]ḍe[k] ᵻ pḍay kāla ma dah atiwuṭṭhi tu[y ma] tḍek ᵻ ati[wuṭṭhi][4] . . . . . .

14. ga[h ᵻ] dah nadī ra ha [g]ap gor sgaḥ ‖ sabhau jātassara ma gaḥ [g]ah[5] ᵻ (ḍe)h dah ket aluir ḍe[h] ᵻ ma mi[k k]uir[6] ñaḥ mwoy mwoy ha go['] kanaṁ bda[h] . . . . . .

15. peṅ tau ᵻ laca ma phah sāk ga[h] he[ṅ ᵻ j]ātassara ma ga(ḥ) . . . . . [ra][7] mwoy pḍay [k]āla ma dah sa[m]awuṭṭhi gah ᵻ pḍay pan kitu wassa[kāla][8] . . . . . [jui]-[9]

16. ṅ tay kuim lar ᵻ ḍāk nwo[m] ma gaḥ ᵻ ḍeh [ā] cuip jā[tassara][8] . . . . . (kui)m ra ᵻ jātassara gaḥ ku ḍeh go' ra ‖ samawuṭṭhi gah [p]i sāk (h)e(ṅ)[8] . . . . . [mahājāta]-[8]

17. ssara ᵻ majjhi[m]ajātassara ᵻ [kh]u[d]dakajātassara ᵻ pi sāk d(ah) . . . . . [jāta]ssara mwoy tun gah ᵻ pḍay kāla ma dah samawuṭṭhi gah tna[h] . . . . . .

[1] This passage has been conjecturally restored but seems fairly certain.
[2] This passage has been conjecturally restored.
[3] Looks like *tu*; and if so written, it is merely an error for *ku*.
[4] The last two syllables have been restored.
[5] Looks rather like *wah*, but in any case it must be meant for *gah*.
[6] Looks rather like *mit tuir*, but certainly meant for *mīk kuīr*.
[7] Perhaps this is the last syllable of *jātassara*.
[8] Conjecturally restored, but practically certain.
[9] Conjecturally restored. Perhaps we should restore *it jo*.

18. ᵻ ḍāk nwom ‖ pḍay kā dubbuṭṭhi kuim lar ᵻ pḍay heman[ta] . . . . . (kuim) lar ᵻ ḍā[k[1] h]a mwoy ga[h j]ā[tas]sara gah (ler)[2] ᵻ [h]a s[e]ṅ ku jā[tassara][3] . . . . . .

19. y tun ᵻ pḍay kā ma dah sa[m]awuṭṭhi gah ᵻ pḍay [p]an ki[tu] (ma tadak ku wassakā)la[4] gah ᵻ ḍā[k[1] h]a mwoy ‖ [p]ḍay ma dah atiwuṭṭhi gah ḍāk nwom ᵻ ga(h) . . . . . .

20. ᵻ thān puiy rman wwo' tun gah ᵻ dah tau atiwuṭṭhi . . (heṅ) ᵻ (ma twah) . . . . (ta)dah [thā]n puiy rman tuy ma [dah] atiwuṭṭhi da[m]li ro ‖ na galān acā aṭṭha[kathā][5] . . . . . .

21. ta[d]ah [w]assakāla tuy ma dah pan kitu kuim . . . . (‖) [twah] lar pḍ[ay aṭṭha]kathā ra ᵻ pḍay [th]ā[n p]uiy rman wo' tun gah ᵻ wassakāla gah ‖ turau [k]itu . . . . . .

22. w[o]' ma nw[om] ku ati[w]uṭṭh[i] gah tim ke[t] . . . . . (m gah) ha [s]eṅ ‖ bwoy ra[-]it bra[y] ma gluiṅ mā ᵻ masun masun [tṅ]e[y bray ma] gū [mw]oy leh gah he[ṅ] . . . . . .

23. aṭṭhakathā gaḥ [u]ir da ci ᵻ pan [p]an [t]ṅey [bray sgū mwoy[6] leh] kuim lar [ᵻ p]i [pi] tṅe[y] bray sgū mwo[y leh kuim lar ᵻ ḅā ḅā tṅ]ey bray [sgū mwoy leh] . . . . [bra]-[5]

24. y sgū kuim lar ᵻ laksan atiwuṭṭhi ra gah (heṅ)[7] . . . . . (pp)āy[7] (ma yaña)h[7] cuip [ā ra ᵻ p]ḍay thān puiy rman wo' tun gah ᵻ pḍay [k]āla la[ch]or gah ᵻ pa[n pan] t[ṅey] (bray)[8] . . . .

25. ᵻ [pi] pi tṅey [b]ra[y] ma gū mw[o]y leh le[r nwom ᵻ][9] ḅā ḅā t[ṅ]ey bray ma gū mw[oy] leh ler nwom ᵻ tadap tada[p tṅ]ey bray [ma gū ler nwom] ᵻ [lachor] (lachor)[10]

26. l[uk]au cah tṅey [k]ui[m] lar ᵻ sak ku [sgut] (heṅ) ‖ yām lyaḥ tṅey ñi kuim mik pāk ha go' ‖ uit [j]ano[k] akaḥ gah (ma) [dlu sṅim] uit ga[h] . . . . . .[11]

[1] Looks rather like *ḍāt*.
[2] Fairly certain, though it may be *heṅ*, the *e* being quite certain.
[3] Restored.
[4] This restoration is quite conjectural, but the last word is almost certain.
[5] Restored.
[6] These two words have been restored, but are practically certain.
[7] The parts in parentheses are very doubtful. The last one might be read *byāy ma taṅah*.
[8] Restored, but fairly certain. After this word one would expect *ma gū mwoy leh ler nwom*, but there does not seem to be room for all this.
[9] Restored, but fairly certain.
[10] Quite conjectural, though there seems to be a trace of the first letter.
[11] The first part of the portion represented by dots looks as if we might conjecture either *mat ray* or *pa taṁ*. Anyhow, the *t* seems fairly certain.

27. jawar tuy bray ma gū ler nwom ı r[au] ga(h het)[1] [dah u]ir da ci ı thān pui[y] rman wo' gah ı tadah ma n[wo]m ku a[ti]wu[ṭṭh]i gah ı [gap gor stim] ket ra ı sā(k gah pḍay thān)[1]

28. [p]uiy rman wo' ga[h] yarau pḍay nadī jamno[k] (mwoy)[2] [k]uim lar ı [y]arau pḍay j[ā]tassara ja[mnok] mwoy kui[m l]ar [ı na prakā bray ma gū pḍ]ay [kā]la [samaw]uṭṭhi [gah ı ḅui]n [bray] . . . . . .

29. (lā)[3] snom ma gaḥ ı pḍay nadī jamn[o]k ma pha[h sāk gah ı[4] pḍay jātassa]ra jamnok ma pha[h s]ā[k gah ı pa udakukkhepa] tu[y ı] ka[m=ma pa taṁ ku] upa[s]a(ṁ)[mpadakam ñaḥ] (pa) . . . . . [sa]-[4]

30. [gut crawāt w]iney tam[-aḥ] pḍay (cuit tila ñaḥ)[5] [Rāmādhi]pa[ti] ra [r] khā gah rau wo' gasap [cuit tkui]r[6] da[h ku tila ñaḥ Rāmādhi]pati tun ı [pḍay kāla ma] . . . . . .

31. laṅguiw gah ı yarau pḍay gāmakhet . . . . . [ra] ı pḍay gā[makhe]t ga[h ı yā]m [pḍay] nimi[t kuim] (maṅ) [ket tuy ı yām gam-ī tuy ma tau pḍay nimit][7] . . . .

32. gam-ī tuy ma tau maṅah ni[m]i[t] (gah)[8] . . . . . (hatthapaḥ)[9] ı ha g[o' kuir naṅ chaṅ[10] ı ha go' kuir bak ptit kle' maṅaḥ gāmakhet tuy ı samut] . . . . . .

33. m(uit)[11] sāk ga[h m]ā ı parisawi[patti][12] . . . . . . (mū het ma dah)[13] [parisawipatti] (ro gaḥ mā)[14] [ı yarau pḍay gāmasim mwoy tuy ma] (twah)[14] . . . . . .

34. [t] gah ke[t] (t)uir[15] nimi[t] . . . . . (h) pḍay nimit gah ı gāmasi[m] mwoy [tanah nū gāmasim] . . . . . (wo' sgaḥ)[16] . . . . . (gap)[17]

[1] Purely conjectural.
[2] A fairly certain restoration.
[3] Or possibly *na*.
[4] Restored, but practically certain.
[5] Conjecturally restored.
[6] Error for *ktuir*.
[7] The last syllable is restored, but certain.
[8] Restored, and very doubtful.
[9] Restored. The last syllable is certain.
[10] Possibly *chaw*.
[11] Probably this stands either for *samut* or *nimit*, preferably the former, the *i* being in that case accidental.
[12] Restored.
[13] Rather doubtful.
[14] Very doubtful.
[15] Conceivably *kuir*.
[16] Very doubtful.
[17] Conjecturally restored.

35. g[o]r stawuir na ma ket . . . . . [gāmakhet] (wo' gah lāy[1] tuy ma smik kuir)[2] . . . . . .

36. ku smiṅ gah ı tawuir . . . . . [tuy ma dah pḍay] (nimit wo' gah ı het ma mik kuir)[3] . . . . (mwoy)[3] . . . . . .

37. h ler ha (s)e(ṅ) . . . . . .

44. . . . . (kuir) . . (kuim) . . . . (upati) . . .
(yām) . . . . . .
. . .

45. . . . . .
. . . . . [r kuir tanah mā ı dah wisuṁgām][1] . .
. . . . . .

(Fragment *c*.)[2]

46. . . . . [upasampadakaṁ][3] ma ñaḥ pa [p]ḍ[ay
. . . . . .[4]

47. . . . . [gāmakhe]t da c-āṅ ma tau wūduih ḍe[h] . . . .

48. . . . . [hatthap]aḥ gah p-or ku[ir pa] tuy ı samut u[ī]r
[s] . . . . . .

49. . . . . [rukkhasākhā]d[isam]bandha[5] [m]a nwom gah ı ma da[h]
saṅka(rar)u[6] gah kuim nda ı baddhasim ku gā[masim] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

50. . . . . (sīmā)[wi]pat[ti[7] gah ı sīm]āsa[mmu]ti[k]aṁ ga[h]
ı luim ma gaḥ rwoṅ ıı sīmāsammuti[k]aṁ . . .[8] [h]et luim [ı] . (u)
. . . . . .

[1] Or °*gāma*?

[2] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece: it is even possible that they overlap, though I think not.

[3] The first three syllables have been restored. There is no final *ṁ* visible.

[4] There is no means of placing this small fragment exactly, both margins being gone and there being no clear junction with the preceding piece. Accordingly the dots are quite indefinite and indicate merely that there is something missing both at the beginnings and ends of the lines.

[5] The first four syllables have been conjecturally restored, but seem fairly certain.

[6] Or possibly *saṅkabhu*: either way it is an error for *saṅkarabhu*.

[7] The first two syllables have been conjecturally restored and are doubtful: possibly it should be *parisawipatti*.

[8] The omitted word looks like *gas*, which may be an error for *gah*.

D

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[1]

1. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (kl) . . . . . .
. . . . . .[2]

2. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (upasampadakaṁ) . . . . . .
. . . . . .

3. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (gah ler pabwoy[3] parisawi)[patti] . . . . . .
. .

4. . . . . .
. . . . (t) [ma c]ui[n skuim tau kwom] (ku) . . . . . .
. . . . . (wis)u(ṁ)[gām]akh[et ma cuin sku]i[m tau]
kw[om] ku gā[ma]-

5. [lakkhaṇa][4] . . . . . (kui)m [l]aw ı pḍay
mahājā[tassara] tuy ma ā [cuip] . . . . . .
. . . . . [tuy ma ā] c[uip samuddal]ak[khaṇa kui]m
[la]w ı . .

6. . . . . (y) kaṁ to[’] gah tun mā ı
pḍa[y] ba[ddhas]im ma (lu)i(m a)[t]uiṅ . . . . . .
. . . . . (pḍay wisuṁ)[g]ā[makhet ma cāk cḍaḥ nū gāma-
lakkh]a(ṇa)[5]

[1] About a dozen lines are missing between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *a* (on the left) runs from l. 4 to the end, *b* from l. 1 to l. 24.

[2] The number of dots is roughly estimated, especially at the beginnings of the lines, there being no margin preserved there.

[3] Very doubtful; possibly *babwoy* or ı *bwoy*.

[4] Conjecturally restored, but fairly certain.

[5] Conceivably °*lakkhan* ı.

7. . . . . ‖ pḍa[y] jā[t]assa[r]a samat [m]a ha [mw]o[y ku jātassar]alakkha[ṇa] . . . . . [heṅ dah uiw ‖ het prakā ma phah]

8. (sāk gah)[1] . . . . . (gah) ku[im ler] ‖ bwo[y p]arisawipa[tti gah luim ā kuim ‖] (rau) ga[h] . . . . . [bicā]ranā [mwo]y [gah ‖ ma] (tadak tau ku) . .[2]

9. . . . . [paris]awipāt[t]i[3] [ma nwom] ga[h ‖ tim] ket [r]a ‖ kh[ā tila ñ]aḥ Rām[ādh]ipati ‖ [m] . . . . . [sīmāwipatt]i [parisawipatti ‖ ma tadak t]au k(u) [upasa]-

10. [mpada][4] . . . . . (t) [ey g]ah ‖ s[ā]k [ww]o' ma [t]am-aḥ kweh ra ‖ pḍay thā[n pui]y [rman] wo' ‖ tila . . . . . (gam-ī ‖) [ma dah] t[īpiṭakadhar ‖ ma dah byatta paṭ]ibala ga[5]

11. . . . . [thān rman] wo' ci ‖ [k]u ti[la pui]y ga[ṇācariya] gamluiṅ [ci t]am[-]aḥ[6] [t]au kwom . . . . . [ey sap-or t]ila pu[iy] to[' kuiw bicāranā]

12. . . . . (saman pubbāpara tuy ‖)[7] [ey sap-or kuiw t]ila [pu]i[y to' phyui]h sa[g]ut cra[wāt][8] . . . . . [s]i[m] wwo['] ñi ‖ ‖ r[au w]w[o]' tila [ñaḥ Rām]ā[dh]ipa[ti]

13. . . . . [gamluiṅ k]uiw sa[gut crawāt] winay taṅgū sim wwo' ra ‖ khā ga[h tila puiy g]aṇā-[cariya][9] . . . . . [bicāranā mw]oy ‖ [p]ā[ḷi ‖ w]i[nay ‖] kwom [ku] a-

14. [ṭṭhakathā][10] . . . . . [sīmā]w[i]patti [p]ari[s]awi-pātti ma [ñwo]m gah ‖ tila puiy to['] gaṇācariya [gamluiṅ] . . . . . (tu)y ‖ [kuiw t]adah sīmā[wipatti ma] n[w]om parisawipa-

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] These dots may merely represent small circles put in to fill up superfluous space.
[3] The first two syllables have been restored.
[4] Restored.
[5] There is something after this: perhaps we should read *gaḥ*. Or there may have been two dots to fill up space, and the next line may have had *h*, making *gaḥ*.
[6] The original appears to have *taṗ-aḥ*.
[7] Very doubtful.
[8] The last syllable is restored.
[9] The last three syllables are restored.
[10] Restored.

15. [tti][1] . . . . . .[2] ñaḥ laṅa(h) ra ‖ [‖ ḳh]ā la-i[t] tuy ma duṅ ket ganap ti[l]a puiy [m]ahā[the]ra ga(mluiṅ= tuy)[3] . . . . . [tila ñaḥ] Rā[m]ā[dh]ipa[ti g]ah kṣa[p] ra ‖ sāsanā

16. . . . . [mas]u[n] lṅim cnām iṅah gaḥ ‖ pḍay kāla lamah [g]ah ‖ sāsanā k[yā]k t[r]ay dah [ḅā lṅim[4] tu]rau cwo[h pan cnām k]uim (‖) . . . i(k)[5] kuim (ha)[6] ga-

17. (tāp)[7] . . . . . [uiw] (ra) ci ‖ s[āsanā] tuy ma cap tau kwom [ku u]pa[s]ampada gah ‖ [p]a ñaṁ[8] ma [sl]eṗ [t]an tau cuiw cui[p] . . . . (ra-it)[9] [k]ā[la masu[m[10] lṅi]m [c]nā[m] ga[h] ro ‖ tadah [s]ā-

18. [sanā][11] . . . . . [t]ḍi[k] lṅeṅ ma phah sā[k] wwo' gah ‖ puiy [ti]m [t]au [ku]im ‖ ña[ṅ sāsanā t]u[y ma s]ac-aḥ ‖ ma sak (ku) [tḍik[12] l]ṅeṅ ‖ ma ha [mwo]y ku āsa(ṁ)ṅkā[13] [gah ‖ puiy ha w]īparā

19. . . . . [pḍa]y sāsanā ky[ā]k tray heṅ so['] ‖ dah pui[y ma] ha sjuṅ [sḍuik] p[ḍ]ay kyāk t[r]a[y] heṅ s[o]' ‖ [dah pu]i[y ma ha r]au gau pḍay kyāk [tray he]ṅ s[o]-

20. ['][14] . . . . . [sak][14] ku tḍik lṅeṅ ‖ ma [h]a mw[o]y ku āsa[ṁ]ṅkā ma [cuin] dah tau bīja sāsanā ga[h] ‖ pui[y m]a sgo['] (b) . . . (t) [r]aṅ [tuiw[15] t]uy ‖ upa[sam]pada[kaṁ] tuy [‖] (ma)[16] dge-

[1] Restored.
[2] The last word of the missing passage was probably *tila*.
[3] If the above reading is right, the *ṅ* must be superscript over the *t*.
[4] Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli text. The English translation of the Pāli version gives 2047, but this is due to a variant MS. reading: the inscription itself has *catusaṭṭhādikaṁ*.
[5] The missing word looks a little like *atik*, or *bahik*.
[6] Possibly *ta*.
[7] Purely conjectural: whether it is admissible will depend in part on whether the preceding word is rightly read.
[8] Presumably for *ñāṅ*.
[9] Or possibly *la-it*: the word is conjecturally restored.
[10] Error for *masun*.
[11] Restored.
[12] Hardly legible, but practically certain.
[13] Possibly *āsaṅkā*.
[14] Restored.
[15] Or *kuiw*? But it looks more like *tuiw*.
[16] Or *ba*?

21. [t][1] . . . . . n(aṅ) lam-ow ga[h] ‖ ma sgo' ta[l]ut ptuin t[uy] ‖ ma [sgo' tan t]au c[u]iw [c]uip ku ra[-]it[2] [kā]la masun[3] lṅim cn[ām] . . . .[4] [ʾ rau wo'[5] ti]la ñaḥ k[ṣap tuy he]ṅ ‖ ga-

22. . . . . .[6] (tu)n ‖ (nor)[7] [c]nām tila pui[y] kyā[k] tray ma pa par[inibb]ān gah ‖ [ḅ]ā klaṁ pi [c]wot[8] turau cnām kuli lwon ā (tuy) . . . . [tila pui]y [Mog]galipu[t]tat[iss]ama[hā]-

23. [the][9] . . . . . [ti]la puiy Mahāmahindathe ‖ [ku]iw clo' [ptan s]āsanā [p]ḍay tko' Siṅghuir ‖ nū pa taṁ tila puiy Ma[hā]ma-hinda[th]e . . . . . [tko]'[10] [Siṅghu]ir gah ‖ lu-

24. [kau][11] (218 cnām)[12] ‖ tnor dhammawādī tu[y] ma twa[h] pgaḥ [M]ahāwī[h]āra[wāsīn]i[kāya] tuy ‖ ma sak tu[13] tḍik lṅeṅ [g]ah [he]ṅ ‖ ma dget t[l] . . . . . [tko]'[14] Siṅghu[ir ‖ khā] (ma)

25. . . . . (ḥ) [ʾ s]m(i)ṅ[15] Waṭagāmaṇi [A]bhaya [j]naḥ plan ‖ sm[īṅ] kla[n D]ā[liy]a[16] tu[y] ‖ go' plan krami[n] ḍuṅ Anurādha[p]ū tuy ‖ [k]uiw kanaṁ A[bhayagiriwihāra][17] . . . . . .

26. . . . . tau ku smiṅ ma lw[o]n [t]uy pḍay [k]ā[la ma] smīṅ kya [kl]an da[pah tu]y ‖ ma dau ā bdaḥ dmaṁ[18] jareṅ tila [p]ui[y] lutau[19] [cah pan cnām][20] . . . . . .

[1] Restored.
[2] Possibly, though improbably, *ra-uit*.
[3] Looks like *masūn*, but the extra stroke is probably accidental.
[4] Looks as if it might have been *rwoṅ* or *heṅ*.
[5] Or *wwo'*?
[6] I am unable to complete the word of which the first syllable occurs at the end of the preceding line.
[7] Very doubtful, except the last letter. But I think the reading is right, though the form is E.M., the usual M.M. being *nū*.
[8] For *cwoh*, either in error or through assimilation with the *t* following.
[9] Restored.
[10] Or perhaps *tka'*.
[11] Restored.
[12] Conjecturally restored from the Pāli.
[13] Error for *ku*.
[14] Or perhaps *tka'*.
[15] Or *smīṅ*.
[16] This appears to be the reading here In the version based on Pāli MSS. the name is spelt *Dādhiya*, and a possible reading of the Môn text is *Dāddhiya*. The Pāli inscription has lost the corresponding passage.
[17] Restored, except the first letter.
[18] For *dmaṁ*.
[19] Error for *lukau*.
[20] Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

27. . . . . r kuiw [t]ila pui[y] dmå[ṅ] ra ‖ [t]ila puiy mahāthe Mahātissa wo' gah ‖ het duh ma da[h][1] kulasaṁsaṭṭha . i . . . . . .

28. . . . . nū [Mahā]wihāra[2] ui[r ‖] pa taṁ nū gah kuim nda ‖ Mahāw(ī)hāra[wāsībhikkhus]aṅgha[3] ler [p]a u[i]w [kaṁ] tanah h[e]ṅ ‖ A[bhayagiriwihārawāsībhikkhusaṅgha][4] . . . . . .

29. . . . . (ha) [g]o' huy kaṁ [k]wom [k]u [raṅ[5] s]ka' he[ṅ] ‖ [t]now bhikkhu sa[ṅ] ḅā coh ga[h ‖] Mahāw(i)hārawā[sī]bhi-[kkhu][6] . . . . . .

30. . . . . kuim ra ‖ sa[ṅ tuy] ma tau pḍay tko' Siṅghuir ga[h] Mahāwihārawā[s]īn[i]kāya lew [m]woy . . . . . .

31. . . . [Abhayag]iriwihā[ra][7] ma dah gah ‖ pi [klaṁ mas]un co[h] da[p]ah cnām ga[h ku]li[8] lwo[n] ā tuy heṅ ‖ smīṅ m[woy] . . . . . .

32. . . . . m ‖ pḍay [k]āla ga[h] he[ṅ] ‖ smīṅ ga[h] kanaṁ Je[t]awanaw[i]hāra [t]uy ‖ [s]j[uṅ] sḍi[k] pḍay ti[ṭṭhi][9] . . . . . .

33. . . . . (cu)[in][10] dah tau [p]āpami[tt]a ‖ ma pa da[t]au p[ḍ]ay wihā Dakkhi[ṇ]ārām [t]uy ‖ plop low pḍay [J]e[tawanawihāra][11] . . . . . .

[1] Looks like *dat*.
[2] Or °*wī*°.
[3] Or possibly °*wi*°, if the extra stroke (which is certainly there) is accidental.
[4] Restored, with the exception of the first letter, on the basis of the Pāli version.
[5] Looks like *duṅ*, but can hardly be anything but *raṅ*.
[6] Or °*wī*°.
[7] The first three syllables are restored from the Pāli.
[8] Conceivably *kali*.
[9] Not quite clear, but practically certain.
[10] The first two letters are conjecturally restored.
[11] Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.

34. . . . . [bhikkhu[1] saṅ tuy m]a tau pḍay Mahāwihāra kuim l[or ı] kwom ku bhikkhu [saṅ] tuy ma tau pḍa[y Abhayagiriwihāra][2] . . . . . .

35. . . . . J[e]tawa[naw]i[h]ārawāsīnikā[ya ma] gaḥ nikāya [m]woy gah ktuiw dah tun ı rau ga[h h]e(ṅ) . . . . . .

36. . . . . [turau kla]ṁ[2] cn[ām ñiña kui]m nda ı bhi[kkhu saṅ] (pi dah)[2] [t]au p[ḍay tko' Siṅghuir gah][2] Ma[h]āwihārawā[sī] . . . . . .

37. . . . . [nikāya[3] l]er mwoy ı [dah] ni[kāya] . . . . . [nik]āya pi [g]ah[4] ı (m) . . . . . .

38. . . . . [ku]i[m nda ı Mahāw]i[hāra]wā[s]ī . . . . . [ni]kāya ḅā (t) . . . . . .

39. . . . . [ma ha[5] seṅ k]u [p]aṭ[i]pa[t] . . . . . ' ma cwin ba(puin) . . . . . .

40. . . . . ṁ ku jala ı [ma] . . . . . sāsanā [ma] (t) . . . . . .

41. . . . . [smiṅ Sīrisaṅgha]bodhi-[P]arakka[mabāhu][6] . . . . . .

[1] Restored.
[2] Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.
[3] Restored.
[4] Looks like *wah*.
[5] The original looks like *ta*, which must be wrong.
[6] The parts in brackets are restored from the Pāli.

42. . . . . (ku)[1] [p]at[i]pat ı pa[ṭipat] . . . . . .

43. . . . . ma [t]ḍik [l]ṅeṅ ı [m] . . . . . .

44. . . . . (le) [ı dah] ma ha rau (gau) . . . . . .

45. . . . . [Mahākassapa]the[2] ma pa dra[tau] . . . . . .

(Fragment *c*.)[3]

46. . . . . [Moggalip]u[t]ta[tissamahāthe][4] . . . . . .

47. . . . . [k]u[im n]da ı [yata][5] gam-[i pāpa]bhikkhu ma dah adhammawādī gamluiṅ (ha) . . . . . .

48. . . . . (nikāya) ma dah nikāya [pi g]ah ler ı ey spa nikāya mwoy tu[y] ı yām yata gam-i ma [dah] . . . . . .

49. . . . . [h] kṣap tuy ı pāpabhikkhu gamluiṅ tuy ma dah adhammawād(ī)[6] gah ı [pr]ām k[l]e' pa uit ı yām [ñaḥ ma] . . . . . .

50. . . . . [ca]-aḥ [sās]anā [ra ı] ı [p]a[7] tam nū [smī]ṅ[8] ga[h m]a ca-aḥ sā[s]anā kuim nda ıı [pḍ]ay [tka' Si]ṅghu[i]r ga[h sāsan]ā tuy ma cap [t] . . . . . .

[1] Fairly certain, though the first letter is doubtful. [2] The first two syllables are restored.
[3] This fragment follows closely after the preceding piece. It is even possible that they overlap, to the extent that l. 46 may be a continuation of l. 45. But it is impossible to be sure of this because in this piece neither margin has been preserved. For the same reason the number of dots at the beginnings and ends of the lines could not be estimated, and the dots here given merely indicate that an indefinite amount is missing there.
[4] The parts in brackets are restored on the basis of the Pāli version.
[5] Or possibly *yati* originally, the stone being broken off just below the *t*. But see the next line.
[6] Or °*di*°. [7] Looks like *ma*, but that is probably accidental. [8] Or *smiṅ*.

51. . . . . [c]uiw cuip [ku la]ma[h] ra ‖ ‖ sāk gah het da[h] uiw da ci ‖ puiy spa [āyā]canā ku tila pui[y t]ipuin the(ra) . . . . . .

52. . . . . [sā]sanā nu[1] tka' Si[ṅ]ghuir te' tuy ‖ puiy skuiw cau ptan sāsanā pḍay [th]ān ḍuṅ pu[iy rman] wwo' (ra)[2] gaḥ tuy tila ñaḥ Rāmādhi[pati][3] . . . . . .

E

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[4]

1. . . . . [sgo'] (ñāt na mat) ‖ [sgo'] (pujau) . . . . . .

2. . . . . [ceti] ‖ Sīlāce[t]ī ‖ Kalyāṇīcetī ‖ ta' gah [ler ‖ tila ey] ta' sgo['] . . . . . .

3. . . . . [sāk] ga[h] (‖ ja)wor kus[u]iw ma gluiṅ sgo' dah [t]au ku t[il]a pui[y ta'] . . . . . .

4. . . . . (tila)[6] puiy ta' ra ‖ rau gah tila ñaḥ pa āyācanā [k]u tila puiy thera to['] . . . . . .

5. . . . . (wa) tuy ma pa kabut ma [s]-ā [d]u[ṅ ket] raṅ upasa[m]pada ma cuin dah [t]au bīja sā[s]anā . . . . . .

6. . . . . [S]iṅgh[u]ir (mā) ‖ upasam[p]ada tuy ma [tau] pḍay santhān puiy [l]er ‖ [ma] sak ku (āsaṅkā)[6] . . . . . .

[1] Usually spelt *nū*, but there seems to be no second stroke.
[2] Conceivably this might be a badly shaped single stop, but I think it is *ra*.
[3] The last two syllables are restored.
[4] About half a dozen lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 1, fragment *a* begins at line 15, both continue to l. 27, which is almost illegible.
[5] The number of dots at the ends of ll. 1–26 is merely estimated.
[6] Conjecturally restored.

7. . . . . [ku] kwon gra[kū] tuy [ma nwo]m [pu]mi[k] upasam[p]ada pḍay [j]areṅ puiy [g]ah ‖ p[uiy] . . . . . .

8. . . . . (kwa)n[1] wo' gah ‖ [m]a sak ku āsaṅ[k]ā gah [dah] tu[y ‖ c]uiw cu[i]p [k]u ra[-it[2] kāla] . . . . . .

9. . . . . [p]u[i]y sgo' duṅ [c]a kwe[t[3] r]a ‖ h[et] tuy [m]a go' ā cu[ip t]ka[' Siṅ]ghuir t[un] . . . . . .

10. . . . . [ky]āk [t]ray [m]a pa taṁ ku Ratana[cet]ī [‖[4] t]a gah l[er p]u[i]y sgo' liṅ[wor pujau ra ‖ ph]ui[5] [k]usu[iw] . . . . . .

11. . . . . m [t]au kwo[m k]u dhar rw[oṅ] ‖ [h]e[t] da[h u]i[w] da [ci] ‖ puiy [k]uiw wui[w] ku mahārāj sa[n ra ‖ r]au gah ti[la] . . . . . .

12. . . . . r[e]ṅ ti[l]a [pu]i[y] thera ḅā cwo[h ḅā t]u[y] (he)ṅ ‖ [i] s[w]a[k m]a s[pu]jau dhā[t g]n[ih kyāk tr]ay ga[h t]ḍo[ṅ][6] . . . . . .

13. . . . . [l]ā mwoy [m]a [cu]t [latū thū]pikā [tḍ]o[ṅ gah ler] ṅu[h] s[r]an klaṁ pan cwo[h ‖ p]abeṅ mwo[y sw] . . . . . .

14. . . . . (kh)i(ḍuiw)[7] nān [m]wo[y th]ar [p]i c[woh ‖] s[ṅ]i dh[āt m]w[oy th]ar pi cwoh [p]i [i] pâṅ tha[r ḅā] klaṁ pi daker ‖ pk[au thar] . . . . . .

15. . . . . [ta] . . . . . l[er] mwoy ‖ [s]ṅ[i] dh[āt paccer][8] l[e]r m[woy] ‖ swa[k m]a pujau S[i]ripāda[9] [r] bodhi ga[m]luiṅ ma pa [taṁ k]u . . . (kh) . . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful.
[2] Under the initial *a* (represented by the hyphen) there is a mark resembling a subscript *n*, which is probably accidental.
[3] Looks rather like *kweh*.
[4] There seems to be no reason for a stop here.
[5] Error for *phuiw*.
[6] The Pāli seems to differ here.
[7] Very doubtful, and the second *i* looks like *ī*.
[8] Perhaps *pajjher*.
[9] One or both of these *i*'s may be *ī*.

16. [Ratanace]t[ī] ta gah [l]e[r] . . . . . [jam]n[ok m]as[u]n [c]w[oh ‖ p]n[āṅ] ma ha go' (c)u(t)[1] [th]ar ler masun cwoh ‖ yāt l[wåk][2] da[cā]ṁm (cwoh masun)[3] . . . .

17. pḍay tka' Siṅghui[r gah ‖ yāt] . . . . . (h t)au ‖ [kambar b]aket mwo[y ‖ k]ambar [s]āk thar mw[o]y ‖ kambar a[prå]k pi ‖ taḅay (t)wo(r) . . . . . .

18. kṣuim m[w]o[y] ‖ pandī[4] [t]wo[r] kṣ(u)iw (pi ‖) [t]aḅa[y twor sāy] . . . . . ‖ k[l]e(p)[5] lāy ḅuiw ja[m]nok ḅā cwoh ‖ paḍāk tmå' [p]an ‖ [paḍāk] (paṅ)[gān][6] a[pråk turau][7] . . . . . .

19. tuy he[ṅ][8] lik t]u[y m]a ptim [ti]la p[uiy ta'] ña[ḥ Siṅghui]r [gamluiṅ] . . . . ‖ rau wo' tila ñaḥ [pr]e[ṅ] ra ‖ ‖ [ti]la [ñaḥ Rāmādhipati] bwoy [m]a r[e]h se san . . . . . .

20. datau pḍay tka' Siṅ[gh]uir ‖ pujāsak[k]ā[r]a s[w]a[k m]a p[ujau dh]ā[t gnih ma ey kui](w bak)[9] wo' tu[n l]e[r ‖] k[u]iw go['] pujau [dh]āt gnih heṅ [ñi ‖] thera (ḅā cwoh ḅā ma ey kui)-[9]

21. [w] ā wo' tun [l]er kuiw [go]' ñāt dhāt gni[h ‖ kuiw go]' [liṅ]w[or dhāt] gnih kwom ñi ‖ ra-it ma go['] liṅwor dhāt gnih tuy . . . . . .

22. ma pa datau [p]ḍay Mahā[wih]āra tu[y ‖ ma ruy] cah [k]e[t][10] ‖ [m]a [s]a[k ku tḍik l]ṅe[ṅ] ga[h ‖ pḍa]y uda[k]u[kkhep]as(i)m[11] tuy ma [c]īreṅ [le]r [pḍay Kalyāṇīgaṅ] . . . . [tila][9]

23. [puiy t]a' go' du[ṅ] ke[t raṅ] upasampada ñi ‖ rau wo[' til]a ñaḥ preṅ li[k swak ma sku]iw ba[k ku s]aṅ [ta' g]amlu[i]ṅ ra [‖ ‖] swak paraṅ [ma skuiw bak ku smiṅ] . . . . . (ñuh)[9]

24. [s]ran ḅā [kl]aṁ [‖ lac]in mat [manik p]an [‖ ṅuh] srạn pan klaṁ p[i] cwoh ‖ apåṅ la[c]in [t]ur[au] ṅuh [s]ran [turau klaṁ p]i cwo[h] ‖ [b]re[r kh]re tān [l]ak [s]ak [pan ‖] bre[r] a(pā) . . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful: the Pāli does not agree here.
[2] The *anusvāra* is doubtful and the final may be *t*.
[3] Conjecturally restored.
[4] Or *paṇḍī*?
[5] Conceivably *klem*.
[6] Possibly *pagān* or *ma gān*.
[7] The Pāli differs here.
[8] Abbreviated *hṅe*, the *ṅ* being superscript over the *h*.
[9] Conjecturally restored.
[10] Looks like *tak*.
[11] Conceivably *°sim*.

25. (t)[1] [m]w[oy ‖ b]r[er sne]ṅ tṅ[e]k a[pr]åk ḅā ‖ [b]rer la[m]cåk[2] lam-ek ḅā ‖ b[r]er sneṅ tṅe[k lam-]e[k mwoy ‖ brer sāk thar mwoy][3] brer baket lam(-)e[k] ma . . . . . .

26. [y ‖] (m) . . [a] . [ā] (ka) . [r](i) [ap]råk [mw]oy [‖ yāt a]pråk byau gamhih ḅā cwo[h] ‖ [kaduiw dasok ḅā] (klaṁ) . . . . . [h pre]ṅ tu[y h]eṅ ‖ lik tanaḥ thar [yā] . . . . . .

27. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. [i] . . . . . [au] . . . . . .[4]

(Fragment *c*.)[5]

28. . . . . (pujau) . . . . . .
. . . . . .[6]

29. . . . . [k]w[om k]u ḍ[ik] (ey) . . . . . .
. . . . . (gah) [‖ kuiw] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

30. . . . . [m] li[ṅwor t]u[y] (gah) [‖ p]ḍ[ay Kalyāṇīgaṅ] ma kyā[k tray] laḅ[o]h [jaku] . . . . . .

31. . . . . gah ‖ smiṅ Siṅghuir [kuiw r]u[y c]ah t[uy ‖ p]ḍay [jareṅ tila pu]i[y saṅ] ta[']. . . . . .

32. . . . . (ka)bu ñi ‖ rau wo' ga[ḥ t]u[y] ‖ [ti]la ña[ḥ pre]ṅ [li]k tanaḥ [thar ma kuiw bak ku smiṅ Siṅghuir] . . . . . .

33. . . . . [a]pråk ḅā c[woh ḅā ‖ kle]p lā[y ḅui]w [sak]u[i]p ḅā c[w]o[h ḅā ‖] (p)[ret[7] gam]h[ih pan c]w[oh pan] . . . . . .

[1] Or *k*.
[2] Looks like *lapcåk*, which would be impossible.
[3] There should be a stop here, but none is visible and there is no room for one.
[4] Only the tops of a few of the letters in this line are decipherable.
[5] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece.
[6] Both margins being lost, and there being no other certain indications as to the exact position of this fragment, it is not possible to estimate how much is missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively. Accordingly the number of dots in those positions is quite indefinite, and they have been put in merely to mark that something is missing, not to indicate its amount.
[7] Conceivably *[m]ret*.

34. . . . . [kuiw] dān tuy h[e]ṅ ᵻ uit ti[la p]ui[y thera ḅā c]wo[h ḅā] ᵻ [kwom] ku [t]waḥ [ḅā] cwo[h ḅā] wo' [tun] . . . . . .

35. . . . . [ma skui]w [ku s]aṅ [ñaḥ S]i[ṅgh]uir [g]a[m]luiṅ ᵻ [paraṅ] ma kuiw bak [ku smiṅ S]i[ṅ]ghui[r ᵻ l]i[k tan]aḥ [th]ar ma kuiw bak [ku s]m[iṅ Siṅghuir] . . . . . .

36. . . . . [kanwor bay]u[i]w (da)[1] dah mā ᵻ het tu[y m]a ti[la t]a' skuiw blaḥ nū ta[do]k ᵻ [het] ma skuiw [g]o' paccay pan [gah] . . . . . .

37. . . . . [cah mwoy ma pa t]aṁ [ku Mo]gga[l]āna[th]e [ga]h ᵻ kwom ku twaḥ cah mwoy gah ᵻ [p]reṅ kuiw ḍok kḅaṅ Rā[mad]u-[tān] . . . . . .

38. . . . . (ḍā) [kḅaṅ] C[itr]ad[utā]n ma ḍok ra ᵻ r[au g]ah tila ta' ḍok kḅaṅ tuy heṅ ᵻ kḅaṅ Rāmadutān [g]ah ᵻ sakkarāt [837] . . . . . .

39. . . . . (māk)[2] cah [ḅā] c[r]awe[k] tṅay can gah ma t(i)t[3] nū pāṅ Yoṅ ᵻ ᵻ kitu phallaguin 8 crawek tṅay sok gah [h]e[ṅ] . . . . . .

40. . . . . [phallag]uin [gaṅ h]eṅ ᵻ [s]mi[ṅ] Siṅgh[ui]r [kuiw] cu[i]h wāṅ duṅ taluṅ tila puiy saṅ ta' tuy ᵻ lik tanaḥ [th]ar tila ñaḥ R[āmādhipati] . . . . . .

41. . . . . [n sablu kwom] ku caḍān ku t[il]a puiy ta' ra ᵻ (pa pati)-santhā[ra] ku tila puiy ta' [t]uy [heṅ damåṅ] da[t]au . . . . . .

42. . . . . (a)[tui]ṅ [li]k swak tila puiy sa[ṅ to]' ñaḥ Siṅghuir tuy t[i]la ñaḥ ma [k]uiw ba[k] ga[h ler Citradutān] . . . . . .

43. . . . . [at]uiṅ ga[n]ap cuit [t]ila ciṅ batāṅ ma daḥ cuit heṅ [p]ui[y] spa [b]a[k r]a gaḥ tuy [kui]w paṭiñān[4] . . . . . .

[1] Conceivably *ra*, or possibly we should run *da* on with *dah*; but though *dadah* is the L.M. form the M.M. forms (in this inscription also) are *tradah* and *tadah*. Cf. A 23, etc., C 21, etc.
[2] Restored in accordance with the Pāli text.
[3] Perhaps *tit*, but probably the extra mark is not original.
[4] The next word is probably *tuy*.

44. . . . . [tila] saṅ [ta'] ma [c]uip tlā gah [pti]m sm(ī)ṅ[1] [S]i[ṅ-ghuir t]uai[2] ket kar(i)[3] ma tim tarau ma (s)-ā[4] [b]acu[i]p ḍuṅ Anur[ādhapū] . . . . . .

45. . . . [cetī] ᵻ Mari[cawa]ṭṭi[c]e[tī][5] ᵻ Dakkhinasākhā ᵻ Lohaprāsāt ᵻ ta' gah ra ᵻ k[ḅ]aṅ Rāmadutān tuy [ma] . . . . . .

46. . . . [Walligām[6] gah] (tūn) ler t[l]ā kḅaṅ [ha[7] c]uip gah a[māt Go]ru[c]ī[8] (dah pun ku) smiṅ[9] Siṅghui[r t]uy . . . . . .

47. . . . . [Siṅghuir] . . . . . (sapu)[n] sala[n p]nān da[m]la sā[k] . . . . . .

48. . . . . [durā]sā[t] da[h] . . . [ī] . . . . . .

(Fragment *d*.)[10]

49. . . . [n] (ᵻ)[11] [dacām crawek] . . . . . .

50. y tila ñaḥ Rāmādhi[pati ma k]u[iw bak] ᵻ Rāmad[u]tān ma n-ā ga(h) . . . . . (smiṅ)[12] . . . . . .

[1] Or possibly *smiṅ*.
[2] This L.M. spelling is exceptional here.
[3] Or *kari*.
[4] The reading looks like *aā*, but this may be an error for *s-ā*, or the letter may have received subsequent damage.
[5] The Pāli MS. has °*ei*° for °*ca*°, but the actual inscription has lost this part of the text.
[6] All but the last two letters are restored from the Pāli.
[7] Almost certainly not *ta*, though it looks rather like it.
[8] The Pāli MS. has *Garavi*, but the inscription has lost this part of the text.
[9] Or *smīṅ*.
[10] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding piece.
[11] Perhaps instead of *n* ᵻ we should read *nā*.
[12] The number of dots has been estimated.
[13] The *m* is the only certain letter.

51. [ta' t]uy ı [k]uiw preṅ [kuiw d]amåṅ datau piṇḍapāt ku tila puiy ta' ra ı ku Rāma[du]tān [l]er ı (preṅ)[1] . . . . . [w] . . . . . (ku saṅ ñaḥ Siṅghuir) [ler] (Rāmadutān) [n]-(ā ku saṅ) [ñaḥ]

52. [Siṅghu]ir [gamlu]i[ṅ ra ı] ı [atuiṅ m]a daḥ ganap tila c[i]ṅ bat[āṅ heṅ pui]y spa ba[k] ta gaḥ [t]u[y tila s]aṅ [ta' kuiw patiñān] . . . . . [tila puiy saṅ ta]' [ma cui]p tlā to' ı ma ā Anūrādhapū gah ı cuip tluṅ tuy ı uit [t]ila [saṅ ta' ma]

53. [tlu]ṅ [kḥaṅ ḥā co' w]o' ı cuip [kwo]m [m]woy [h]ā[n uit] ra [c]i ı puiy [g]ap gor [staḥaḥ dhāt gnih ra gaḥ tuy ı tṅey aduit mwo[2] craw]e[k dutiy[3] asāt[4] gah h]eṅ ı pok dhāt gnih tuy ı taḥaḥ ti[l]a puiy [saṅ] ta' ḥā co'

54. [k]w[om ku] Rāmadutān ı C[itr]adutān [ra ı tila puiy ta'] go[']liṅwor [g]o['] yuiw [dhāt] gnih tuy he[ṅ ı tui]ṅ lik [gakan tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipati ma gakan n-ā[5] gah ı smiṅ] Siṅghuir bah sanā [t]u[y] ı dhāt gni[h] cut lar pḍay sṅ[i] dhā-

55. [t] thar [tila ñaḥ ma kuiw n-ā][6] tuy [ı cro]k (p)dor[7] tḍoṅ ba[tāṅ ı p]abeṅ thar ı (p)a[ḍ]āk[8] ı (c)wi [sablu thar] da[ḅut] lar ga[t]a [dh]ā[t gnih] tuy ı [taḥaḥ] kui[w] ti[la puiy ḥā co' thera ḥ]ā [cwoh[9] ḥ]ā kwom ku [R]āmadutān Citradutān laṅa(h)[10] ra ı [gata]

56. n(ū ga)ḥ ı atuiṅ ga[ka]n [lik tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipa]ti [ma d]aḥ [cu]i[t g]ah [h]eṅ [ı puiy spa] ba[k] gaḥ [tuy ı smi]ṅ Siṅghuir [p]-o[r amāt ñaḥ S]iṅ[gh]uir [t]a' tuy [pḍ]ay ı Kalyāṇīgaṅ pday [th]ān cnih[11] kyāk tray ma la[ḅ]o[h] jaku gah [h]eṅ ı [k]ui[w]

57. [dak ph]å[ṅ ı] kanaṁ prasāt . . . . . [gañi galau lar ra] ı [p]-or tila [puiy Wi]dā[gamathe] (tuy ra) [bhikkhu] (saṅ ta' ma) [c-aḥ] (ma) [cāk cḍaḥ ā] (nū ayām māt) ı [gar]ahā [pa]rū[pawāda tuy ı ma] tl[u]ṅ tau no[12] tnor saṅ ma pa datau p[ḍ]ay Ma[h]āw[i]hā[ra gah] ru[y ca]-

[1] Only *r* and *e* are certain. [2] Error for *mwoy*.
[3] There seems to be a *virāma*. If it is an accidental mark, read *dutiya*, which would be more normal.
[4] The actual reading appears to be *asāk*, which must be an error.
[5] Looks rather like *nwā*. [6] Or *nā*? [7] Possibly *bdor*.
[8] Possibly *baḍāk*. [9] Perhaps *coh*. [10] Or *laṅat*? But cf. D 15, F 45, 49, 52.
[11] Possibly, but improbably, *cnuih*.
[12] There may possibly be an *r* superscript over the following letter, making *nor*. But this is an E.M. spelling. Either way, the spelling here is unusual for this inscription.

58. [h] . . . . . (g)o'[1] (bhikkhu) [saṅ ḥā cwoh pan] (ı) . . . . . [n ku tila puiy Saddhammakittimahāthe][2] (ı Wanaratanamahāthe ı Pañca)[pariweṇawāsi]maṅgalamahā[the ı Sīha]rā[jayuwarājāca]riya-[the][3] ta' gah ra ı ı rau gah cīreṅ [phåṅ t]wān tu[y ruy]

59. [cah] (bhikkhu saṅ) . . . . . (ı) [cah mwoy crawek] (kitu)[4] [āsāt[5] tṅay] bu[ddhawā] . . . . . [tuy] ı ku[i]w n[i]man [phyu]i[h s]aṅ [Siṅ]gh[u]ir [ḥā cwoh pan ma skuiw] u[pasa]mpada[6] gah ı [p-o]r k[ui]w ku[iw] upasa[mpada] (ku)

F

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)[7]

1. . . . . [mwoy mwoy] . . . . . .[8]

2. . . . . [gaḥ] ku [tila puiy ta' gamluiṅ ı tila ey ta'] (saṅ) [gamluiṅ gah] . . . . . .

3. . . . . l[uim ı dān tuy ma gaḥ] yamu (ra)[9] [ey] . . . . . .[10] (khā) [tila ey ta' ma] . . . . . .

4. . . . . [ey ḍik mi]k kuiw d[ān] ku tila ey (to') . . . . . [smiṅ Siṅghuir k]uiw [yamu] . . . . . .

5. (yamu ma gaḥ Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi gah)[11] [kuiw ku] tila [pui]y [M]oggallānath[e] ı yamu ma [gaḥ Kittisīrimegha]sā[mi] gah kuiw ku ti[la] (puiy Kumārakassapathe ı)[11]

[1] Conceivably *wo*'. [2] The Pāli apparently has *Dhamma*°.
[3] This (not *Sihaḷarāja*° as in the English version of the Pāli) is certainly right.
[4] Very doubtful. It might be *dutiya*, possibly. [5] Or *asāt*?
[6] Perhaps *upasaṁmpada*.
[7] About ten lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. Fragment *b* is to the right and begins at l. 12, continuing to the end of this piece; fragment *a* goes down to l. 21.
[8] The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of lines is merely estimated.
[9] Or perhaps 1. [10] The first of the illegible words may be *ket*.
[11] The parts in parentheses at the beginnings of ll. 5–13 and ends of ll. 5–11 have been restored by means of the Pāli version.

6. (yamu ma gaḥ Parakkamabāhusāmi gah kuiw ku tila puiy) [Ñ]āṇasā-[gara]the ॥ ya[mu ma gaḥ] B[uddhaghosasāmi gah kuiw ku Buddhawaṁsathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ S]i[haḷadīpa](wisuddhasāmi gah kuiw)

7. (ku Nandathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Guṇaratanadharasāmi gah kuiw ku) [Rā]hu[lathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Jināla]ṅkārasā[mi gah kuiw ku Sumaṅgalathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Ratana]mālis[āmi gah] (kuiw ku)

8. (Dhammarakkhitathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Saddhammatejasāmi gah kuiw ku Cūḷa)[sumaṅgalathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Dhamm]ārā[masāmi gah kuiw ku Kassapathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Bhūwanekabāhusāmi] (gah kuiw ku)

9. (Maṇisārathe ॥) . . . . . [kḥaṅ Rāmadut]ā[n tuy heṅ ॥ kuiw yamu thera cah mwoy] (ma ḍok) [kḥaṅ Citradutān tun ॥ yamu ma gaḥ] (Tilokagurusāmi gah)

10. (kuiw ku Mahāsīwalithe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Sīri)[wanaratanasāmi gah kuiw ku Sāriputtathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Maṅgalasāmi[1] gah kuiw ku Sumanathe ॥ yamu ma] gaḥ Kaḷyāṇ[ītissa](sāmi gah kuiw)

11. (ku Cūḷakassapathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Candanagirisāmi gah) [kuiw ku Cūḷanandathe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Sīridantadhātusāmi gah kuiw ku Soṇutta]ra[the ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Wanawāsitissa[2] gah kuiw ku] (Guṇasāgarathe ॥ yamu)

12. (ma gaḥ Ratanālaṅkārasāmi gah kuiw) [ku Jawanapaññāthe ॥ yamu ma gaḥ Mahādewasāmi gah kuiw ku Cūḷasīwaḷithe[3] ॥ yamu ma gaḥ] Udu[mb]aragirisāmi gah kuiw [ku Dh]ammarāja[kathe[4] ॥ yamu]

13. (ma gaḥ Cūḷābhayatissasāmi gah kuiw) [ku Candanasārathe ॥] (sāk) [gah smiṅ Siṅghuir galān][5] (ptim ku)[6] [tila puiy] (tuy heṅ ॥)[6] [tila puiy thera cah mwoy ॥ kwom ku Rāmadutān] . .

[1] The Pāli appears to have *Maṅgalatherasāmi*.
[2] The Pāli appears to have *Vanavāsitissasāmi*.
[3] The Pāli appears to have *Cūḷasivilithera* on the stone.
[4] The Pāli appears to have *Dhammarājakathera* on the stone.
[5] Conceivably *gulān*.
[6] Very doubtful.

14. . . . . (tila)[1] [puiy] th[era caḥ mwoy ma ḍok kḥaṅ Citradutān][2] . . . . . [liṅwor Sīripāda ma tau pḍay kḍip tmo' Samantakūṭa[3] tuy ॥] (cau) . (l) . . . . [ḍuṅ Jayawaḍḍha]-

15. (nanaguir)[4] . . . . . (॥ ma) [cui]h tluṅ [cnih Walligām] . . . . . [cau tluṅ] . . . . . [ḥā cawek] (kitu gah) . . . . . .

16. . . . . [gah tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipati duṅ ket paruiṅ tila] (puiy thera) [cah mwoy] (ma) [ḍok kḥaṅ Rāmadutān] . . . . . .

17. . . . . [ey ma p-or gaḥ tuy ॥] tila pui[y ta'[5] ā cuip tka' Siṅghuir] (tuy) . . . . . .

18. . . . . (t) . . . [wāṅ duṅ taluṅ tila puiy ta' mā ॥ ha gap gor ॥ jaku ey] . . . . . .

19. . . . . [pujau cetī dhāt sok][6] kyāk tra[y gamyoṅ tuy] (॥ khā) [ey] . . . . . .

20. . . . . [ma cuih cuip] ḍuṅ [Dguṅ gah ॥ tila puiy thera cah mwoy ler pḍay] (ḍuṅ Dguṅ kuiw ā dmåṅ) . . . (klā) . . . . . .

21. . . . . [ṅ tu]y ॥ [phyu]ih [tila puiy ta' nū] (kḥaṅ) . . . . . [kḥaṅ] . . . . . .

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] The original may have °*tri*° for °*tra*° by a mistake of the engraver's.
[3] Perhaps °*ku*°. [4] Conjecturally restored. [5] Conceivably *ta ma*.
[6] Perhaps *swok*.

22. . . . . (tila) [ey] (ta') . . . . . .

23. . . . . [kwom ku] (tamāy) . . . . . [ey skuiw] (naā) . . . . . .

24. . . . . (tuy ॥ kyā tań)[rāt ktuiw tuy] . . . . . .

25. . . . . (cau) . . . . . [1]

(Fragment *c*.)[2]

26. . . . . (cuip) . . . . . [3]

27. . . . . (cruń)[4] . . . . . .

28. . . . . (smiń)[5] [Siṅghuir] (ma) [kuiw] (tluń gah ra ॥)[6] [kaleń cau ā tko'] (Siṅghuir) . . . . . .

29. . . . . (wihār gah) . . . . . (go' ñāt) . . . . . .

[1] Only the tops of a few letters are visible.

[2] This fragment seems to follow on pretty closely after the last piece, but is in such an exceedingly bad state of preservation that very little of it can be made out.

[3] The number of dots at the beginnings and ends of lines is quite indefinite: the amount that is missing could not be determined.

[4] Very doubtful, except the *cr*.

[5] Conjecturally restored.

[6] Very doubtful.

30. . . . . (pḍok)[1] . . [dhāt gnih kyāk tray] . . . . . .

31. . . . . (smiń) . . . (rmiń paruiń tuy ॥)[1] [kuiw tluń] . . . . . .

32. . . . . .

33. . . . . (kuiw ku tila puiy) . . . . . .

34. . . . . (cnih Nāwuta)[2] . . (tila puiy) . . . . . .

35. . . . . [kitu basāk] (pan) [bramåk] . . . . . .

36. . . . . [tila puiy] . . . . . .

37. . . . . [tila puiy] . . . . . [kitu jih mwoy bramok tńay] . . . . . .

38. . . . . [॥ kitu jih pań bramåk tńay sok] (gah) . . . . . .

39. . . . . .

40. . . . . [kwom ku] . . . . . .

[1] All the preceding words are very doubtful.

[2] Very doubtful.

41. . . . . (tila puiy Maṅgalathe mwoy tun gah)[1] . .
. . . . . .

42. . . . . .
. . . . . .

43. . . . . .
. . . . . .

(Fragment *d*.)[2]

44. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (tuy ‖ tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipati cuip) .
. . . (Dguṅ) . . . . . .
. . . . . .

45. . . . . .
. . . . . [kḅaṅ] kwom [ku Rāma]dutān tu[y] ‖ ma cau tluṅ nū Siṅghuir (m)a[3] tau pḍay thān Dguṅ gah ‖ kuiw dā[n] han piṇḍapāt laṅa[h ra ‖] . . . . . (yāt)[4] [ticīwa]-

46. (ra) . . . . . [sanā] (bāp) [ḅā ḅā] . . . . . (ku) [tila puiy ta' ‖ pa] patisan[th]āra tuy ‖ kuiw [p]and(å)ṅ [tar]au n-ā [th]ān dmåṅ tila [p]uiy ta' ra ‖ khā [g]ah ti[l]a ñaḥ [kuiw pa sabh]aṅ [c]a(nak) [pi] tṅa[y] (tuy ‖ tṅay) [sī bapeṅ ki]-

47. [tu] (asut tṅay)[5] [br]a(u)b(bh)ati gah he[ṅ] ‖ (tuin pa pujau gaṇḍiṅ)[4] [taṁ joṅ cetī dh]āt sw[ok kyāk tray ra ‖] ‖ tṅay sok mwoy c[r]awek [gah ‖ ti]la ñaḥ [kui]w baca saṅ Dg[uṅ gam]luiṅ ra ‖ ‖ [ku t] . . . . . [tila ñaḥ]

48. (preṅ tuy ‖ kuiw) [kuiw] dān ra ‖ [‖ tṅay aduit pi crawek gah] ‖ (bwoy) [ma rui]h [s]e [r]au [g]au (heṅ ‖[6] dluṅ) ca[h] mwo[y] dluṅ ga[h] tila [ñ]aḥ [k]uiw [pr]eṅ ph[y]er ‖ swa[k] ma sapḍok tila p[u]iy thera cah mw[oy ra ‖ ‖] (tṅay) [can] (yaḥ laṅū gah)

[1] Very doubtful.
[2] This fragment follows pretty closely after the preceding.
[3] Or *pa*.
[4] Very doubtful.
[5] Conjecturally restored.
[6] The stop is doubtful and the preceding word might be *keṅ*.

49. [h]eṅ [t]i[la ñaḥ tuin tluṅ] ra ‖ [‖ tila puiy] ta' tuy [ma tuin tluṅ khā] ma cu[ip] c[n]ih[1] [Mahābu]ddharu[p] gah ‖ tila [pui]y ta' d[u]i' d[måṅ] laṅah t[uy] ‖ t[il]a ñaḥ Rāmādh[i]pati gah ‖ t[ṅ]a[y] s[ok dacām crawek kitu asut]

50. [g]ah ‖ [cuip sṅi damåṅ] tila ñaḥ pḍa[y Pugo ra ‖] ‖ [ti]la ñaḥ cui[p Pugo tu]y ca[h c]ra[w]ek tṅa[y] ad[u]i[t gah] h[eṅ ‖ kui]w preṅ phyer [dluṅ] kanḍo' [bwoy] ma daḥ raḥ san kwo[m] ku twiṅ [twuik ma gluiṅ] (ı)[2] [p-or smiṅ tila gamluiṅ] (tu)-[3]

51. (y ‖ kuiw) [cuih] (wāṅ) . . (n)[4] [tila p]ui[y t]a' ra ‖ [t]ila puiy ta' cui[p] sṅ[i ti]la ñaḥ tuy he[ṅ] ‖ khā ga[h] tila [p]u[iy ta'] (ptit)[5] ra(ṅ) [c]an[ḍan] tuy [ma] (tuit buiṅ)[6] [dh]āt gnih kyāk tray [k]ui[m l]ar ‖ t[n]ā[ṅ jray bodhi ‖ sla jray bodhi ‖ ma jra]-

52. [y bodhi ma gap] go[r stuiw kuim lar ‖ tila puiy] ta' juin [kuiw ku tila ñaḥ laṅah ra ‖ sl]a pa[t k]at[iwat] tu[y ma huim akruim] smiṅ Sīrisaṅgha[bodhi] Para[k]kamabāhu ma caaḥ s[āsanā ‖ sm]i[ṅ Wijjaya[bāhu ma caaḥ sāsanā ‖ smiṅ Parakkamabāhu]

53. [ma ca]aḥ [sāsanā] (‖ ma) [ñaḥ] (kanaṁ) lar [na wohā ñ]aḥ [Siṅghuir] (ma) [tila puiy] (ta') [ñaḥ Siṅghuir kui]w ba[k] ga[h] l[er ‖] ti[l]a pu[i]y ta[' k]uiw kū [t]i[l]a ña[ḥ ra ‖ ‖ l]ik [pat] . . . . . cuin [dah] . . . . (suim gakan) . . .[7] [tila puiy saṅ Siṅ]-

54. [ṅghuir] (gam)l(uiṅ) [‖ kwom ku smiṅ S]iṅ[ghu]i[r ma h]i[mu] Bhūwanekabāhu gah ler ‖ ti[la pu]iy [ta]' [ku]iw ku tila ña[ḥ ra ‖ rau gah tila] (ñaḥ kwom) [ku ti]la puiy [ta'] (pa) [patisanthāra tuy heṅ] (ı) . . . . . [tila puiy thera ca]-

55. [h mwoy ku]i[m] ta[n]ah tanah h[e]ṅ p-or smiṅ tala gamluiṅ tu[y ‖] na jnor na pha[ṁ k]l[o]' [t]w[i]ṅ t[wui]k[8] ma glui[ṅ g]ah ‖ ti[la ñaḥ] . . . . . [t]ila puiy [t]a' t[uy ‖ t]ila ñaḥ (ma kuiw) . . . . . .[9]

[1] Possibly *cnuih*.
[2] Possibly ‖ or *ra* ı.
[3] Very doubtful. There seems to be a ‖ put at the end of the line to fill in a small spare space.
[4] Very doubtful, perhaps *ptuin* or *btuin*, but the initial looks rather like *c*.
[5] Doubtful reading.
[6] Final *t* and *ṅ* are doubtful. Perhaps we should read *buim*: see the translation and notes.
[7] Looks like *cyen*.
[8] Or possibly *twik*.
[9] Here follows the version from the manuscripts mentioned in § 71.

MANUSCRIPT COPY OF TEXT EXTRACTED FROM THE *SLA PAT WAṄ SIṀ*.

॥ khā gah tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati khyap kasap rau wwa' ra ॥ upasampada ma s-aḥ gah tīla puiai thera cah mwai gwa' duṁ raṁ ra ॥ pḍai thān puiai wwa' gah siṁmā ma s-aḥ ha dah uiw da ci ॥ pa ñāṁ tīla puiai saṁ ta' wwa' ma sgo' pa[1] uposatha pawāraṇakaṁ[2] ma pa taṁ[3] upasampadakaṁ ro[4] ॥ puiai glāai dnāai mwai gāmakhet ma smaṁ mwai mān ॥ pandhusiṁ[5] mwai ma s-aḥ puiai sakuiw[6] tīla ta'[7] wwa' ma[8] smit tuai ॥ tīla puiai ta' wwa' ma sgo' uposatha pāwāraṇakaṁ ma pa taṁ upasampadakaṁ roṁ ॥ rau wwa'[9] gah tīla ñaḥ khyap tuai heṁ ॥ pḍai juiṁ gniṁ ā glāai gāmakhet mwai ma dadak tau amāt mwai ma himu Narasaṁsura[10] gah ॥ dadah ma smān smuk mwai gah tiṁ ket tuai ॥ pḍai thān ma ñan tau ku kla' sat amāt Narasaṁsura[10] gah tīla ñaḥ kuiw taḥ ñaḥ[11] taḥ jaaḥ jaṁaḥ tuai kuiw[12] khanhaṁ rup samit siṁ ra ॥ yāṁ twuiw gāmakhet gah ॥ cha ma daḥ amāt Narasaṁsura[10] gah huit ha mik kuiw dah saṁkara koṁ ku gāmakhet da s-āṁ ma tau wut duih ḍeh gah ॥ khā karoṁ ā pha-uit tuai ॥ ruih chu ruih dun ma tau bwai smaw ॥ ma slep pa kuiw saṁkara gah le ñaḥ taḥ jaaḥ jaṁaḥ kle' tuai ॥ knāṁ chu knāṁ dun ma tau bwai latū ma slep pa kuiw saṁkara gah le kuiw kut dan jaaḥ jaṁaḥ kle' pha-uit heṁ ra ॥ pḍai thān tuai ma khanhaṁ rup ma smit siṁ gah tun lew ı pḍai ruṁ kuiṁ law ı pḍai thān maṁaḥ ruṁ ma thuik dah pḍai tma' nimit kuiṁ law ı maṁaḥ tma' nimit kuiṁ law ॥ kuiw ñaḥ taḥ jaaḥ jaṁaḥ kle' caruih ḍāk karoṁ ॥ law jā lagow ra ॥ maṁaḥ gah thān buiṁ duiw 4 duih tuai ı pkuiṁ law taraṁ ra ॥ paluit thān samit siṁ gah tun lew ॥ wihāra tīla puiai the cah mwai ma sgo' kluṁ dmāṁ kuiṁ law ı bhattasāla kuiṁ law ॥ waccakuṭī[13] kuiṁ law ı thān ma huṁ ḍāk kuiṁ law ॥ kanhaṁ law tuai heṁ ॥ niman[14] weṁ duṁ taluṁ phyeh the[15] cah mwai kuiw dmāṁ pḍai thān gah ra ॥ pḍai khanhaṁ gah rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ khyap tun ॥ uit tīla puiai cah mwai koṁ ku cah mwai[16] kwaḥ cah mwai wwa' gah kuiw duṁ kuiw duṁ[16] raṁ upasampada s-aḥ gaḥ ra ॥ tuai puiai ma spa[17] siṁ lamuin[18] tun ॥ jñaḥ law huit smik dah ruih sāsnā ॥ bwai duih anāgat puiai smik s-aḥ jaṁaḥ sun[19] ॥ upasampada ma s-aḥ heṁ kuiw dah kuiṁ ra ॥ ayāṁ māt garaha parūpawāda[20] yaw ra snoṁ[21] mā ॥ saṁ ma phah sāk gah mā ॥ puiai ha mik kuiw lup pḍai kaṁ wwa' swa' ॥ cha saṁ ma ha mwai kuiw garaha barupawāda caaḥ heṁ puiai mik kuiw lop kaṁ swa' ॥ rau gah khyap tuai heṁ caṁ ḅat mwai ra ॥ khā ma caṁ ḅat mwai gah pnow thera cah mwai gah ı pḍai thera mwai gah duh an ma jnok klaḥ ha mwai ॥ nū ma lon tuai klā ha duṁ upasampada gah ı garaha ñaḥ parupāwāda ñaḥ ma cuin dah mṁu[22] gah tadah mnuṁ kuiṁ law ॥ puiai[23] tīla puiai samat tun lew duh chanda s-āṁ gah ha mwai ra ॥ ayāṁ māt garaha parupawāda ñaḥ tadah mnuṁ kuiṁ law ॥ tiṁ wat tuai tīla puiai thera mwai mnuṁ kuiw gahara[24] gah kuiṁ law ı twaḥ tīla gah mwai kuiṁ law ॥ tīla puiai smat s-āṁ 4 ma nwaṁ kuiw garaha kuiṁ law ॥ saṁ tarau wwa' weṁ kle' tuai ॥ thera le cah ı tīla puiai smat ma dah twaḥ tīla thera gah lew trau ı cha saṁ 16 wwa' gah upasampada lew s-aḥ garaha parupawāda ñaḥ ha mwai ra ॥ rau[25] gah tīla[26] ñaḥ Rāmādhippati phyeh law sannithān ra ॥ akhā ma ñan ku kāla ma samit siṁ tun gah tīla puiai Guṇarakkhutharathera[27] mwai gah yai ā gaḥ tuai ı tīla puiai koṁ ku twaḥ tīla puiai Sathapāla[28] gah cau dmāṁ wihā tīla puiai tareṁ ra ॥ tala puiai Sirisaṅghabodhisāmi mwai ॥ Kittisirimeghasāmi mwai ॥ Parakkamabāhusāmi mwai ॥ Buddhaghosasāmi[29] mwai ॥ Jinālaṅkārasāmi[30] mwai ॥ Thenamālīsāmi[31] mwai ı Saddhammathejasāmi[32] mwai ı Saddhammarāmasāmi[33] mwai ı Cāwanegābāhusāmi[34] mwai ı tīla puiai jamnok lè 9 ॥ twaḥ tīla puiai Sirisaṅghabhodhisāmi mwai ı tīla puiai Saṅgharakkhita twaḥ tīla puiai Kittisirimeghasāmi gah ı tīla puiai Dhammawilāsa twaḥ Buddhaghosasāmi gah ı tīla puiai Uttara ॥ twaḥ Janālaṅkāsāmi[35] ı tīla puiai Uttama ı twaḥ Saddhammatejasāmi gah tīla puiai Dhammasāra tila puiai ñaḥ 14 wwa' heṁ ı mnuṁ tau pḍai thān wihā ma croṁ

[1] A omits.
[2] A *pāwā°*.
[3] A *ptaṁ*.
[4] A *roṁ*.
[5] B *bandhusiṁ*, for *baddhasiṁ*.
[6] B *skuiw*.
[7] B *saṁ*.
[8] B omits.
[9] B omits.
[10] For *Narasura*.
[11] B omits *taḥ ñaḥ*.
[12] A has *kuiṁ* ı.
[13] A *wuccakutthī*.
[14] B *nimanta*.
[15] A omits.
[16] The two preceding words must be due to a copyist's error.
[17] B *sapa*.
[18] B *lamuh*.
[19] Error for *san*.
[20] A *barupa°*.
[21] B *nwaṁ*.
[22] For *lamṅu*.
[23] For *pḍai*.
[24] Error for *garaha*.
[25] A *rā*.
[26] B *tla*.
[27] For *Guṇaratanadharathera*. B *°ratthaharathe*.
[28] B *Raṭapāla*.
[29] Orig. has *°yosa°*.
[30] Orig. has *°sami*.
[31] For *Ratanamālī°*.
[32] For *°teja°*.
[33] For *Saddhammārāma°*.
[34] For *Bhūwanekabāhu°*.
[35] For *Jinālaṅkāra°*.

G

1. . . . . (kṣap) . . . . . [1]

2. . . . . (m ma) nwo[m] (gah ra) [ti]m mā ॥ (sim) . . . . . .

3. . . . . (ti)m mā ॥ sim [t]arem [g]ah ler lapok ha [tui]n ॥ s[im t]ami (ler) . . . . . .

4. . . . . ॥ sim [t]am[i le]r gap gor sda[k ॥] ha ti[m m]ā ॥ [l]ap[o]k le[r] ha gap [gor s]la(pok ॥ sim) [tami] ler (ha ga)-

5. (p gor sdak)[2] . . . . . (mi)k dak sim tami gah ॥ tadah sim tarem ma nwom gah ra [ha] tim mā ॥ ma la[pok sim tarem] . . . . . ñāṁ ma lapo-

[1] Nearly thirty lines appear to be lost between this and the last piece. See the manuscript version.

[2] Conjecturally restored.

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law paluit thān ma samit siṁ gah ra ॥ acā[1] ma skuiw samit gah ı rau wwa' tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati khyap ra ॥ yrau pḍai thān mwai gah smik samit siṁ tami ra ॥ pḍai thān gah siṁ tareṁ ra ha mwai mā ı siṁ tami ñaḥ smit gah ma dah ra ॥ pḍai thān gah siṁ tareṁ ra nwaṁ mā ॥ ajjhattaraṇadosa[2] sambhedadosa kluṁ cuip ra dah uiw da ci ॥ siṁ tmi ma samhit gah mā ॥ ma ha dah sṁah ra ॥ rau gah heṁ dah[3] uiw da ci ॥ pḍai thān ma smik smit tami gah ॥ pwa ma laphok gap gaw spa klā tuai ॥ siṁ tami ma smit gah ma sdah roṁ swa' rau wwa' khyap tuai heṁ ॥ rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati (G 1) khyap tun ॥ sabhau pawa ma laphok siṁ ma gaḥ wwa' tun lew sjuiṁ spa san ॥ dnāai khaṇḍasiṁ[4] tareṁ mnuṁ dnāai mahāsiṁ tare(2)ṁ ma nwaṁ[5] gah ra tiṁ mā ॥ siṁ tareṁ gah ra tiṁ mhā siṁ tareṁ gah ma lapuik tuin ra ॥ siṁ tami ma sdak gah lew sdak[6] gwa' ra ॥ dnāai khaṇḍasiṁ tareṁ ı mnuṁ°dnāai mahāsiṁ tareṁ mnuṁ gah ra ha (3) tiṁ mā siṁ tareṁ gah lapuik ha tuin ॥ siṁ tami lew sdak[6] ha gwa' dnāai khaṇḍasiṁ tareṁ ॥ dnāai mahāsiṁ tareṁ ra tiṁ mā ı lapuik lew gap gaw lapuik (4) ı siṁ tami lew gap gaw sdak ı ha tiṁ mā lapuik lew ha gap gaw lapuik ॥ siṁ tami lew ha ga(5)p gaw sdak rau wwa' gaḥ law pḍai atthakathā gaḥ ci ॥ pḍai thān ma

[1] For *akhā*.
[2] In the Pāli *ajjhotthara*ṇ*adosa*.
[3] A omits *dah* and B adds *tau* to it.
[4] Orig. has *maṇḍasiṁ*.
[5] A *mnuṁ*. B adds *yaw* after *gah*.
[6] B *sdah*.

6. [k] . . . . . uiw [h]eṅ ‖ pḍa[y W]ima[tiwi]-nodanī tu[n gah ‖] rau [w]o' gaḥ tun ‖ [t]ada[h kh]aṇḍasim [t]are[m ma nwo]m [trawuir khaṇḍasi]m tarem ‖ [‖]

7. . . . . ṅ kui[w] da[h] kuim ‖ yām [pḍ]ay parikkhepa wihārasim ga[h] kui[m] lar ‖ ma[ṅ]aḥ pa[ri]kkhepa [wi]-hā[ras]im [y]āṁm [thān] mwa[y] sa[bu]it

8. . . . . (ṅ) gah ‖ tipuin masun tu[r]au [kwo]m ku ka[m]ma[wāt] sgo' da[t]au by[ī] ā [tu]y s[go' lapo]k[1] mā (‖) [pḍay thān ma d]atau [g]ah ra[2]

9. . . . . m tun nā[3] ‖ [p]ḍay[4] ta[ṅgū arā] (m)a[5] lap[o]k[6] sim wo' ga[h ‖ ma go'] datau [l]atū [th]ā[n sim tar]e[m[7] g]ah kuim lar ma da(-)

10. (h) . . . . . sim [tarem] ma nw[o]m ‖ trawuiw kha[ṇ]da[sim] tarem ‖ [t]rawuiw mahāsim tar[em gah mā ‖ ha seṅ ku aṅga so'] ‖ rau [gah]

[1] There is a space here, probably due to an original flaw.
[2] The *ra* seems to be written twice, but the first one may have been written over an original flaw and imperfectly erased.
[3] Conceivably *n-ā*, but the traces of what might perhaps be a subscript *a* (represented by the hyphen) are very slight. [4] Between *pḍ* and *y* there is an original flaw. [5] Or *pa*?
[6] There are two original flaws here: one just before the *p* and the other between *o* and *k*.
[7] Between *e* and *r* there is a blurred space probably due to an original flaw.

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mik dak siṁ[1] tami gah ‖ dadah siṁ tareṁ mnuṁ gah ra ha tiṁ mā ‖ ma lapuik siṁ tareṁ lew ñāṁ ma lapui(6)k ha gwa' kuiṁ ‖ siṁ tami ma sdak gah lew ñāṁ sdak ma ha gwa' kuiṁ ‖ siṁ tami ma sdak gah lew ñāṁ sdak ma ha gwa' kuiṁ ‖ dah uiw heṅ pḍai wipattiwinodhanī[2] tun 1 gata[3] rau wwa' gaḥ tun 1 dadah khaṇḍasiṁ tareṁ[4] tadah mahāsiṁ tareṁ mnuṁ tawuiw 1 mahāsiṁ tareṁ ‖ khā ma ha tiṁ he(7)ṅ kuiw dah kuiṁ ‖ yāṁ pḍai parikkhepa wihārasiṁ[5] gah kuiṁ law ‖ mṅaḥ parikkhepa wihārasiṁ[6] ‖ yāṁ thān mwai dabuit gah kuiṁ law ‖ tamā tamā bnat jāṁ gah kanhaṁ pha-uit tuai 1 jmāp jmāp kanha(8)ṅ[7] gah tila puin 5 tarau koṁ ku kammawāt sgo' datau byī ā t uai ‖ sgo' lapuik mhā ‖ pḍai thān ma datau gah yaw ra siṁ tareṁ nwaṁ mā ‖ siṁ tareṁ gah ma apuik ha tuin mgaḥ gah snu(9)ṁ tan hā ‖ pḍai tawū arā ma lapuik siṁ wwa' gah ‖ gwa' datau mnuṁ ‖ mahā(10)siṁ tareṁ mnuṁ tawuiw khaṇḍasiṁ tareṁ ‖ tawuiw mahāsiṁ tareṁ gah

[1] B omits *siṁ*. A omits *dak siṁ*. [2] Error for *wimatiwinodanī*.
[3] Error for *gah*, which should precede the stop.
[4] Here we should insert *mnuṁ tawuiw khaṇḍasiṁ tarem* 1.
[5] Orig. has *wahāra°*. [6] A inserts *gah klā ‖ parikkhepapāripārasiṁ*. [7] B *tan*.

11. . . . . [t]t[i] heṅ [d]ah tau ‖ rau ga[h h]et gaḥ [l]ar pḍa[y] Wimatiw[i]noda[n]ī dah ui[w da] c[i ı ı] p[ḍ]ay ma sa[s]aṁ[mut sim tami lamah gah go' kanaṅ][1]

12. . . . . [m ra y]ar [sno]m tun mā ‖ ma lapo[k] ha tuin ma gaḥ ci [n]w[o]m [tun nā] ‖ rau ga[h l]ar c[uit t]u[y] ‖ pa[r]i[kam] t[uy ma l]apo[k[2] sim g]ah ‖ [rau]

13. . . . . [s]pa pḍay s[i]m gah ler [m]asun masun [hat] caturah gah ‖ [k]anaṅ ā na gapuiw ra ‖ maṅaḥ [th]ān ma [spa sim gah[3] tun] le[r ‖ w]ū[d]u[ih h]e-

14. (ṅ) . . . . . (nū) [gah] ‖ t[i]la [ñaḥ] niman raṅ tila puiy saṅ cah pan gah tuy ‖ kui[w l]a[p]o[k] sim [ra ‖ ‖ akh]ā [ma lapok] ga[h] ‖ j[m]ā[p jmāp]

15. . . . . (h) tuy ‖ kammawā[t] ler dapo[h] co' lor tuy ‖ mwoy m[w]o[y] c[w]o' mwoy mwo[y leh ‖ dapoh le]h [paḍwot] (tu)-

[1] The *ṅ* is between the two marginal lines.
[2] Looks like *lapoṭ*.
[3] There appears to be a large original flaw between the *g* and the *h*.

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ha seṅ kuiw aṅga swa' ‖ rau wwa' the lṅuiw gaḥ uiw ‖ galān the lṅuiw ma gaḥ gah lew rau ma yu(11)tti heṅ dah tau rau gah gaḥ law pḍai wimatiwinodanī[1] dah uiw da ci ‖ pḍai ma samit siṁ tami lmuh wwa' gah ‖ gwa' kanhaṁ pha-uit tuai ‖ jmāp jmāp kanhaṁ gah sgo' lapuik ā mhā ‖ siṁ tare(12)ṁ yaw sanwaṁ tun mhā ma lapuik ha tuin ma gaḥ ci nwaṁ tan hā ‖ rau gah law cuit tuai parikaṁ ma lapuik gah rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ma kuiw cīreṅ ‖ yāṁ bnat thān ma (13) spa pḍai siṁ gah le 5 5 hat catturah gah ‖ kaṇaṁ[2] ā na gapuiw[3] ra ‖[4] gata (14) nṇ gah tīla ñaḥ niman raṅ saṅ ta' ‖ cah pan gah kluṅ lapuik siṁ ra ‖ akhā[5] ma lapuik gah jmāp jmāp kanhaṁ heṅ tīla puiai ta' gaja' cwa'[6] pḍai kanhaṁ ga(15)h tuai ‖ kammawāt 7 cwa' law tuai ‖ mwai mwai cwa' mwai mwai leh 7 leh phaḍot tuai heṅ ‖ klo' ā kanhaṁ

[1] A *cimati* ‖ *winodanī*. [2] A *gān*. [3] A *gabuiw*.
[4] There is a considerable omission in the MSS. here.
[5] A *kāla*. [6] B *cuṁ euṁ*.

16. (y) . . . . . [pathama][1] gah ॥ [c]uiw c[uip k]ana[ṅ r]a-[it] c[n]or pathama[1] [gah] ॥ lapok tuy [heṅ] ॥ clo' kanaṅ ra-[it ma dah cnor duti]ya (te')[2] [tun]

17. . . . . [k]anaṅ ma dah [t]aṁ cn[or du]tiya gah ra ॥ nū kanaṅ taṁ cnor dutiya ga[h] ॥ lapo[k] tuy [heṅ ॥ clo' ā] lapok [kanaṅ] (tam) . .

18. . . . . (abwoy)[3] [anu]lum [lapo]k tuin ā[4] jmā[p jmāp] kanaṅ cuip [kanat] ॥ [nū k]anaṅ [k]anat a[bwo]y [patilum jm]ā[p jmāp kanaṅ lapok] c[uih] . .

19. . . . . [l]apok tuy ra ॥ ॥ ma [l]ap[o]k sim wo' [gah] ॥ tṅey sṅi[sy]or dapa[h[5] br]amāk kitu m[r]i[kkasui]w[6] [gah h]eṅ [॥ ma lapok tuy ॥ ॥]

20. . . . . ॥ ॥ khā ma sa[ṁ]mut ga[h ॥] rau [wo]' cīre[ṅ] tuy ॥ ma samut ॥ yām bnat thān [ma s]pa sim gah ॥ (sa)[tim[7] tuy h]eṅ ॥ da[kau ler pan duih] . .

[1] The *th* in this word has a peculiar shape much like the *th* in the Myazedi inscription (see *Ep. Birm.*, vol. i, pt. i, plate iii, facing p. 55). As it is there used in the word *thar*, I do not think it is a *ṭh*, although in *pathama* it ought (etymologically) to be one.
[2] Conceivably, but improbably, *wo'*. [3] Conjecturally restored.
[4] What looks like an *anusvāra* above the *ā* is probably a subsequent disfigurement.
[5] Possibly *dapāh*. [6] Or *mruik°*.
[7] This word seems very doubtful; even the *t* might be a *k*.

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s-āṅ tun ॥ rau gah nū knaṅ taṁ cnow (16) pathama gah cuiw cuip knaṅ la-it cnow pathama gah ॥ ma lapuik tuai heṅ klo' ā kanhaṅ la-it ma dah cnow dutiya tun ॥ nū kanot[1] cnow dutiya ॥ te' lapok ma daḥ ceh kluṅ tuai ॥ cuip (17) kanhaṅ ma dah taṁ cnow dutiya[2] te' ra ॥[3] nū kaṇaṅ taṁ cnow[4] dutiyya gah lapuik tuai heṅ ॥ klo' ā lapuik kaṇaṅ taṁ cnow tatiya te' ra ॥ na nai ma rau wwa' gah nū kanhaṅ taṁ (18) bwai anuluṁ lapok tuin ā jmāp jmāp kanaṅ ॥ cuip kanat bwai patiluṁ jmāp jmāp kanhaṅ lapuik ceh kluṅ cuiw cuip knaṅ taṁ ॥ kanhaṅ gah uit s-aḥ heṅ ॥ siṁ gah dah ma (19) lapuik tuai ra ॥ ma[5] lapuik siṁ wwa' gah ॥ tṅai sṅisaw dapaḥ mamāk gitu mrekkasuiw heṅ ma lapuik tuai ॥[6] tṅai aduit 8 mamāk gitu mrekkasuiw heṅ ma samit siṁ (20) ॥ khā ma samit gah

[1] A *kanhaṅ*. [2] Orig. has *tatiya*.
[3] The following words (to *ra* ॥ inclusive) occur only in B.
[4] Not in the MS. [5] A *ṗa*. [6] A adds 8 ॥.

21. . . . . tmå' [d]wor pan ga[h] ॥ phuiw t[uy] ma (pa) [tmå'] nimit [d]acām ga[h] ॥ mik [kui]w nwom ta[me]ṅ nū sa[n]thā[n pan tlaṅ tuy ॥] (dwor) [dwor gah] (p)a[ḍåṅ][1] (t)i(t)

22. . . . . [j]uk tu[y] ॥ cruih tmå' (k)uiw[2] c[r]ui[h tmå'] gah ॥ [r]uṅ calo[' ā] t[u]y ॥ atuiṅ[3] ju[k] ma cui[h gah he]ṅ ॥ [carit[4] calo' ā pḍay ti] (da ॥)[5] carit ca-

23. (lo') . . . . . sṁik kuiw sīmāmagga ॥ calah ta[ḅ]aḥ ga[h[6] j]ano[k mw]o[y cḍ]a ॥ la[yo]h mway cḍa [॥] karo[ṅ] ca[l]o' [ā ti ra ॥ ॥ khā] ma ka[roṅ ā ti g]ah ॥

24. . . . . ma[ṅ]aḥ nimi[t] gah kuim ॥ kuiw pḍay nimi[t t]uy ma sdah s[im t]am[i] ga[h] kuim ॥ ca[aḥ] jaṅaḥ kle' [t]u[y] ॥ ga[r]eṅ (tanam)[7] [k]aroṅ la[r jar] lagar tuy ॥

25. . . . . (ga)h ler ॥ gañi na [thor] na [ka-u]y ba[k]e[t] ta' gah t[u]y ॥ na y[ā]t bake[t] batā[ṅ g]ah ॥ (pū[8] g)a[ñi lar] (ra ॥ ॥)[9] [het t]uy ma rui[h se k]yāk ॥ [j]mā-

[1] The initial of this word might be *b* or *p*.
[2] Conceivably *tuiw*. [3] There was probably an original flaw between *a* and *t*.
[4] There was probably an original flaw between *c* and *r*.
[5] Conceivably, but improbably, instead of *ḍa* ॥ one might read *ā*.
[6] There was probably a small original flaw here.
[7] Very doubtful: the *t* might be *k*, the *n* might be *r*, and the *m* possibly *p*.
[8] Perhaps the two strokes under the *p* are accidental and we should read *ṗa*.
[9] Very doubtful.

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rau wwa' acīreṅ pa tuai samit ॥ yāṁ bnat thān ma spa siṁ gah samtiṁ tuai heṅ dakau[1] pan duih ॥ tma' nimit 8 ma tuiw ॥ akḥā ma tuiw[1] (21) tma' dow pan gah ॥ phuiw tuai pa ma tma' nimit dacāṁ gah mik kuiw ॥ nwaṁ tameṅ nū ñaḥ ñī[2] nū santhān pan klaṅ gah dow gah phaḍåṅ tit ñi ñi[3] tuai ma tuiw tma' tuai heṅ ॥ ket raṅ (22) juk tuai cruih[4] tma' kuiw cruih[5] tma' gah ruṅ calo' ā tuai atuiṅ juk ma cuip gah heṅ ॥ ma caruih[6] calo' pḍai ti ra ॥ caruih[6] ca(23)lo' tuai heṅ yāṁ mñaḥ carik[6] gah heṅ tuai kuiw siṁmhāmaggaṁ ॥ canah thaḅaḥ gah ॥ jnok mwai sḍa layah mwai sḍa ॥ karoṅ calo' ā ti ra ॥ khā ma karoṅ ā ti gah ruih chu ruih dun kamat han[7] ma spa kuiw sāṅkarakamasiṁ ma dah tau (24) nimit gah kuiṁ ॥ kuiw pḍai nimit ma sadah siṁ tami gah kuiṁ caaḥ jaṅaḥ kle' tuai ॥ karoṅ kanhaṁ law karoṅ law jā lagaw tuai ॥ cut bapeṅ law ḍāk ra ॥ rau gah pa tuai heṅ tma' nimit (25) gah lew gñi na thaw na ga-uai phket ta' gah tuai ॥ na yāt bket btāṅ gah pū gñi law ra ॥ huit

[1] A apparently has *daḳ*.
[2] The three preceding words are clearly superfluous.
[3] A *ñi ñi*.
[4] A *cruit*. [5] A *khruiṅ*. [6] For *carit*. [7] B adds *han*.

26. (p) . . . . . .
. . ma peṅ tau na (g)ara(y)[1] ‖ na pnā[ṅ] na y]āt p[l]ā[t] dakor snā da[ḅu]t lar [maṅ]aḥ nim[i]t tu[y] ‖ ‖ tuy heṅ [k]uiw t[i]la [puiy ta' skay ni]mi[t ra ‖ ‖ uit tma]' dacā-

27. [m][2] . . . . . .
. ma s[k]ay [sk]ay tlā ga[h tuy ‖ tila p]uiy tå' lw[op p]ḍa[y ru]ṅ dw[or] s[i]m [t]e'[3] ‖ kajo['] panḍaḥ[4] [h]atthapaḥ tuy ‖ [ti]la [pui]y [to'] d[må]ṅ[5] [t]au ra ‖ ‖ ‖

28. . . . . .
ma[ṅ]aḥ gāmakhet [g]ah ‖ mni[h to]k ku[i]m lar ñaḥ ma ḍok ciṅ kuim lar ‖ ñaḥ ma ḍok k[ṣ]e[h kuim lar][6] [d]atau ca[l]o' **[ā]** (pa-)[uit tuy] ‖ jnor

29. . . . . .
[ṅ] ‖ da(p)uiw[7] a[k]rā a[k]rā ga[h cut ā] tuy ‖ yata[8] **gam-ī c-āṅ** ma t[w]āk tar[au h]et ma ha m[ik k]uiw [l]w[op] pḍa[y taw]ui[w gāmakhet] gah ‖ [kui]-

[1] The *g* looks like *w*, and the *y* might be *h*.
[2] Conjecturally restored.
[3] There seems to have been an original flaw between the *t* and the '.
[4] As this *ḍ* is in the full form, it is probably not to be read *d*.
[5] The *anusvāra* is a little doubtful, but it is needed here.
[6] There is a small space here with faint marks on it which might be the remains of *nā* or *na*, but are probably merely accidental.
[7] The doubtful letter may be *b* or even *w*.
[8] Cf. B 49, D 47, 48.

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ma reh seh kyāk ‖ jmā(26)p jmāp tma' nimit gah kuim ‖ na kḍuiṅ jnow dhup sṁau nuṅ klah bapeṅ tau na garai na pnāṅ ‖ na yāt plaḥ[1] skaw snā daḅut law mṁaḥ nimit tuai heṅ ‖ kuiw tīla ta' skai nimit ra ‖ uit jmāp tma' 8 pī[2] lapuh tīla ta' skai tuai bcuip tma' (27) ma skai klā te' tuai ‖ tīla ta' lop ā pḍai tawuiw dow siṁ te' ‖ gaja' palaḥ hattapaḥ tuai tīla damaṅ tau ra ‖ khā gah atuiṅ gāmakhet ma karoṅ law tuai gah mṁaḥ (28) mṁaḥ gāmakhet gah mnih tuik kuiṁ law ‖ ñaḥ ma ḍuik ciṅ kuiṁ law ‖ ñaḥ ma ḍuik khyeh kuiṁ law ‖ datau calo' ā ḍuit tuai jnow rāṁ[3] tàṅ khon lew sràk dariṅ ā tuai ‖ phaṁ kaṇu sa(29)ṅ dapuiw akrā akrā cut ā tuaṙ ‖ yata gamhī **s-āṅ** ma twāk

[1] A *laḥ*.
[2] 8 *pī* might be read *gaṗī*; but the text on the stones shows that 8 must be read, though *pī* remains unexplained.
[3] Error for *rāy*.

30. [w][1] (maṅ)[1] mway buin ñkan[2] tuy ‖ [yām p]ḍ[ay] . . . . . .
. . . [g]ah tun [le]r ‖ [g]am-ī c-āṅ [t]uy phek l[w]op nwoṁm tau pḍa[y] th[ā]n ma ranu[k] daṇḍa[n][3] g]aḥ tu[y ‖ k]ui[w][4] dan]ā[y] (cat[5] ḅat) [may tau ra ‖ tu]y heṅ mn[ih]

31. (ma)[1] dr[e]p to[k] kui[m] lor ‖ mnih ma ḍok kṣ[eh kui]m lar ‖ kuiw d[r]ep bui[k] krau gaḥ ku ñaḥ ma maṅ mwoy [te]' tun ‖ [d]apuin taya[6] pḍay gāmakhet[7] [w]o' [ler ha] mway [ra ‖] da[pui]n **c-āṅ** ma slop [p]ḍay gā-

32. makhet wo' ler ha mwoy ra ‖ p[u]iy ḍi[k] maṅ mwoy [b]uin ñka[n][8] s]an ra ‖ rau gah [ñ]aḥ ma [p]la[n] tlu[ṅ] gaḥ gah cui(p)[9] tuy [h]eṅ ‖ [ma] kuiw t[il]a pui[y] t[å' s]am[mu]t [sim rwoṅ] ‖ ‖ [khā tila] p[uiy to]' ma [p]aḍ[wo]-

33. [t] kammawācā [tu]n [l]e[r] ‖ [h]et [ma m]i[k k]u[iw] akkharawisuddhi da[h g]ah ‖ ñaḥ ḅā he[ṅ] ma kuiw paḍwo[t m]wa[y m]way wā ‖ (p)anḍuk[10] dapa[h w]ā [tuy] he[ṅ] si[m gah dah] ma [saṁmut tuy ra gaḥ] tu[y ‖ phaṁ k]l[o' twiṅ twuik[11] ‖ dapuiw]

34. [k]ar[h]ā ‖ kanu saṅ ta gah [pi] leh heṅ ma kuiw tuik ‖ [p]i leh [h]e[ṅ] ma kuiw ho drā ‖ ‖ sim [ma] saṁmut [t]uy wo' gah ‖ [t]ila puiy to' ma ā t[k]o'[12] Siṅgh[ui]r [ma ket upasampada[13] pḍay udakuk]kh[epas]i[m ‖ ma ñaḥ cīr]e-

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] Error for *kñan*.
[3] Written *daṇḍan*, but certainly meant for *daṇḍan*.
[4] Looks like *tuiw*.
[5] This word seems to have been subsequently altered by some intentional disfigurement.
[6] Presumably an error for *yata*.
[7] Between *kh* and *t* there is an original flaw.
[8] Error for *kñan*, as in l. 30.
[9] Looks like *cuim*, but the mark in it is probably accidental.
[10] Conceivably, though improbably, the initial may be *b*.
[11] The *u* is doubtful.
[12] The original appears to have *tto'*.
[13] Conceivably **saṁmp**.

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tarau huit ha mik kuiw lop pḍai tawuiw gāmakhet gah (30) bwai ma buin kñan tuai yāṁ pḍai tawuiw gāmakhet gah tun lew gamī s-āṅ phek nwaṁ tau pḍai thān ranuk dalan gaḥ tuai ‖ kuiw glāai dnāai caṁ ḅat mwai tau ra ‖ mnih (31) ma drep tuik kuiṁ law ‖ mnih ma ḍuik ciṅ khyeh kuiṁ law ‖ kuiw drep bak krau gaḥ ku ñaḥ ma maṅ mwai te' tun ‖ gamī taya pḍai gāmakhet wwa' ha mwai ra ‖ gamī s-āṅ ma lop pḍai gā(32)makhet wwa' lew ha mwai ra ‖ puiai ḍik maṅ mwai buin kñan san ra ‖ rau gah ñaḥ plan gaḥ gah cuit[1] tuai heṅ ‖ ma kuiw tīla ta' samit roṅ ‖ kāla tīla ta' ma phaḍo(33)t kammawāt gah tun lew ‖ huit[2] smik kuiw akkharawisuddhā dah ñaḥ ḅā heṅ ‖ ma kuiw phaḍot mwai mwai 1 phaḍot 7 wā tuai heṅ ‖ siṁ gah ma samit tuai ra gaḥ tuai ‖ phaṁ[3] klew twiṅ twuik dapuiw (34) karā kaṇu saṅ ta' gah 3 leh heṅ ma kuiw tuik ‖ pi leh heṅ ma kuiw ho drā ‖ siṁ ma samit tuai gah ‖ tīla ta' ma ā taka' Siṅghuiw ‖ ma duṅ upasampada pḍai

[1] Error for *cuiṗ*.
[2] A omits ‖ *huiṫ*.
[3] A *maṅ*.

35. ṅ pḍay Kalyāṇīga[ṅ g]ah ‖ ma saṁmut het dah uiw da ci ‖ [Kal]yāṇīsi[m] gaḥ [t]uy ‖ ti[l]a ñaḥ kui[w] lar [yam]u ‖ ‖ pa taṁ nū ti[l]a saṅ da [t]å' wo[' ma cuip tluṅ] n[ū tk]o[' Siṅ]gh[u]ir [kuim] ra [tlā ha] (g)atā(p)[1]

36. sa(ṁ)m[u]t s[i]m wo' [kuim l]er ı tila puiy saṅ to' [t]u[y ‖ m]a cuin da[h] tau gaṇ[ī g]aṇācariya ‖ laṅ(ṅ)uiw ga[h ‖ h]e[t ma sḍik mlik[2] s]āsa[nā s]an da[h uiw] da [ci] ‖ upa[sampada tuy ma dget tau pḍay puiy gah ‖ ma dah tau]

37. [ā]saṁkā gah ‖ ha gap g[wo]r heṅ ra ‖ ‖ pḍay jareṅ tila [pu]iy tå' [tu]y ‖ [ma d]uṅ raṅ upasampada nū tko' Si[ṅghuir gah ‖] kuiw pu[iy wo'[3] d]u[ṅ ket[4] upasaṁmpada] ra ñi ‖ [rau gah g]aḥ [tuy ‖ ma gluiṅ[5] ku leh heṅ ‖ tluṅ ptim tau tila ñ]aḥ [Rāmādhipati ra][6]

1 The *g* looks something like *b*, and the *p* like *m*.
2 Conceivably *sḍuik mluik*, but no *u*'s are visible.
3 Or *go'*?
4 Looks like *tet* but must be meant for *ket*.
5 The *g* looks like *m*, but in view of the context there can be little doubt that *gluiṅ* is right.
6 The *ra* is in the margin, between the double lines.

udakukkhepasiṁ ma ñaḥ[1] cīre(35)ṅ pḍai Kalyāṇīgaṅ gah ma samit huit uiw da ci ‖ Kalyāṇīsiṁ gaḥ tuai tīla ñaḥ kuiw law ymu ra ‖ nū ma pa taṁ tīla saṅ ta' wṿa' ma cuip kluṅ nū taka' Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ra ı klā ha gatāp (36) samit siṁ wwa' kuiṁ lew tīla saṅ ta' ma cuin dah tau gaṇī[2] gaṇācariya[3] lṅuiw gah ‖ huit ma sḍuik mluik sāsnā san dah uiw da ci ‖ upasampada ma daget tau puiai[4] puiai gwa' gah dah tau (37) āsaṁkā[5] gah ha gap gaw heṅ ra ‖ pḍai jareṅ tīla ta' ma duṅ raṅ upasampada nū taka' Siṅghuiw gah ‖ kuiw puiai gwa' duṅ upasampada ñi ra ‖ rau gah gaḥ tuai ‖ ma gluiṅ ku leh heṅ kluṅ pa tiṁ tala ñaḥ Rāmadhippati[6] ra ‖ tīla ñaḥ lew rau wwa' huiṁ plan ku tīla ta' tun ‖ dnāai tīla ma nwaṁ tau saddhā ma mik duṅ upasampada jareṅ tīla ta' ma duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah duṅ kuiṁ ra ‖ ñaḥ ma ha mwai ku saddhā ha mik duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw damaṅ kuiṁ ra ‖ ñaḥ ma mik sgo' duṅ upasampada tnow ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah mā ‖ lapa duṅ gaḥ tuai ‖ ha gwa' sī dadaw[7] ‖ tīla ta' ma ha mik tnow upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah duṅ heṅ ra gaḥ tuai ‖ ai ḍik hwa' gwa' rān skuit ‖ adhipāai sla pat winai ma cuin dah tau ma mik kyāk trai gah heṅ tīla ai ta' khyap ket kuiw buin ra ‖ upasampada ma cap tau kuiw tīla ai ta' āsaṁkā[8] dah tau pḍai cuit mā[9] ‖ tīla ta' duṅ ket tnow[10] upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw ra ‖ ‖ upasampada ma cap tau kuiw[11] tīla ai ta' s-aḥ tau heṅ dah mā[9] ‖ āsaṁkā[12] ha mwai ra dah pḍai cuit mhā ‖ tīla ta' dmaṅ kuiṁ ra ‖ rau gah tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati huiṁ plan[13] ku tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ ra ‖ gata nū gah rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati khyap tun ‖ tīla saṅ ta' ma dah gaṇācariya lṅuiw nwaṁ pamik mik gwa' upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gaḥ yaṅah ‖ sabhau[14] sla pat winai ma gaḥ tun lew pubbajā kuiṁ lew ‖ upasampada[15] kuiṁ lew ‖ uppajhāai heṅ ma dah tnaṁ ‖

1 Orig. inserts *pḍai* here.
2 A *gaṇhi*.
3 A *gāṇḍācariha*.
4 This should be *pḍai*.
5 Orig. has *sāsaṅka*.
6 Error for *Rāmādhippati*.
7 Error for *chī daw*.
8 A *saṅkā*.
9 A *mhā*.
10 A omits *tnow*.
11 A *ku*.
12 Orig. has *asaṅkā*.
13 B *balan*.
14 For *yaṅah ‖ sabhau* A has *ymu ‖ ṅuh stau*.
15 Orig. has *upasampadā*.

H

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)

1. . . . . (rau) wo' tila [ñaḥ] . . . . . .[1]

2. . . . . [ā]cāriya ı n(ū) . . . . . .

3. . . . . [r m]ā ı pḍay udaku[k]khe(pasim) . . . . . .

1 About twenty lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. The dots at the ends of the lines are roughly estimated. Fragment *a* goes down to l. 18. Fragment *b* begins at the beginning of l. 16. See the manuscript version.

tīla ta' wwa' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw ta' wwa' tun lew ha ḍuik caḥ caḥ[1] ṇiṁ ‖ ḍah uiw da ci ‖ pa uppajhāai lew ha gwa' ṇiṁ ‖ ma dah uiw pa ñāṅ puiai spa tuai tīla puiai saṅ ta' wwa' ma sgo' dah tnow upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw ma thuik dah upajhāai ñaḥ gah puiai ma sgo' ket raṅ tuai ma sgo' kuiw upajhāai ñaḥ gamluiṅ ma sgo' duṅ tnow upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw wwa' ro ‖ rau gah tīla ñaḥ khyap tuai p-ow kuiw ā ñī smān glāai danāai mwai ra ‖ khā gah tīla puiai Parakkamabāhūsāmi gah rau wwa' kluṅ pa tiṁ tīla ñaḥ ‖ tīla saṅ mwai gah ymu tīla Mhāsuwaṇṇasobhana gaḥ yaṅah ‖ tīla ma prai gah mhā ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada ñaḥ tnow Siṅghuiw heṅ ‖ pūguiw ma cuin dah tau[2] latjī kukkuccaka sikkhāgāma ‖ arañaka appiccha ‖ santuṭha ‖ sallo ‖ dhutaṅgara heṅ gaḥ tuai ‖ pa tiṁ tala ñaḥ khā gah tīla ñaḥ p-ow kuiw ā niman raṅ tīla gah ra ‖ khā tila puiai ma kluṅ cuip jareṅ tīla ñaḥ gaḥ ‖ (H 1) rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ smān ra ‖ tīla ai ma ā taka' Siṅghuiw ma duṅ upasampada gaḥ ‖ mū pḍai siṁ tīla ai ma duṅ ma ci guin ‖ ñaḥ gah ma pa uppajhāai ‖ ñaḥ gah ma pa (2) aćāriya ‖ nū tīla ma duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah ‖ lamuh mwai ci wah ro ‖ rau gah tīla ñaḥ smān ra ‖ rau wwa' tīla sah plan tun ‖ ku tīla ñaḥ puiai ma duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghui(3)w mhā ‖ pḍai udakukkhepasiṁ ma[3] ñaḥ cīreṅ law pḍai Kalambu-jātassara jamnok[4] gah heṅ ‖ guiṇ 31 ‖[5] tīla puiai Wapparakkha[6]

1 Probably error for *cnaṁ*, or *wah*.
2 The equivalent in the Pāli text for the passage from here to *dhutaṅgara*, inclusive, is *arañāvaḍḍhī dhutaṅgadharo appiccho santuṭṭho sallekhī lajjī kukkuccako sikkhākāmo byatto paṭibalo*.
3 Orig. has *miṁ*.
4 A *mnok*.
5 A omits *guiṇ 31 ‖*. The Pāli has *appamāṇassa gaṇassa santike*.
6 In the Pāli *Vaṅaratanaṇāmakaṁ porāṇamahāsaṅgharājānaṁ*.

4. . . . . upa[j]jhāy ı tila puiy Rā(hulabhaddhathe)[1] . . . .
. . . . . .

5. . . . . (plan) k[u] tila ñaḥ ॥ tila [ñ]aḥ rmiṅ . . . . . .
. . . . . .

6. . . . . .
. . duṅ [upasa]m[pa]da S[iṅgh]u[i]r ga[h ı g]luiṅ san . . . . . .
. . . . . .

7. . . . . [r]
. . sāsanā tuy ı t[ila puiy] kajo'[2] (k)wom[3] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

8. . u . . . (l) . . . . . (tu)y[4] kuiw
akhwoṅ ku tila ñaḥ ra ı ı akhā ma saṁmut (sim)[4] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

9. ñaḥ Siṅghu[ir] . . . . . [ñ]aḥ ma lwon tuy ga[h] ı
tluṅ cuip t[il]a [ña]ḥ ra ı tila ñaḥ . . . . . .
. . . . . .

1 Restored from the Pāli version.
2 There is a small circle over the *o*, but I cannot imagine what function an *anusvāra* could perform there. Probably it is an error of the engraver's.
3 The initial of the next word was apparently either *u* or *ñ*.
4 Conjectural restoration.

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saṅgharājā jnok te' heṅ ma pa (4) uppajhāai ॥ tila puiai Rāhulathe ma dah saṅgharājā lmuh ma pa cariya ॥ was[1] ai nū[2] ma duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah ॥ dah ḅā coh tarau wah ra[3] ॥ rau gah tīla puiai sah (5) plan[4] ॥ ku tīla ñaḥ tīla ñaḥ miṅ lahuiṁ tīla tuai mip cui[t] pūmah san dah tuai tīla ñaḥ kuiw niman tīla puiai ra ॥ saṅ ta' ma nwaṁ[5] kuiw saddhāmalā ॥ pamik[6] (6) upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gluiṅ san uiw da ci ॥ tīla ai mik kuiw upajhāai tuai mik kuiw ñaḥ gwa' duṅ upasampada suiw[7] ॥ tīla ai mwai kuiw[8] datuai mramo(7)w sāsnā ra ॥ tīla ai gaja' koṁ[9] fii ॥ rau gah gaḥ tuai tīla ñaḥ niman ra ॥ tīla puiai tun lew ॥ gabut sāsnā roṅ ci ॥ puiai gaja' san ra gaḥ (8) tuai kuiw akhoṅ ku tīla ñaḥ ra ॥ akhā ma smut siṁ gah tuai ॥ tīla puiai gaṇī gaṇācāriyya gamluiṅ mnuṁ pamik duṅ upasampada (9) ñaḥ Siṅghuiw ma huiṁ kuiṁ law ॥ ku tīla ñaḥ ma lon tuai gah[10] ॥ kluṅ cuip tīla ñaḥ ra ॥ tīla ñaḥ koṁ ku kuiw tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ ceh ā Kalyānisiṁ ra ॥ tīla saṅ

1 A *gah.* 2 A omits *nū.* 3 A *gah.* 4 B *palan.*
5 A *mnuṁ.* 6 For ॥ *pamik* A has *pami.* 7 A *soh.* 8 For *kuiw* A has *heṅ kuiṁ.*
9 A adds *ku.* 10 A *ra.*

10. ' ma cau nū [Si]ṅghu[i]r ler [॥ ti]la [ñ]aḥ [k]ui[w n]iman plop pḍay Kalyāṇīs[im ra ı ti]la p[uiy Su]waṇṇa(sobhanamahāthe)[1] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

11. h r[au] wwo' [tila] ñaḥ huim [pl]an ku saṅ [ma] cau nū Siṅghuir [gamlui]ṅ ra ı [ti]la puiy saṅ gamluiṅ w[o]' gah ॥ nw . . . . . .
. . . . . .

12. [kña k]u[i]w upasampada ra ॥ khā gah rau ww[o' ti]la puiy saṅ Siṅghuir [to]' gamluiṅ huim plan tun ı tila . . . . . .
. . . . . (a-)[2]

13. [ci] are[ṅ] tuy tila puiy to' ñaḥ tko' Siṅghuir ma [ku]iw upasa[mpada ku pu]iy [gah] ı mahār[ā](j)[3] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

14. ñaḥ tko' Siṅghuir [t]uy ma sk[u]iw upasampada ku puiy gah [r] la[ṅ]gat puiy [saṅ g]amluiṅ ma t[au pḍ]ay [tko'] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

15. [yā]t ba[tāṅ tl]ā tu[y] ı kuiw tau pḍay gihiliṅga ı khā ma tau pḍay gi[hil]iṅ[ga gah tu]n ler . . . . . .
. . . . . .

1 Restored on the basis of the Pāli version.
2 Conjectural restoration.
3 Or possibly the final may be *t*, as in L.M.

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ta(10)' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw lew tīla ñaḥ kuiw niman plop pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ ra ॥ tīla the Suwaṇṇasobhaṇa ma spa upajhāai gah lew tīla ñaḥ kuiw niman raṅ pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ ra ॥ khā ga(11)h rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ huiṁ plan ku saṅ ma cau nū Siṅghuiw gamluiṅ ra ॥ tīla saṅ gamluiṅ wwa' gah nwaṁ pamik kuiw ma mik duṅ upasampada tnow ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gaḥ ci ॥ tīla ai ta' (12) kña kuiw upasampada gwa' ra ॥ khā gah rau wwa' tīla puiai saṅ Siṅghuiw gamluiṅ huiṁ plan tun ॥ tīla ñaḥ p-ow kuiw ā duṅ raṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw ra gaḥ tuai ॥ puiai ā duṅ raṅ[1] ra ॥ ॥ ñaṅ a(13)cī areṅ tīla ta' ñaḥ taka' Siṅghuiw ma kuiw upasampada ku puiai gah ॥ mahārāj[2] koṁ ku kuiw tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ paṅ mhiṅ ñi ॥ kāla tīla ta' (14) ñaḥ taka' Siṅghuiw ma skuiw upasampada ku puiai gah sāk wwa' tīla ta' pa huiṁ ॥ kāla puiai saṅ gamluiṅ ma tau pḍai taka' Siṅghuiw ma kuiw upasampada ku ñaḥ ma kluṅ nū jamṅoai mhā ku ñaḥ ma pa sāk wwa' tuai ma kuiw roṅ ॥ pasāk ro ॥ kuiw (15) yāt btāṅ klā tuai kuiw tau pḍai gihibhau klā ॥[3] khā ma tau pḍai gihiliṅ gah tun lew ॥ ai gihi ra gaḥ tuai pa wacibheda[4] pamik ñaḥ

1 A omits *raṅ.* 2 A *mahāmarāt.*
3 A omits ॥. 4 B *wācibheda.*

16. [tuṅ l]e[r] (॥)[1] . . . . . [ha] seṅ ı sabhau tuy [ma] duṅ upasa[mp]ada ma [g]aḥ [mā ı c]adaḥ kle' gihiliṅ(ga) . . . . .

29. sampada ‖ ‖ [tañ]ay [t]añay gah ‖ tila [ñ]aḥ [Rāmā]dhipati kajo' dmåṅ[1] ‖ dān puṅ ḍāk āhāra paccay ‖ sablu sla [‖] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

30. c[ākh]ī ka[yat] tu[y] ‖ ma maṅ cut lik [c]aḍ[won g]ah lew tila ñaḥ preṅ law ‖ la[-i]t la-i[t] ma pa upa[sampada] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

31. law[2] tila [ñ]aḥ preṅ law ‖ khā tṅay ma sa[w ā g]ah ‖ [s]mīṅ ti[la cākh]ī kaya[t] ‖ pnāṅ c[ḍ]au p[re]ṅ la[w] tuy ‖ tila ñaḥ . . . . . .
. . . . . .

32. [a]cā guin ‖ ma duṅ upasa[m]pada tuy ga[h] (‖) [dah ḅ]ā klaṁ [pan cw]oh sun ra ‖ [‖] khā ga[h] t[i]la [ñ]aḥ kuiw garaṅ ptim . . . . .
. . . . . .

33. ' [h]e[ṅ ‖] tila puiy t[o'] ma duṅ [up]asampada tami [gah] ‖ ḅā kla[ṁ] pan c[w]oh [s]u[n ‖] t[il]a puiy t[o]' ma cau nū Siṅghuir (l)e(r) . . . . . .
. . . . .

34. w pa upu[h p]ḍay [K]alyāṇīsim ñi ‖ ‖ [r]a-it tila pu[iy to]' ma [pa upu]h tuy [gah] ‖ dān pi[ṇḍ]apāt [ler k]uiw . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Abbreviated, as if *ṅdmå*, with superscript *ṅ*.
[2] Or *lew*, if the *e* was at the end of l. 30, as seems probable from the MS. text.

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alhāai ma āwariya[1] tuai ‖ ma kuiw upa(29)sampada ra ‖ taṅai taṅai tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati gaja' dmåṅ ‖ dān puṅ dān ahāra bcai pan ‖ jablu sla ḍāk yāmakāla gah le tīla ñaḥ p-ow kuiw taruip tau saṅ ta' ra ‖ (30) cakhī dayah ma cut lik caḍon payāṁ gah le tīla ñah preṅ law la-it l-it ma pa upasampada tuai gah ‖ huit mik kuiw sādhukā gah phaṁ klo' (31) le tīla ñaḥ preṅ law ‖ khā tṅai ma saw ā gah ‖ smiṅ tala cakhī dayah pnāṅ sḍau preṅ law tuai ‖ tīla ñaḥ tuin kluṅ ḍuṅ ra ‖ khā ma ḍuik 5 tṅai gah ‖ ñaḥ ma pa tiṁ tala guin ma pa (32) acā guin ma duṅ upasampada tuai gah ‖ dah 245 ra ‖ khā gah tīla ñaḥ kuiw garaṅ ptiṁ tīla ta' gamluiṅ ñi ‖ tṅai sī bapeṅ gitu mrekkasuiw tṅai aduit[2] wwa(33)' heṅ ‖ tīla ta' ma duṅ upasampada tami gah ‖ 245 ‖ tīla ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw lew 15 ‖ uit tīla ḅā klaṁ 60 ‖ wwa' mik kui(34)w upuh pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ ñi ‖ la-it tīla ta' ma pa upuh tuai gah ‖ dān piṇḍapāt le kuiw ‖

[1] Error for *pa ācariya*.
[2] A omits *aduit*.

35. go'[1] [k]uiw dā[n ñ]i ‖ [pasāda] ‖ cuit[2] [le]w kuiw pu[iy] g[o'] ga[t]u[i]w b[d]ah ñi ‖ rau [g]ah ‖ [ti]la ñaḥ [gar]aṅ pti[m saṅ g]amluiṅ (‖) . . . . . .
. . . .

36. s[u]im kuiw araṁ par[i]wā ‖ [kw]om [k]u amacca [s]enāpa[t]i gamluiṅ heṅ cui[h ā] tuy ‖ laḥ da[k]ar [sw]ak saṅ ḅ[ā] klaṁ ṭurau [cw]oh
. . . . . .

37. khā ga[h] tila [s]aṅ ḅā klaṁ [tu]rau [c]woh gah ‖ cu[ip] tluṅ tuy [pa] upuh ra ‖ ra-it ti[l]a puiy to' ma pa upuh tuy gah ‖ [piṇḍapāt] . . . . . (ma kaḥ mwo)-[3]

38. y [p]rakā ‖ ḍā[k] yā[makā ‖] ta[r]uip tila puiy [t]o' tuy [h]eṅ ‖ ‖ tila puiy mwoy mwoy heṅ ‖ yāt s . . . . . .
. . . . . (ḅun panā)-[3]

39. [k] sat ‖ [m]e[k] su[t] ‖ ‖ p[n]ik cakkho ‖ tḍo[ṅ] ‖ pabeṅ ‖ [p]aḍāk ‖ dakor mom ‖ [ku]iw dān kuiw tila [puiy] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

40. ṅ gah ‖ [tila] puiy Suwa[ṇṇ]as[o]bhanamahāthe ma pa upajjhāy ga[h] ‖ kuiw [y]amu Kalyāṇī[ti]ssamahā[the] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Only the second half of the *o* appears in this line: the first part must have ended the preceding one.
[2] I think the reading given is right, though there seems to be no need for the stop. The Pāli has *cittañ ca pasādetuṁ*.
[3] Conjecturally restored.

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puiai gwa' kuiw dān ñi ‖ dayadhamma ma gap gaw skuiw dān kuiṁ ‖ kuiw puiai (35) gwa' kuiw dān ñi ‖ pasāda cuit le kuiw puiai gwa' katuiw badah ñi ‖ rau gah tila ñaḥ garaṅ pa tiṁ saṅ gamluiṅ tuai heṅ ‖ tṅai sī bapeṅ gitu mrekkasuiw gah prah heṅ tīla ñaḥ (36) suiṁ aroṁ parīwāra suiṁ amāt seṇāpati gamluiṅ heṅ ceh ā tuai ‖ laḥ skaw swak saṅ 2 klaṁ 60 masun pā[1] upuh pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ gah tuai tīla ñaḥ dmåṅ tau ra ‖ (37) khā gah tīla saṅ ḅā klaṁ 60 gah cuip kluṅ tuai pa upuh ra ‖ pḍai la-it tīla ma pa upuh tuai gah ‖ piṇḍapāt lṅu piṇḍapāt tṅai kwāṅ yuih tḅan caṇa ahāra ma ka mw(38)ai prakā ḍāk yāmakā taruip tīla ta' heṅ ra ‖ tīla saṅ mwai mwai gah ‖ yāt saṇā thap ḅā ḅā tau ‖ sablu kḅoṁ palā suiṁ bī gāpuiw ‖ ḅun panā(39)k[2] sat mhāai sut pnik[3] cakkho ‖ kḍuiṅ babeṅ phaḍāk dakaw moṁ kuiw dān ku tila ta' ra ‖ akhā na ganap tīla ta' ñaḥ gamlui(40)ṅ gah tīla the Suwaṇṇasobhanamahāthe ma pa upajhāai gah kuiw ymu

[1] Error for *ma saṇa*. [2] Orig. has *pandai*. [3] A *bapuit*.

41. [']ı mañ dmāñ tau [p]ḍay sim gah dam[l]i heṅ ra ॥ t[w]aḥ tila puiy ācā guin ḅā klaṁ pa[n] cwoh sun ga[h l]e[w ı d]u[ṅ] (ā) . . . .[1]
(t)au [upasampada he]ṅ[2] ra ॥ acā gui[n] . . . . . .

J

(Fragment *a*.)[3]

1. . . . . [upasampada] (gah) . . . . . .[4]

2. . . . . [s]pa sor tu[y] smay ca [y]ay ñaḥ . . . . . .

[1] There may have been an original flaw here.
[2] Abbreviated, with superscript *ṅ*, as if *hṅe*.
[3] About twenty lines appear to be lost between this and the preceding piece. But see the manuscript version.
[4] Both margins being lost, and there being in this case no other indications as to the amount missing at the beginnings and ends of lines, respectively, the number of dots is quite indefinite and merely denotes that something is missing, without indicating the amount.

Kalyāṇītissamahāthera ॥ pa tāṁ nū gah kuiṁ rā ॥ smiṅ tàla cakhī ḍayah ma klo(41)' māñ dmāñ pḍai siṁ damli heṅ ra ॥ twaḥ tīla saṅ ācā guin 245 gah le duṅ āt[1] upasàmpada heṅ ra ācā guin da s-āñ mā nwaṁ tau ku saddhā mà mik duṅ upasampada lew duṅ āt heṅ ra ॥ tma' catuṭha tuai ra ॥[2] khā gah tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati[3] ptiṁ[4] tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ tuai ॥ uit pḍai jamnok thān ma daḥ raḥ man wwa' gah sāk wwa' tīla[5] ñaḥ kuiw[6] pa katika[7] kuiw kràk samwai uit ra ॥ ma lon ā tuai gah kuiw tuai ā ra ॥ nū tala wwa' ma s-āñ gata gah ॥ uit tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ ma gamī ñaḥ gata wwa' ॥ pūguiw ma gamhī gah[8] ñāt ñaḥ sjuṅ sḍuik gah heṅ tīla ta' gamhī ñi ॥ pūguiw ma nwaṁ ku sak wak ॥ pūguiw ma dah kamlat damla ma dayah tah ॥ pūguiw ma nwaṁ awài ma ha ḍuik peṅ ॥ pūguiw puit juiṅ puit tai kun kwa kok kaḍok ॥ yarau pūguiw mwai ñaḥ ñāt bak katau garuiṅ caruiw ha rau gau sdah mhā ॥ pūguiw sāk gah lpa kuiw gamhī ñi khā tīla twaḥ ganaḥ mik duṅ upasampada tun ॥ tīla ta' skuiw upasampada sṅaṁ sṅaṁ heṅ lapa kuiw upasampada ñi ॥ pa tiṁ puiai tuai pḍai siṁ camat pḍai Bago wwa' heṅ ॥ cīreṅ buin kñan tuai ॥ parikkharā payyaṅ puiai skuiw dān tuai puiai sduṅ upasampada ॥ pa tau[9] yaṅah ha seṅ tun ॥ sṅaṁ sṅaṁ skuiw ket upasampada ra yaw sdah mhā ॥ mi ma ñaḥ ñaḥ ma duṅ (J 1) upasampada gah kuiṁ klo dñāt kuiṁ ॥ dakā upaḥ ma duṅ upasampada gah kuiṁ puiai spa rājādan heṅ ॥ uit tīla saṅ gamluiṅ tun ॥ tīla saṅ ma dah twaḥ jaku ta' gah (2) spa saw smai[10] ca yai ñaḥ lew lpa kuiw pa ñi[11] ॥ spa horā smai ca satā ñaḥ lew lpa kuiw pa ñi ॥ stuik[12] ca bacāṁ[13] khyū ca juiṅ gniṅ[14] juiṅ yāt slāk[15] ca nibā

[1] A comparison with the text of the stone fragment seems to indicate that the MS. text is corrupt here. Probably *āt* (both here and in the next line) should be *ā tau*.
[2] This is evidently a note that has got into the text, but it serves to show where Face H ended.
[3] B *Rāma°*.
[4] A omits.
[5] B *tla*.
[6] A *kuiṁ*.
[7] B *kattika*.
[8] A inserts *ñaḥ*.
[9] A omits *pa tau*.
[10] A *sṗha*.
[11] A omits *lpa kuiw pa ñi*.
[12] A *skuit*.
[13] A *ḍacāṁ*.
[14] A *joṅ juiṁ* (?) *juin*.
[15] A *sàk*.

3. . . . . m[r]a ॥ [yar]au [kā] ka[lw]on m[w]oy gah ॥ [g]arhah to' tuy s(gyoṅ)[1] . . . . . .

4. . . . . [t] ca [dhār[2] gat]e[r] (ı ma ca)[3] slor la(b)w[or][4] (bdah)[5] ca twor ka[n][6] . . . . . .

5. . . . . [ga]rhah (p)aḥ[7] (॥) bl[āy l]a(m)l(āy) ॥ ḍik smiṅ ska' smiṅ ॥ ñaḥ ma su[ṅ c]a w[e]ṅ [kh] . . . . . .

6. . . . . [jareṅ ñi ॥ [khā garh]ah t[uy] ma tluṅ m[it][8] pa gam-ī ku tila pu[i]y tā' tun ler ı kuiw . . . . . .

7. . . . . [sa]raṇ(agā)ma[ṇ]a[9] ı sikkhā[p]ada ı daḥ raḥ tu[y h]eṅ tila puiy ta' [k]uiw pa gam-[ī] ñi (ı) . . . . . .

8. . . . [pātimokkhasaṁwara]sīla[10] ı [ī]n[d]rī[yasaṁ]warasīla ı ājīwa-[pār]isuddhis[ī]la ı paccayasannissitasī[l]a ı ga[h] le[r] . . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful, except the initial letter, though I think *gy* is all right. The vowel must be either *e* or *o*; the final is quite conjectural.
[2] The *anusvāra* is superfluous, but it seems to be there, no doubt as a vowel modifier indicating that the pronunciation of the word had approximated to what it is now in L.M. Cf. l. 12, *infra*, n.
[3] Very doubtful, perhaps for ı *ma ca* should be read ॥ *ā*.
[4] The *b* may be *p̣* or *ḅ*, or perhaps *w*.
[5] The *b* might possibly be *t*, and the *h* may be *t*.
[6] After *n* comes either *e* or *o*.
[7] Very doubtful, perhaps *maḥ*. The stops are not quite certain either. But the Pāli supports the reading *paḥ*.
[8] Error for *mik*.
[9] Or *saraṇāgamaṇa*.
[10] Restored with the help of the Pāli version.

॥ kanhaṁ pkau gamat galat ca taw ḅun (3) mra॥ yrau kā[1] kalon mwai gah kharah ta' klon lamuin ra gah kalon ma phah sāk gah ॥ gamhī ma klon ra gah tīla ai ta' lapa[2] kuiw māñ jareṅ jaku ñi ॥ gamhī ma pa krayā ha me phaḍo(4)t ca dhaw gatew ā slow lapow bdah ca tow kaneṅ ॥ ceh badah ca sro' sṅu ā juiṅ gniṅ ca tuiṅ badah ca mrek kamhih ॥ gamhī ma dah sāk gah tīla ta' lapa law jareṅ ñi ॥ yāṁ gamhī ma nhau rau ku (5) karhah ma gaḥ blāai lamlāai ॥ ḍik smiṅ[3] ska' smiṅ ॥ ñaḥ ma suṅ ca weṅ khat lan lī ॥ tīla ai ta' lpa law jareṅ ñi ॥ yāṁ gamī ma nwaṁ kuiw saddhā ma kat baton kweh kweh gah heṅ ॥ tīla ai ta' law (6) jareṅ ñi ॥ khā karhah ma kluṅ smik pa gamhī jareṅ tīla ai ta' tun lew kuiw ḍeh phaton lik tuai kuiw phaḍot akhaw dah tuai kuiw ḍeh baton (7) saraṇagamana sikkhāpada ॥ daḥ raḥ tuai heṅ tīla ta' kuiw pa gamhī ñi ॥ sāmmaṇī mnuṁ ayuk ma ḍuik ḅā coh smik duṅ upasampada tun lew laksan parisuddhisīla pan ma twah gaḥ (8) pātimukkha-saṁwarasīla ॥ indriyasaṁwarasīla ॥ ājīwaparisuddhisīla ॥ paccayasannissitasīla ॥ gah lew phaton sāmmaṇī kuiw lop cuit ñi klā ñi ॥ sla pat pātimuk le nū taṁ cuip knot koṁ ku aratha koṁ ku

[1] A omits.
[2] A *ma pa*.
[3] A omits.

9. . . . . .y ‖ p[k]at sā[maṇ]ī [gah] tlā ñi [‖] sla pat khuddasikkhā [l]er ‖ pka[t] sāmaṇī [gah tlā] ñi ‖ de[1] . . . . . .

10. . . . . (ñi ‖ ‖)[2] sāma[ṇ]ī (ta' gah)[3] [ḍok] peṅ tau [k]u kwat sāk gah tuy ‖ [til]a pui[y] tå' pti[m] . . . . . .

11. . . . . [k]yāk tray ma da(ḥ cui)t[4] gah heṅ ‖ ti[la p]ui[y] tå' pa ñi ‖ [p]aṭi[p]at[5] tuy ma ha ga[p go]r ku (winey)[6] . . . . . .

12. . . . . (dah) nānānikāya [tuy] ‖ ma l(am)ū[7] [la]me(k)[8] tau kwåm[9] [k]u ta[ḍuik] laṅeṅ ma phå[h sā]k w[o' ma] . [e][10] . . . . . .

13. . . . . (saṅ ma) [t]au [pḍ]ay t[k]o['] Si[ṅ]ghu[ir tuy ‖ ma] dak sagṅ[ā][11] ma kaḥ swok ga[h heṅ][12] ‖ [tila] (ey ta') . . . . . .

[1] Or, less probably, *do*. But I cannot restore the rest of it.
[2] Only the *i* is quite certain.
[3] Fairly certain.
[4] Very doubtful, though I think it is right.
[5] The original may have *ba°*, which would be an error.
[6] Only the *i* is certain.
[7] Very doubtful.
[8] Or *lamet* ?
[9] On the principles of transcription indicated in § 17 *supra*, this might have been rendered *kwaṁm*. But it is clear from the more usual spelling in this record (*kwom*), as well as from the E.M. *kom* and L.M. *koṁ, kom*, that the *anusvāra* is here used as a modifier of the inherent vowel (as explained in § 16, *supra*), and consequently the transcription *kwåm* is to be preferred. It appears from this and some other instances that this use of the *anusvāra* is not confined to syllables closed by velars. Cf. l. 4, *supra*, n.
[10] Possibly *o*.
[11] Error for *saṅgā*.
[12] Abbreviated as in H 41.

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adhipå(9)ai ‖ [1] pkat sāmmaṇī ta' klā ñi sla pat khuddasikkhā ‖ pa kat sāmmaṇī ta' klā ñi ‖ desaṇā apat[2] lew kuiw sāmmaṇī gah pḍen klā ñi ‖ paccawekkhanā ma spa prabhok ca phcai pan lew kuiw sāmmaṇī ta' gah pḍen (10) ñi ‖ sāmmaṇī ta' gah ḍuik peṅ tau ku kwat sāk gah tuai ‖ tīla saṅ ta' pa tiṁ puiai ‖ puiai duṅ upasampada ra ‖ uit tīla saṅ gamluiṅ tun lew patipat ma gap gaw tau ku winaya[3] sikkhāpuit (11) kyāk trai ma daḥ cuit gah heṅ tīla ta' pa ñi ‖ patipat ma ha gap gaw ku winai kyāk trai ma ha daḥ cuit gah tīla ta' lapa pa ñi ‖ ma lon tuai pḍai padesa raḥ man wwa' gah tīla gamluiṅ huit ma (12) dah nānānikāya ra ma lamuai lmek[4] tau koṁ ku taḍok laṅeṅ ma phah sāk wwa' ma gwa' dah roṅ ‖ nū wwa' ma s-ā gata uit tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ saddhā gaḥ tuai duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw ra ci ‖ ñåṅ daget (13) saṅ ma tau pḍai Siṅghuiw ‖ ma dah sāā kaḥ sok gah heṅ tīla ta' pa bak koṁ ñi ‖ mwai nikāai heṅ kuiw dah ñi ‖ nikāai tnah tnah lpa kuiw dah ñi ‖ rau gah cha mwai sarakattika

[1] A inserts *ya*.
[2] A *aphat*.
[3] A *siniya*.
[4] A *lamnu lmeṅ*.

14. . . . . (heṅ) ‖ u[i]t pḍa[y] jan[ok ra]ḥ [ḍu]ṅ [rman] w[o]' ‖ ti[la ñ]aḥ kuiw . . . . . .

15. . . . . [drap] (gasap spa)[1] [taget] . . . . . .

(Fragment *b*.)[2]

16. . . . . [drap] (gasap) [tuy ‖] (ma) tage[t] . . h . . . . . (ra ‖) gam-[ī laṅ]guiw (gah) . . . [l] . . . . . .

17. . . . . [mā ‖] tila ñaḥ [ku]iw tau pḍay gi[hi]bhāw .uit [ra ‖ ‖ a]rā gam-ī laṅguiw tuy [ma] cw(u)in[3] (pa)[4] [puin antima](watthu)[5] . . . . . .

[1] In this line, after the first word, only the top portions of the letters are clearly visible and there is some doubt, therefore, as to the reading. Cf. the next line.
[2] This fragment follows on pretty closely after the preceding one, but it is impossible to join them exactly.
[3] The *u* is rather curiously formed and may be merely an accidental stroke.
[4] Conceivably *ba*. It is often hard to distinguish *p* and *b* in this inscription; but the former is the right letter here.
[5] Restored on the basis of the spelling in the next line.

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tīla ñaḥ kuiw ptuai (14) heṅ ‖ uit pḍai jamnok raḥ ḍuṅ man wwa' ‖ tīla ñaḥ ma kuiw ā glāai danāai caṁ ḅat mwai ra ‖ rā gamhī ma pa tala drap kasap sro' sāu ḍik truh ḍik brau glau preṅ ta' gah tīla ñaḥ kuiw garaṅ pa tiṁ ra ‖ tīla puiai ta' ra sī[1] slaḥ kle' (15) drap kasap spa daget gamhī ra sdah mhā pa ra ‖ tīla puiai ta' pa ha dah mā ‖ suiṁ drap kasap heṅ pa gihibhau ‖ sāk gah tīla ñaḥ kuiw lan huiṁ ku gamhī gamluiṅ ra ‖ gamhī lṅuiw slaḥ kle' (16) drap kasap tuai ‖ ma daget gamhī ra ‖ gamhī lṅuiw slaḥ drap kasap ha dah suiṁ kuiw drap kasap heṅ pa kle' gihibhau ra ‖ arā gamhī mā swuin bapuin antimawatthu ma canah thaḅaḥ ku ñaḥ gamluiṅ gah (17) mhā ‖ tīla[2] ñaḥ kuiw tau pḍai gihibhau pha-uit ra ‖ arā gamhī lṅuiw ma swuin bapuin antimawatthu gah ha canah thaḅaḥ ku ñaḥ ‖[3] garaha parūpawāda ñaḥ ma nwaṁ tau gamhī ma dah sāk gah lew

[1] Apparently error for *siṁ*.
[2] The MSS. here insert *ta'*.
[3] For the passage from here to *siṁ*, inclusive, A has only *garaha parūpawā* ‖.

18. . . . . [u]it ra ‖ gam-[ī] la[ṅg]ui[w gah ‖ ma cwui]n[1] (ba)[2] [pui]n antima[watthu ma] cuip ra-it [gah ha] se[ṅ][3] ‖ (ayāmi ‖)[4] ga[rahā parūpawāda][5] . . . . . .

19. . . . . ler ti[l]a ñaḥ bak kuiw tau pḍay gihi[bhāw uit ra ‖ ‖ g]am[-ī t]uy ma [pa sar] ‖ ma pa hurā ‖ ma kṣū ca joṅ gni[n joṅ yāt] . . . . . .

20. . . . . g[i]hibh[āw ui]t ra ‖ rau [ww]o' [t]aḍuik la[ṅe]ṅ [sās]anā ma k[tui]w [dah gah] ‖ tila [ñ]aḥ [Rā]mā[dhi]pa[t]i ca[aḥ k]le' pa uit tu[y] . .

21. . . . . [tila[6] puiy saṅ] to[' g]amluiṅ [t]uy ‖ ma cuin dah t[au g]ā[maw]ās[ī ‖ ar]añawā[s]ī ‖ ma dmå[ṅ t]au pḍay [th]ān ḍuṅ rma[n] ww[o]' gaḥ ‖ ‖ n[ū sa]-

22. (kkarāt 838)[7] . . . . . [duṅ] tl[uṅ][8] u[pasampada][9] ñaḥ S[i]ṅghu[ir gah ‖ cuiw cuip] sakkarāt [841 s]ak [kuiw] sg[u]t duṅ tl[u]ṅ[8] tau heṅ ra ‖ khā gah tila [puiy]

[1] Here the *u* is not quite certain, though the trace of it, if it is that, is in the usual position.
[2] Error for *pa*. Conceivably it may be a much damaged *pa*.
[3] A small circle over the *s* must be a subsequent disfigurement.
[4] For °*mi* ‖ one might read °*pi* ‖, °*bi* ‖, °*ti*, or °*hi*. Perhaps it is an error for *ayām*.
[5] Or °*rup*°. The end of the word has been conjecturally restored on the analogy of E 57.
[6] Restored. [7] Conjecturally restored on the basis of the Pāli version.
[8] There is no *u* visible. [9] A small circle over the *mp* is probably a subsequent disfigurement.

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tla ñaḥ bak kuiw tau pḍai gahipati (18) uit ‖ gamhī lṅuiw ma swuiṅ bapuin antimawatthu ma cuip ra-it gah ha seṅ ra ‖ ayāṁ māt garaha parūpawāda ñaḥ lṅuiw gah ṅwaṁ tau ‖ ma siṁ balaḥ kle' garaha parūpawāda[1] ñaḥ gah lew ha samah ratha gamī ma phah sāk gah (19) lew tīla ñaḥ bak kuiw tau gahibhau ph-uit ra ‖ gamhī ma pa saw ma pa horā ‖ ma khyu ca juiṅ gnin juiṅ yāt tuik bacāṁ lāk nībā ‖ phatrayāpāw gamī ma pa mitchājiwa[2] gah lew tīla ñaḥ kuiw tau pḍai (20) gihibhau ph-uit ra ‖ rau wwa' thaḍuik laṅeṅ ā sāsnā katuiw dah gah tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati caaḥ jaṅaḥ kle' pha-uit tuai ‖ uit saṅ gamluiṅ ma tau pḍai thān ḍuṅ raḥ man wwa' gah kuiw pa nikāya mwai uit ra ‖ (21) tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ ma cuin dah tau gāmawāsī araññawāsī ṃa ḍmåṅ thān ḍuṅ raḥ man wwa' gah ‖ nū sa(22)kkarāt 838 ‖ gitu mrekkasuiw 9 måk tñai can ‖ tīla puiai ta' ma duṅ kluṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw duiw cuip sakkarāt 841 sak ‖ kuiw sgut duṅ kluṅ tau heṅ ra ‖ khā gah tīla

[1] Orig. has *gahe pharapawādī*. [2] For *micchā*°.

23. . . . . m acā [g]uin [dac]ām klaṁ ‖ [saṅ] samat mwoy lak pan lṅim [ḅ]ā kla[ṁ] turau [cwoh] sun [‖ ‖ uit a]cā guin dac[ā]m kla[ṁ] wwo[' kuim ‖] khā ma duṅ [u]-

24. [pasampada][1] . . . . . (k)w[o]m pha[lā] suim sablu [bī gapui]w ‖ [ḅ]un panā[k sa]t ‖ me[2] sut ‖ tḍo[ṅ ‖] (p)abeṅ[3] ‖ pni[k] tila ñaḥ kuiw dān ui[t ‖ a]rā tila [to]' tu[y ma] gap

25. . . . . k[r]au [t]un [s]āma[ṇī] to' tuy ma lagṅa[t][4] khudda-sikkhā ‖ pāṭimok ‖ tu[y] tila ñaḥ [ma kui]w dān parikkharā ma kuiw duṅ upasa(ṁ)mpada ler [tu]rau[5]

26. . . . . [r]ma[n] wwo' [ma d]u[ṅ upasampa]da Siṅ[ghuir gah] ‖ dah [m]woy lak masun lṅim turau klaṁ turau cwoh turau [ra ‖ ‖] pu[wa ma caaḥ] sā[s]anā [s]ā[k wwo' tuy ‖]

27. . . . . [k]yāk tra[y san d]ah uiw [da ci] ‖ sāsanā tuy ma tau tau pḍay ḍuṅ rman wo' ler ‖ ma sak ku tḍuik lṅe[ṅ] ‖ ma [s]ak ku āsaṅkā gah k[u]iw da[h] tuy

[1] Restored. [2] H 39 has *mek*.
[3] Or *ba*°? [4] Error for *laṅgat*.
[5] Here a small superfluous space has been filled in with four small circles.

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saṅ ta' ma tau pḍai thān ḍuṅ man ma duṅ upasampada gah ‖ yā(23)ṁ acā guin dacāṁ klaṁ ‖ saṅ smat mwai lak 4 lṅiṁ 265 ‖ uit acā guin dacāṁ klaṁ wwa' khā ma duṅ u(24)pasampada tuai gah ‖ swak ma pa ticiwarik le yāt sñā tat þā þā tau kwaṁ phalā suiṁ sablu bī gabuiw þun panāk[1] sat mhāai sut kḍuiṅ[2] babeṅ pnik ‖ tīla ñaḥ kuiw dān uit ‖ arā tīla ta' ma gap gaw sakuiw ṇāma[3] pñap lew ‖ tīla ñaḥ ma kuiw dān ma pñap uit ra ‖ (25) trau[4] wwa' tun sāmmaṇī ta' ma kat khuddasikkhā pātimuk ta' gah tīla ñaḥ ma kuiw dān parikkharā ma kuiw duṅ upasampada lew ‖ tarau klaṁ mwai ‖ apāṅ uit ‖ suiṁ yāṁ tīla ta' ma tau pḍai tawuiw raḥ (26) man wwa' ‖ ma duṅ upasampada Siṅghuiw gah ‖ dah mwai lak masun lṅiṁ tarau klaṁ tarau coh tarau ‖ pawa ma caaḥ sāsnā sāk wwa' tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ma pa gah ‖ huit ma sjuṅ sḍuik sāsnā (27) kyāk trai dah uiw dah ci ‖ sāsaṇā ma tau pḍai ḍuṅ man wwa' lew ma sak kuiw taḍuik lṅeṅ ma sak kuiw asaṅkā

[1] Orig. has *panāai*. [2] A *titdoṁ*.
[3] Error for *nāma*. [4] Error for *krau*.

28. . . . . .
. [ñi] lor cuit [tuy] ı ma [pa rwoṅ ı ı] pḍay kāla ma lwon t[u]y te' [gah] ı smiṅ tuy ma nwom tau ku puin [h]ān ma jnok claḥ ma cuip ra-[it ı ma sḍ]i[k mli]-[1]

29. [k] . . . . . .
. [Asoka]dhammarāt[2] [k]uim [lo]r ı ı [pḍay] tka' Siṅghuir [t]un ı smi[ṅ] mw[o]y tuy ma himu Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu[3] [ma] sjuṅ sḍuik pḍay sāsanā kyāk [tray san] (gah kuim)[4]

30. . . . . [k]yāk tra[y] san [k]uim la[r ı s]m[i]ṅ Para[kk]amabāhu ma sju[ṅ] sḍui[k] pḍay [s]āsanā [k]yāk tray san kui[w][5] lar ı [u]it smiṅ ta ga[h g]amluiṅ kuim ı ñā[t] ke[t] ta[ḍ]u[ik] laṅeṅ [ma] ktuiw dah

31. . . . . n(a) ma sak ku ta[ḍ]u[i]k [l]aṅeṅ heṅ [ı] het ma mi[k[6] kui]w sā[s]anā kyāk tray tan [t]au [l]ukau [k]ā ma lo' gah ı [caa]ḥ [t]au sā[s]anā tuy ı ı pḍay [k]āla ma [l]won

32. . . . . [mah]ā[the] Āna[n g]ah ı (g)a(g)eṅ[7] [bhāw t]uy ı dah smiṅ mwo[y] ma himu Usinnara ı pkaṅ [r]aṅ tau [k]ramin [p]ḍay [ḍ]uṅ B[ā]rānasī ı khā gah sā[s]anā tila puiy kyāk tray Kassapa

[1] Conceivably *sḍuik mlui-*. At the end a small superfluous space is filled in with four small circles, as in l. 25.
[2] Restored with the help of the Pāli version.
[3] Probably not *Sīri°* (as it seems to be in H 28).
[4] The last two words are somewhat doubtful, but I think they are right.
[5] Error for *kuim*.
[6] The original may have *mit*, in error. [7] Conceivably *gaṅeṅ*.

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gah dah tuai ॥ cuiw cuip 5 lṅiṁ snāṁ heṅ kuiw gwa' tan tau (28) ñi ॥ law cuit tuai ma pa roṅ ॥ pḍai kāla ma lon tuai te' gah ॥ smiṅ mnuṁ puin hān ma jnok klaḥ ma cuip la-it pḍai ma sḍuik mlui(29)k pḍai sāsnā kyāk trai san ॥ gah kuiṁ law ॥[1] ma himu Asokadhammarāt kuiṁ law ॥ pḍai laka' Siṅghuiw tun ॥ smiṅ mwai ma himu Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu ॥ ma sḍuik mluik pḍai sāsnā kyāk trai san ॥ gah kuiṁ law ॥ smiṅ Pijayabahū[2] ma sjuṅ sḍuik pḍai sāsnā (30) kyāk trai san kuiṁ law ॥ smiṅ Parakkamabāhu ma sjuṅ sḍuik pḍai sāsnā kyāk trai san gah kuiṁ law ॥ uit smiṅ ta' gamluiṅ kuiṁ ñāt ket sḍuik lṅeṅ ma katuiw badah pḍai sāsnā kyāk trai tuai ॥ (31) na ma sak kuiw sḍuik lṅeṅ heṅ huit[3] ma mik kyāk trai tun tau lukau kāla ma la' gah ma caaḥ tau sāsnā tuai heṅ ॥ pḍai kāla lon tuai ॥ tīla (32) mahāthe Anan gaheṅ tau bhau saṁsrā[4] dah smiṅ mwai ma himu Usinnara ॥ pkaṅ raṅ kmin ḍuṅ Bārānnasī ॥ khā gah sāsnā tīla puin kyāk trai

[1] The words *gah kuiṁ law* seem to have been cancelled in the MS.
[2] For *Wijayabāhu*. [3] A omits. [4] A omits *bhau saṁsrā*.

33. . . . . (t)[1] c[uih[2] ı tūy] (ı)[3] ma dah tau [t]aḍuik laṅeṅ ga[ḥ] ı s[miṅ g]ah ñāt tau kuim ı (wī)[4] mwoy tuy sāsanā kyāk tray [K]assapa ma [s]-aḥ gah ı smiṅ gah ha go' pa tuy ı pa ga(tī)m[5]

34. [t]uy smiṅ gah dmāṅ tau ı khā gah bodhisat [p]uiy das[6] smiṅ In ı ḅuin casuiṅ tau yassapat dip pḍay ḍuṅ swor Tā[w]at[iṅ] ku[i]m ı da[s]ok yas[s]apat dip gah kle' lor kuiw t[u]y ı het tuy [ma]

35. mi[k] kuiw [s]āsanā kyāk tray Kassapa (ma)[7] c-aḥ gah ı cui[h] tluṅ thā[n m]nihsalok wwå' tu[y ı] (ma)[8] ket [w]e[h l]amba tuy ı kwon [d]ewatau Mātali gah ı kuiw pa r(ū)p[9] cluiw kliṅ da[my]oṅ mwo[y]

36. tuy ı datay ket cluiw kliṅ [g]ah tuy ı cuih bahek [s]miṅ Ussinnara gah ı ı khā smiṅ Ussinnara [t]uy (ma)[10] duṅ sajuiṅ pḍay ma sacaaḥ sā[s]anā tuy ga[h] ı smiṅ In dandǫ'[11] batwo[n s]miṅ Ussinna-

37. ra tuy ı smiṅ In ma tui[n p]lan ā ḍuṅ swa[r] Tāwatiṅ ı ı rau [gah] smiṅ tamlā tamlā ma pa taṁ ku smiṅ A[sok]adha(ṁ)mmarā[t] ta gah ı pḍay ma caaḥ [sāsaṅ]ā gah ı pa tau kabut heṅ ı ı bodhisat

[1] Or *h*?
[2] Conceivably *cuit*.
[3] Either this or the preceding stop is superfluous, and probably this one is accidental or an error. The spelling *tūy* may also be a slip.
[4] Or *wi*? Is it an error for *nī*?
[5] The *t* may be *h*, and the *ī* may be *i*. Over the *g* there is a mark resembling a superscript *n*. At the end of the line there are two dots (like a *visarga*) to fill up space.
[6] The occurrence here of this E.M. spelling is curious. Is it a conscious (or subconscious) archaism, a mere slip, or due to the *s* that immediately follows? Anyhow, it is an irregularity, even amongst the general inconsistencies of this record in the matter of spelling.
[7] Or *pa*, or *sa-*? [8] Or *pa*?
[9] Conceivably *rup*. [10] Or *pa*?
[11] Written with the full form of *ḍ*, subscript, but the proper spelling should be *dandǫ'*.

Mahākasapa tasui(33)t[1] ceh ā dah tau taḍuik lṅeṅ gah ñāt tau kuiṁ ॥ wī mwai tuai sāsnā kyāk trai Mahākasapa ma s-aḥ gah smiṅ gah hwa' gwa' pa tuai pa gati (34) tuai smiṅ gah damāṅ tau ॥ khā gah Bodhisat puiai dah smiṅ In ॥ ḅuin casuiṅ tau yassapat dip pḍai ḍuṅ swaw Tāwatiṅ kuiṁ ॥ dasuik yassapat dip gah kle' law kuiw tuai ॥ huit (35) kuiw sāsnā kyāk trai Mahākasapa ma s-aḥ gah ॥ ceh kluṅ thān mnih luik wwa' tuai ॥ pa lweh lama mwai tuai ॥ kon dewatau Mātali ॥ kuiw pa rup kluiw damyuiṅ mwai (36) tuai datai ket kluiw kliṅ mwai tuai ॥ ceh bahek smiṅ Usinnara gah ra ॥ khā smiṅ Usinnara ma duṅ sjuiṅ ma s-aḥ sāsnā tuai gah ॥ smiṅ In dalo' baton smiṅ Usinna(37)ra gah tuai ॥ smiṅ In tun plan ā swaw Tāwatiṅ ra ॥ rau gah smiṅ tamlā tamlā ma pa

[1] A *tasuik*.

38. puiy ma dah In tun ler ı ḅuin casuiṅ tau yatsa[p]at dip pḍay ḍuṅ swa[r Tā]wa[t]i[ṅ k]uim ı pa tau kabut pḍay ma sacaaḥ sāsa[nā] heṅ ı ı sāk gah [het d]ah uiw da ci ı tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipa[ti] tu-

39. [n] ler ı atuiṅ taget sapparuih ma phah sāk ta [g]ah ı [tg]et [b]ak kwom [tuy] (pa)[1] puwa ma caaḥ [sā]sanā sāk wo' ma pa rwo[ṅ] ı rau gah het [d]ah ui[w d]a ci ı pḍay kā [a]nāgat pḍa[y] ḍuṅ

40. [Haṁ]sawatī tun gah ı smiṅ gamluiṅ tuy ma [n]w[o]m tau k[u] saddhā ma sktuiw dah pab[wo]y[2] [k]rau[3] ga[h ı] taḍui[k l]aṅeṅ sāsanā ma k[t]uiw dah [g]ah ra [y]ar ñāt ma gaḥ ı ñāṅ sāsa[n]ā ma sac[-]aḥ [h]eṅ ı pa wipa[r]ā

41. kw[o]m ñi ı ı [t]ila puiy ara[h]an ma pa ta[ṁ] ku Moggaliputtatissa-mahāthe ı Majjhan[t]ikathe ı ta gah gamluiṅ tu[n] l[er ı] ñaḥ ma dah ı ka[t]a ı kicca tuy ra [d]ah uiw da ci ı [c]asu[i]ṅ ket ı[4] [phala]samā-

42. pattisu[kh]a dmāṅ go' tau [k]uim ı [h]et tuy ma smik kuiw sāsanā jno[k] mar ga[h] ı da[sok ph]alasamāpatt[isukha][5] gah ı [k]arau kle' tuy ı p[ḍ]ay sāsanā ma[6]

43. [sg]o' jnok mar ga[h] he[ṅ ı][7] pa tau [k]abut[8] [t]u[y] ı ı [sāk][9] ga[h] h[e]t da[h] uiw da ci ı ti[l]a p[u]iy ga[m-ī] sapparui[h] gamluiṅ tuy ı ma nwom tau ku saddhā pḍay [s]āsanā

[1] Conceivably *ma* or ı ı. [2] For *babwoy*.
[3] Looks like *trau*. [4] This stop seems to be superfluous.
[5] Apparently first written °*khā* and then changed to °*kha* by cancelling the *ā* by means of four small circles.
[6] The *ma* is followed by the first half of the *o* of the *sgo'* that begins the next line; then come two small circles to fill in the remaining space.
[7] Looks a little like *het*, but I think *heṅ* ı is right.
[8] Looks like *kibut*, but the extra mark is probably accidental.
[9] Looks rather like *sāt*, but is certainly meant for *sāk*.

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taṁ ku smiṅ Asokadhammarāt gah pḍai gabut caaḥ sāsnā pa tau gabut heṅ Bodhisat (38) puiai ma dah In tun ‖ lew ‖ ḅuin casuiṅ yassapat dip pḍai ḍuṅ swaw Tāwatiṅ kuiṁ ‖ pa tau gabut pḍai ma caaḥ sāsnā heṅ ‖ sāk gah huit dah uiw da ci ‖ tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati tu(39)n lew atuiṅ daget sapparuih ma phah sāk gah pa bak koṁ tuai ‖ pawa ma caaḥ sāsnā sāk wwa' ma pa roṅ rau gah huit dah uiw da ci ‖ pḍai kāla anāgat[1] pḍai ḍuṅ (40) Haṁsāwatī tun ‖ gah smiṅ gamluiṅ mnuṁ ku saddhā ma katuiw dah bwai krau gah sḍuik leṅ sāsnā ma ktuiw dah gah ra ‖ yaw ñāt mgaḥ ñāṅ sāsnā ma s-aḥ heṅ pa wīparā (41) koṁ ñi ‖ tīla arhan ma ptæṁ[2] ku Puggaliputtatissathe[3] ‖ Majhantikathe ta' gah gamluiṅ tun lew ‖ ñaḥ ma dah kata[4] kicca tuai ra dah uiw da ci ‖ casuiṅ phalasamā(42)pattisukha dmāṅ gwa' tau kuiṁ ‖ huit smik kuiw sāsnā jnok mow gah dasuik phala-samāpattisukha gah ‖ karau kle' tuai pḍai sāsnā ma (43) sgo' jnok mow gah heṅ ma pa tau gabut[5] tuai heṅ ‖ sāk gah huit dah uiw da ci ‖ tīla saṅ ta' gamluiṅ ma dah gamhī sapparuih ‖ mnuṁ

[1] A *ā gah*. [2] A inserts *dah*. [3] For *Muggali°*. [4] A *ṣawā*. [5] A *bnat*.

44. [k]yā[k tray ma] strak tluṅ [p]ḍa[y k]ā anāgat ga[h] l[e]r ı [pḍ]ay [s]ā[san]ā [t]uy ma sgo' c-aḥ ı pḍay sā[s]anā ma sgo' jnok mar gah ı tila puiy to' pa kabut kwom ñi ‖[1]

K

(Fragment *a*.)

1. . . . . .[2]
2. . . . . saṅ [tå' ma duṅ] (ket upasampada) . . . . . .
3. . . . (kwom) ku gā[makhet da c-āṅ ma tau wū]du[ih ḍeh] ga[h ‖ rukkhād](isambandha) . . . . . .
4. . . . . [tun l]e[r ‖ gām]akhe[t tuy ma tau pḍay] c[ru]ih [t]ma' ni[m]it [ma str]a(k dah baddhasim) . . . . . .

[1] This is the end of the main inscription, so far as preserved, and the manuscript version gives no more. But the Pāli has another short paragraph.
[2] In this line only three or four undecipherable characters have been preserved. Here begins the first of the fragmentary appendices following on the Kalyāṇī inscription, proper. As there is nothing to correspond with them in the Pāli version, it is impossible to say how much is lost at the beginning; and as both margins of this piece are missing and it cannot be fitted in with fragment *b*, the number of letters lost at the beginnings and ends of lines are also unascertainable. The dots, therefore, indicate merely that an indefinite amount is missing in those positions. The manuscript version, now made available, will however serve to show approximately what the amount was.

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kuiw saddhā ta' tun ‖ pḍai sāsnā (44) kyāk trai ma krak pḍai kāla anāgat gah lew ‖ pḍai sāsnā ma sgo'[1] s-aḥ pḍai sāsnā ma sgo' jnok mow gah ‖ tīla saṅ ta' pa gabut koṁ ñi ‖
nū cnāṁ tīla puin kyāk trai Sākyamūṇī ma pa parinibbān gah ‖ khā ma dah ḅā lāiṁ ḅā coh cnāṁ gah ‖ huit smik kuiw sāsnā kyāk trai saaḥ law cuit tuai ‖ arā pūguiw ma nwaṁ ku saddhā ma mik gwa' duṅ upasampadabhau s-aḥ gah ‖ tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati p-ow tīla puiai the 22 ra ‖ kuiw ā duṅ naṅ upasampada nū taka' Siṁghuiw ‖ jareṅ tīla puiai ta' ma ā duṅ upasampada nū taka' Siṁghuiw gah smik kuiw ñaḥ gwa' duṅ ket upasampada law cuit tuai ‖ ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada gah lew huit smik kuiw gwa' pa kaṁ ma ptaṁ uposatha pawāraṇa (K 1) gah ‖ siṁ tareṁ tareṁ tuai ñaḥ ma smik ma lon tuai ta' gah lew ha seṅ ku siṁ ma dah uiw dah ci ‖ tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ‖ p-ow[2] (2) tīla puiai ta' ma duṅ upasampada Siṁghuiw ta' gah tuai ‖ ma samit law siṁ ta' wwa' roṅ ‖ uit siṁ ta' wwa' kuiṁ ma smit mā ‖ gāmakhet tuai ma dah datau ‖ siṁ ma dah tami gah (3) koṁ ku gāmakhet da[3] s-āṅ ma tau wūt duih ḍeh gah ‖ rukkhādisambandha ma tau pḍai ti kuiṁ law ‖ ma tau pḍai amhai kuiṁ law ‖ caḍaḥ kle' tuai heṅ khāai karoṅ ti tuai ‖ pḍai gāma dah dakau siṁ ma sadah tami gah (4) tun lew ‖ khāai gāmakhet tuai pa tau caruih tma' nimit ma krak dak bandhasiṁ bwai gata gah kuiw gāmakhet ma tau mñaḥ kuim ‖ rukkhādisambandha ma nwaṁ gah

[1] A inserts *ma*. [2] B inserts *kuiw*. [3] A omits.

5. . . . . (lar)[1] [simāmagga heṅ] ‹ khā [ma lapo]k tu[n l]er [‹ yām ti ma tau pḍay] cr[uih nimit] . . . . . .

6. . . . (jmāp)[2] [jmāp[3] kanaṅ gah ma kuiw lapok] (byī)[4] [ā pa] uit ‖ ‖ [khā] ma [samit tun ler] (yām)[4] . . . . . .

7. . . . . (') tuy . . .[5] [ma dak rwoṅ ‖ ‖] pḍa[y sim gamluiṅ] ga[h K]alyā[ṇīsim mway heṅ] (ma) . . . . . .

8. . . . . [sim] Ka[l]yā[ṇī ‖ ‖ kitu mru]i[kkasuil cah ḅā c]awe[k tṅay sok payām] (yaḥ)[4] . . . . . .

9. . . . . (ma cau nū)[4] [Siṅghuir kuim] (‹ ma)[4] [sam]i[t sim ḅā ‹ pḍay mahārām ‖ ‖ kitu mru]i[kkasuil] . . . . . .

10. . . . . (khā klā tit)[4] [tila puiy to' ma cau nū Siṅghuir kuim ma samit sim] . (ut)[6] [mla] (skar)[7] . . . . . .

11. . . . . (upasamp)a[da Si]ṅghuir (kuim ma) [sami]t sim [pan duih] j[oṅ kyāk] (mah tau[8] ‖ ‖) . . . . . .

12. . . . . [Siṅgh]uir[9] ‹ p-o[r ti]la [puiy acā saṅ to'] (ma) [duṅ payaṅ Siṅghuir to'] . . . . . .

[1] Or *ler*.
[2] Conjecturally restored.
[3] Looks like *jmāw*.
[4] Very doubtful.
[5] It looks rather like *heṅ* 1 or *keṅ* 1.
[6] The final may have been *h*.
[7] Or *skan*. Perhaps these three words are the proper name of the *sīmā*.
[8] Or *mah thau*? This presumably refers to the great pagoda at Pegu.
[9] Restored.

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caḍaḥ kle' tuai ‖ karoṅ ti tuai ‖ canah thaḅaḥ (5) law simmhāmagga heṅ ‖ khā ma lapuik tun lew ‖[1] yāṁ ti ma tau pḍai sruih nimit kuiṁ law ‖ yāṁ ma tau mṅaḥ kuiṁ law ‖ yāṁ jaliṅ 5 hatth ‖ jnok 5 hat kaṇaṅ pḍai ti ‖ na gapuir tuai ‖ (6) jmāp jmāp kaṇaṅ gah ma kuiw lapuik byī ā pha-uit ‖ khā ma samit tun lew ‖ yāṁ gāmakhet sdah dakau siṁ ma dah tami ‖ ñaḥ ma[2] karoṅ law pḍai ti tuai gah ‖ kuiw ñaḥ datau wut duih kuiw maṅ mwai calo(7)' tuai heṅ ma dak[3] roṅ ‖ pnow siṁ gamluiṅ gah Kalyāṇī mwai heṅ ma dah klā ra ‖ sakkarāja ‖ gitu mrekkasuiw 8 mamāk tṅai aduit ‖ tīla saṅ ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw heṅ ma smit (8) siṁ Kalyāṇīsiṁ ‖ gitu mrekkasuiw 12 cwek tṅai suik payāṁ yaḥ lṅu gah tīla puiai ta' ma cau[4] nū Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ma samit siṁ kyāk lṅiṁ ‖ payāṁ tṅai ceṅ gah tīla puiai ta' (9) ma cau nū Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ‖ ma samit 2 pḍai mahārāṁ ‖ gitu mrekkasuiw 13 cwek tṅai sṅisaw tīla ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ‖ ma samit siṁ[5] bhā mru ‖ gitu phawraguin 13 cwek tṅai (10) klā ha katau tīla puiai ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw ma samit siṁ[6] mū mla skaw ‖ gitu cai 5 māk tṅai 4 tīla puiai ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw kuiṁ koṁ ku tīla puiai ta' saṅ Bago ma duṅ (11) upasampada Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ma samit siṁ 4 duih juiṅ kyāk muh tau nū ma pa taṁ sakkarāt 838 ‖ gah tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ‖ paramamahādhammarājādhirāt ‖ p-ow tīla puiai ta' ma cau nū (12) Siṅghuiw ‖ p-ow tīla puiai saṅ ta' ma duṅ payaṅ Siṅghuiw ta' gah tuai ‖ suiṁ kuiw guin danaḥ heṅ ma kuiw samit siṁ jmāp jmāp[7] ḍuṅ jmāp jmāp[8] raḥ raḥ mañadesa wwa' ‖ khā ma

[1] A omits from here to *samit tun lew*, inclusive.
[2] A inserts *2426*.
[3] A *dah*.
[4] Orig. has *cī*.
[5] A inserts *ba*.
[6] Orig. has *suiṁ*.
[7] Orig. has °*maphā*° (for °*mahā*°) and omits °*jā*°.
[8] A omits.

13. . . . . (h) ‹ paṇḍit [jamnok mway mway tila ñaḥ kuiw] . . . (ā) [kwom ‹ sim] (tuy) . . . . . .

14. . . . . [sim k]yā[k mahā]bu[ddharu]p [‹ sim pāṅ] (abeṅ)[1] [‹ sim] (kari ‹ sim) . . . . . .

15. . . . . [‹ s]i[m] ma[h bap]uṅ ‹ [sim ka' kluiw ‹] . [i] . . . . . .

16. . . . . .

(Fragment *b*.)[2]

17. . . . . (‹ sim) [b]a(r)a[ḥ ‹ sim mba] . [i] . . . . . .

18. . . . . (ta)rwo(t)[3] ‹ sim mba ñāṅ ‹ [sim] p[n]ā(ṅ) . . . . . .

[1] Very doubtful. The same remark applies to many of the names of *sīmās* in the long list which follows below.
[2] Probably very little is lost between this fragment and the preceding one, but they cannot be fitted together exactly.
[3] Or (*ta*)*rwoh*? Perhaps we should read *wā* for *ta*, as the MS. text does.

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samit ga(13)h paṇḍit jamnok[1] mwai mwai tala ñaḥ kuiw bak ā koṁ ‖ siṁ tīla[2] puiai ta' ma samit gah tun ‖ siṁ kyāk kuiw siṁ ma taṁ[3] ‖ siṁ ma roṅ[4] lhok ‖ siṁ caluik[5] ciṅ ‖ siṁ gāmalaṅ ‖ (14) siṁ kyāk mahābuddharup ‖ siṁ pāṅ apuiw ‖ siṁ kari ‖ siṁ taṁ phā ‖ siṁ kyāk ma taṁ jow[6] ‖ siṁ maṅ mrā ‖ siṁ ṅuai ṅāai ‖ siṁ muh[7] kla but ‖ siṁ samā gasū ‖ siṁ jip brāai ‖ siṁ muh ya tala (15) ‖ siṁ muh bapuṅ ‖ siṁ ka' kluiw ‖ siṁ jalāai thaw ‖ siṁ laṅ paḍoṅ ‖ siṁ jrai sapoai ‖ siṁ amāt sut ‖ siṁ smiṅ U Kwew ‖ siṁ hān gāṁ ‖ siṁ praṅ sā ‖ siṁ ma sra ma leṅ ‖ slm jip dwoṅ ‖ siṁ run wuin (17) siṁ baraḥ ‖ siṁ ma muin ‖ siṁ kamā amāt ‖ siṁ oṅ bra sri ‖ siṁ kon blāai ‖ siṁ pāṅ tarau[8] ḅā ‖ siṁ paṁ lāṅ ‖ siṁ maṅ mrā ‖ siṁ (18) wā rot ‖ siṁ ma ñāṅ ‖ siṁ pāṅ dabok[9] ‖ siṁ wihā taw ‖ siṁ ma bat ‖ siṁ min talom[10] ‖ siṁ brāu galā ‖ siṁ leṅ slop ‖ siṁ seṅ

[1] A *paṇḍita ma jnok*.
[2] Orig. inserts *ñaḥ*.
[3] For *siṁ ma taṁ* B has *samit taṁ*.
[4] B *ma rok*.
[5] B *calhuiṅ*.
[6] For *taṁ jow* A has *ptaṁ jwow*.
[7] B *muk*.
[8] A *krau*.
[9] B *da blok*.
[10] Or *talo'*.

19. . . . . (ı sim) mba sa[1] [ı si]m gåṅ [lon ı s]im [t]aguiw [tla] ı s[im ñ] . . . . . .

20. (pāṅ) pan ı [si]m ca[ga]n[2] ı sim (bha)[3] ba[k]e[t] ı [s]i[m mba a] . . [ı s]i[m mba l]u[it ı] . . . . . .

21. [k]aḍāk ı sim mba lau (bān)[4] ı sim ar(h)a[n ı sim a]poṅ ıı s[iṁ t]r[it][5] (mba)[6] saṁ [ı sim] . . . . . .

22. [s]im [thå]ṅ[7] k(wa)h[8] [ı si]m [mb]o' yage' [ı s]im . .[9] (mba g)rām ı [s]i[m] gatuim ı s[i]m (a)[10] . . . . . .

23. [sim aḍ](wo)n ı sim [a]jan ı [s]im j[ray r]ā(t)[11] ı sim [m]ba (cau)[12] ı sim kyāk[13] rhū ı sim pā[ṅ] apu(h[14] ı sim) . . . . . .

1 Perhaps *saṁ*. 2 Possibly *carāṁ*, or *caban*. 3 Possibly *a*?
4 Possibly *tan*. 5 Possibly *trat*. 6 Possibly *mla*?
7 Or *thaṅ*? 8 Possibly *kmah* or *kuh*?
9 Perhaps *a*, making *amba*. Or else *bha* or *bhu*?
10 Or *d*? 11 Or *rāk*? 12 Very doubtful.
13 Under the final *k* (which has the *virāma*) there appears to be another *k*. I take this to be a later disfigurement. If it is the engraver's own correction, we must read =*karhū* for *rhū*.
14 Or *aput*?

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jā ıı (19) siṁ ma sa ıı siṁ goṅ[1] lon ıı siṁ dhaguiw kla'[2] ıı siṁ ñaḥ slaṅ taluai[3] ıı siṁ wā ḍåk ıı siṁ ma ñā ıı siṁ tayu taswok ıı siṁ bhaliṁ abaḥ ıı siṁ ma bāṅ ıı siṁ (20) pāṅ 4 ıı siṁ cagan ıı siṁ a baket ıı siṁ ma asū ıı siṁ ma thuik ıı siṁ sneṅ juk[4] ıı siṁ khāṅ mrah ıı siṁ sraṅ wā ıı siṁ nāai sāai ıı siṁ kyāk kwew ıı siṁ (21) kaḍāk ıı siṁ ma lau bān ıı sim arhan ıı siṁ apoṅ ıı siṁ krik ma saṁ ıı siṁ daṅ ıı siṁ kyāk thaw ıı siṁ kyāk tåṅ[5] ḍuṅ ıı siṁ mo'[6] aduiw ıı siṁ wā swā ıı siṁ bahā jnok ıı (22) siṁ thåṅ knuh ıı siṁ mo yage' ıı siṁ bhu mla grāṁ ıı siṁ gatuiṁ ıı siṁ aḍaṁ ıı siṁ mbo'[7] khot ıı siṁ kyāk ma talew ıı siṁ jrai mwai ıı siṁ kyāk prah ıı (23) siṁ aḍon ıı siṁ ajan ıı siṁ jrai rāk[8] ıı siṁ ma cau ıı siṁ kyāk kana[9] ıı siṁ pāṅ apuh ıı siṁ lalom[10] ıı siṁ pā babeṅ ıı

1 A *gow*. 2 Or *klaṁ*? 3 A *khlaṅ talai*.
4 A *jut*. 5 B *taṁ*. 6 Or *moṁ*?
7 B *moh*. 8 A *jrāai rāt*. 9 B *kanū*.
10 A *lalon*

24. ku[i]w c[lik[1] ı] sim (danī) [ı] si[m] saruı[m] ı s[im] sat da[ḍoṅ] sim mba . āy ı si[m j]ra(y)[2] mba (p)ū ı [sim] pa(g)ā[3] ıı s[im] . . . . . .

25. [sim] (p)āṅ[4] sanḍan[5] ıı sim ban tu[6] ıı pḍay (Bhimap)ūra[7] ıı s[im mahāsāmi Pago ı s]i[m mahāsāmi Siṅghuiw ı] . . . . . .

26. [sim ḅ]uip ı si[m d]uiw da[n]ī [ıı] sim [tw]ān (dhatek)[8] ı s[im ro]w sā ı sim jray (t)ayā ı si[m] (c)l[uiṅ][9] ı sim gataḥ[10] pa[n] . . . . . .

27. [tar]h[im ı sim] (k)are[h][11] ı s[iṁ] tar ka[laḥ ı sim mbo' u] ḍwot ı [si]m [mbo' rāt] ı si[m twān bl]ā[y ı sim m] . . . . . .

28. [kru]ṅ ph(åṅ naṅ)[12] [ı s]im dala[ṁ] (t)as[āy][13] ı [s]im ga[t]ui[m] phaṁ ı sim jray pṣā ı [sim tikā ı sim kho ı] si[m] draṅ thår [ı sim] . . . . . .

29. [rāy siṅga' ı] si[m paṅ lāy ı sim] (du)n[14] jala ı [sim] (wān[15] ṅā)y[16] ı [sim] (truk[17] kanlaw) [ı sim mah] ta jn(u) ı sim [a] . . . . . .

1 Or *clit*? 2 Or *jrah*? 3 Looks like *pagñā*, perhaps an error for *paṅgā*?
4 Or *wāṅ*? 5 Perhaps to be read *sandan*. 6 Or *ta*?
7 This might be read *Bhim Pū* (or *Bū*?) *ra*. 8 Or *gatek*, or *baket*? 9 Or *khluiṅ*?
10 Or *bataḥ*? 11 Or *tareh*? 12 Or *phaṁ janaṅ*, or *phaṁ neṅ*?
13 Or *kasāy*? 14 Conceivably *wun*. 15 Or *pān*? 16 Or *jāy*?
17 It is uncertain whether the initial and final consonants of this word are *k* or *t*, and the vowel *u* or *a*.

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siṁ maṅ glon ıı siṁ kyāk tamlon ıı siṁ (24) kuiw klik ıı siṁ dhanī[1] ıı siṁ cā muiw ıı siṁ skaṅ noṅ[2] ıı siṁ ma glāai ıı siṁ jrai ma pū ıı siṁ paṅā ıı siṁ tan sran ıı siṁ ma seṁ ıı siṁ Rammapūra ıı siṁ tamuh tabuai ıı (25) siṁ pāṅ saran ıı siṁ ban bān ıı pḍai Bhimapūra tun ıı siṁ mahāsāmi Pago ıı siṁ mahāsāmi Siṅghuiw ıı siṁ alha sarāai ıı siṁ buit kamā ıı siṁ jiṅ jāṁ ıı siṁ lagan phen ıı (26) siṁ ḅuip ıı suiṁ[3] duiw danī[4] ıı siṁ twān gatek ıı siṁ roṅ sā ıı siṁ jrai tayā ıı siṁ khluiṅ[5] ıı siṁ gataḥ pan ıı siṁ kyāk rāai man ıı siṁ tamrot ıı siṁ waṅ tuin ıı siṁ (27) karhiṁ[6] ıı siṁ[7] karheh ıı siṁ taw kalaḥ ıı siṁ mo' u ḍot ıı siṁ muh rāt ıı siṁ twān blāai ıı siṁ moh[8] ḍuṅ ıı siṁ phaḍoṅ[9] ıı siṁ ma ya bña ıı siṁ jīnai ıı siṁ pāṅ (28) kruṅ phåṅ ṇaṅ ıı siṁ dalaṁ tasāai ıı siṁ gatuiṁ phaṁ ıı siṁ jrai phyā ıı siṁ tā ıı siṁ kho ıı siṁ draṅ thaw ıı siṁ ma maṅ sā ıı siṁ paluit ḍuṅ Muh Bī ıı siṁ mahā maṅ (29) rāṅ siṅgasū ıı siṁ paṅ lāai ıı siṁ dun jala ıı siṁ wān ṅāai ıı siṁ kruk kaluiw ıı siṁ

1 Written *dhaniṁ*. 2 B *nwoṅ*. 3 Error for *siṁ*.
4 Written *daniṁ*. 5 B *khaluiṅ*. 6 B *kariṁ*.
7 Orig. inserts another *siṁ*. 8 A *muh*. 9 A *phadow*.

30. taḍo[ṅ] ‖ sim basah ‖ ‖ pḍay Sreṅ sim t[w]ā[n smīṅ] (cun suin [1] ‖ sim drāt) [‖ s]i[m] (h)åṅ [2] ‖ sim parhåk (ga) . . . . . .

31. [ṅ] gaï [3] ‖ sim jra[y cah] ‖ s[i]m kyā[k] ta[luy ‖ sim rāy khaṅ [4] ‖ sim amāt W]i[jayasīha ‖ s]i[m lagw]or glu ‖ si[m mba] samiṅ ‖ . . . . . .

32. [t]ama[t th]ana ‖ sim håṅ [t]al[un ‖ sim] croṅ ‖ sim [gaḍuy [5] ‖] si[m b]a(nḍa)[n ‖ sim] (saggakām) ‖ [sim] la(t) ‖ [si]m mbuiṅ añī ‖ sim saguim ‖ s[im] . . . . . (si)- [6]

33. [m s]r[o'] khyuit ‖ ‖ s[i]m [mah] lwān ‖ sim ma[h] chu k(w)e[t] [7] ‖ ‖ pḍay [Dguṅ si]m (mah damru) [8] ‖ sim ma[h] du[n] ‖ [s]im rak [9] ‖ s[i]m duiw canlan ‖ [s]i[m] pubbā . . . . . .

34. w ‖ sim du[i]w panah ‖ sim goh dha[m]mārām ‖ [s]im [tak] (naṅ) [10] [‖ sim l]ambāt ‖ sim [apa [11] gay ‖ s]im [k]yā[k] (gnak) [12] ‖ sim nelu laṅ ‖ sim då[ṅ lu] . . . . . (si)- [13]

1 Very doubtful, perhaps a proper name. 2 Or *tåṅ* ?
3 This transcription treats a subscribed mark as accidental. If it is to be taken into account, the transcription would be *ga aṅī*.
4 Or *khåṅ* ?
5 Or *gaḍay* ?
6 Conjecturally restored.
7 Or *kmet* ?
8 Or *damra* ?
9 Or *rat* ?
10 Or *nuṅ* ?
11 Or *saṭa* ?
12 Or *gnat* ? And perhaps the vowel may be *u*.
13 Conjecturally restored.

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muh ka [1] gnu ‖ sim asek ‖ siṁ galā ḍuṅ [2] ‖ siṁ muh ñāt ‖ siṁ gayāṅ (30) cā ḍot ‖ siṁ pḍai Sreṅ tun ‖ siṁ twān khun [3] suin ‖ siṁ dhrāt ‖ siṁ håṅ ‖ siṁ parāk gatā ‖ siṁ tapuin pi baññā ‖ siṁ balāai cah ‖ siṁ pā(31)ṅ gaï ‖ siṁ jrai cah ‖ siṁ kyāk taluai ‖ siṁ rāai khåṅ ‖ siṁ amāt ‖ Wijayasīha ‖ siṁ gagow gluṅ ‖ siṁ ma samiṅ ‖ siṁ ma dyoṅ ‖ siṁ jrai lhoṅ ‖ siṁ (32) tama tan [4] ‖ siṁ håṅ tam [5] luṅ ‖ siṁ croṅ ‖ siṁ gaḍuai [6] ‖ sim baran ‖ siṁ saggadāai [7] ‖ siṁ lat [8] ‖ siṁ muai añī ‖ siṁ saguiṁ ‖ siṁ dhammadu ‖ siṁ kamā ma soai ‖ si(33)ṁ sro' khyuit ‖ siṁ muh lwān ‖ siṁ muh chu kneh ‖ pḍai [9] Laguṅ tun ‖ siṁ muh ba pru ‖ siṁ muh dun ‖ siṁ rak ‖ siṁ duiw calan ‖ siṁ pubbarāṁ ‖ siṁ kyāk ma sāṁ kyo(34)w ‖ siṁ duiw gnah ‖ siṁ ḍugoh dhammarā ‖ siṁ thak naṅ [10] ‖ siṁ lamāk ‖ siṁ aba gai ‖ siṁ kyāk gnuk ‖ siṁ nelu lhān ‖ siṁ dåṅ luin ‖ siṁ

1 A *gā*.
2 A *tuṅ*.
3 B *cun*.
4 A *tun*.
5 B *tåṅ*.
6 B *gaḍai*.
7 A *aggadāai*.
8 A *lawāk*.
9 A *siṁ*.
10 A *nuṅ*.

35. m twān akhwon ‖ [sim bal]ā ‖ si[m d]ar[o]ṅ [s]ā ‖ si[m m]añ[gaʔ] ‖ [s]im [k]ruṅ [1] cra ‖ sim camb(u)iṅ ‖ [sim duiw kh]aweṅ ‖ ‖ pḍay [Yat Khret [2] M]ah Smīṅ ‖ s[im] . . . . . .

36. sum ‖ sim ta[r] skem ‖ [s]im pān ‖ sim tko' iñi ‖ sim jray nā(g)uir [3] ‖ [s]im dapuin b[r]au ‖ ‖ pḍay (Tar) [4] [sim] kyāk Rājādhirā[t] ‖ [sim] kyāk (thon ‖ sim) . . . . . .

37. r ‖ [s]im [kyāk] gatui[w] ‖ sim damra' ‖ si[m] amāt jray [‖] pḍay [J]ray sim kamluiṅ (tla) [5] ‖ [s]i[m] jip sa[y ‖ s]im tar sanåṅ ‖ pḍay Klon Pal[ā]y s[im [6] s]mī[ṅ] . . . . . .

38. m pḍay [kruṅ] [7] smīṅ [Si]ṅghuiw kuim ‖ sim kyā[k] (m)ah[e]caraṁ [8] ‖ pḍa[y] Laṅkā kruṅ [7] (T)ā[waṇ]ṇa [9] sim kruṅ [7] brāt ‖ sim kruṅ [7] kawa ‖ sim kruṅ kamer ‖ pḍay Sa . r. (si)- [10]

39. m [tā c]an(å)ṅ [11] ‖ s[im] gniṅ (lā)n twān [smī]ṅ [S]udasuim ‖ sim adin a[dåṅ] ‖ sim bale[ṅ ‖ sim] kyāk brau ‖ pḍay Da(m)k[ā]k sim amāt [ok ‖ s]im sapā ‖ sim mba

40. [Buddhawā ‖ sim] lateṅ ‖ pḍay Dā[l]a sim [ky]āk [gn]i ‖ [s]i[m] kuttī kwon (p)rå[k [12] ‖ si]m (k)a[bāṅ] [13] ‖ [si]m mba dui[ṅ ‖] sim phyeṅ ‖ sim twān b[r]åk ‖ sim [j]añaṁ ‖ sim braṅ bra(u) [14] ‖ sim

1 Or *truṅ* ?
2 Possibly *Yak* (or *Lak* ?) and *Khrek*.
3 Or *buir, wuir,* or *dhuir* ?
4 The initial may be *k*, the final may be *n*.
5 Or *kla,* or *klaṁ* ?
6 Originally *sih,* corrected to *sim*.
7 Or *kraṅ* ?
8 Or *pa°* ?
9 Or *Thā°*, or *Ka°* ?
10 Conjecturally restored.
11 Or *canaṅ* ?
12 Or *brāk* ?
13 Or *tabāṅ* ?
14 Or *bra* ?

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pāṅ taboṅ ‖ si(35)ṁ twān akhlon ‖ siṁ phalā ‖ siṁ darhoṅ sā ‖ siṁ maña ‖ siṁ kruṅ cra ‖ siṁ damyuiṅ ‖ siṁ duiw kaweṅ ‖ pḍai Lakhlek [1] ‖ siṁ muh smiṅ ‖ siṁ badow [2] glaṁ ‖ siṁ jrai (36) suṁ ‖ siṁ thaw skeṁ ‖ siṁ pān [3] ‖ siṁ kko' iñī ‖ siṁ jrai nāguiw ‖ siṁ tamuin brau ‖ pḍai Taw [4] ‖ siṁ kyāk Rājādhirāt ‖ siṁ kyāk thon ‖ siṁ wihā smiṅ tha(37)w ‖ siṁ kyāk gatuiw ‖ siṁ damra' ‖ siṁ amāt jrai ‖ pḍai Jrai siṁ gamluiṅ 100 ‖ siṁ jip sai ‖ siṁ ta sanhåṅ ‖ pḍai Klon Phalāai ‖ siṁ smiṅ Siṅghuiw ‖ si(38)ṁ pḍai kruṅ smiṅ [5] Siṅghuiw kuiṁ ‖ siṁ kyāk pahecaraṁ ‖ pḍai Laṅkā kruṅ Kāwanna ‖ siṁ kraṅ brāp ‖ siṁ krāṅ kawa ‖ siṁ kruṅ [6] kamew ‖ pḍai kruṅ Samriṁ [7] ‖ si(39)ṁ tā caṇåṅ ‖ siṁ gniṅ yān twān smiṅ smiṅ Suddasuiṁ [8] ‖ siṁ adin adāṅ ‖ siṁ baleṅ ‖ siṁ kyāk brau ‖ pḍai Damkāk [9] ‖ siṁ amāt ot ‖ siṁ sapā ‖ siṁ ma (40) Buddhawā ‖ siṁ lateṅ ‖ pḍai Dala ‖ siṁ kyāk gniṅ ‖ siṁ kuttī twān ‖ abrāk ‖ siṁ kabāṅ [10] ‖ siṁ ma duiṅ ‖ siṁ

1 B *Lakhthek*.
2 B *padow*.
3 B *bān*.
4 B *Thaw*.
5 A omits.
6 A *krāṅ*.
7 Or *Samrī*, possibly.
8 A *Suddasiṁ*.
9 A *Damkāai*.
10 A *kaṅ bān*.

41. [t]aba [pr]e ‖ sim [s]ar(wa)y[1] ‖ sim apha pañ ‖ sim aḅat ‖ sim [g]ayāṅ [tåk[2] ‖ sim amā]t [taṁ mrek[3] ‖ sim l]aṅa[n ‖ sim ḅ]a(k)[4] [sreṅ ‖ s]im dan(ḍ)ay[5] ‖[6]

L

(Fragments *a* and *b*.)

1. . . . . (mat) .(i) . . . . . .[7]

2. . . . . [kyāk ḅay][8] twan ‖ sim . . . . . .

3. . . . . [si]m [khwā]y jnek[9] ‖ sim khwāy ḍwo[t] . . . . . .

[1] Or *sarwuy*, or *saruy*?
[2] Or *tak*?
[3] Or *mret*?
[4] Or *ḅat*, or *ḅåk*?
[5] Or *danday*, or *danay*?
[6] This appears to have been the last line on this face in its original state. See the manuscript version, which says so.
[7] This fragmentary face is made up of two pieces, (*a*) to the left, ll. 7-18, (*b*) to the right, ll. 1-18. From l. 8 to l. 16 they practically joined, hardly anything being missing between them, at the time when the oldest extant estampage of (*b*) was taken. But since then the lower portion of (*b*) at the line of junction seems to have broken off. Besides this, there is a good deal of illegibility along the line where the pieces should meet. The amount missing between the end of Face K and what remains of Face L can only be estimated from the manuscript version.
[8] Possibly *mah*.
[9] Error for *jnok*.

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phyeṅ ‖ siṁ twān brāk[1] ‖ siṁ jaṅap ‖ siṁ braṅ bra ‖ siṁ (41) taba bre ‖ siṁ sarai ‖ siṁ apha[2] pañ ‖ siṁ awat ‖ siṁ gayāṅ kåk ‖ siṁ amāt taṁ mrek ‖ siṁ lṅaw ‖ siṁ ḅåk sreṅ ‖ siṁ danai ‖ tma' pañcama tuai ra ‖
pḍai Lhuiṅ[3] ‖ siṁ pāṅ lhuiṅ[4] ‖ siṁ pāṅ mapha[5] ‖ pḍai Dhanu Plu[6] siṁ ḅā ‖ pḍai Moriya ‖ siṁ amāt phåk ‖ pḍai thān tala ñaḥ ma dmåṅ smiṅ mwai ‖ siṁ kyāk smiṅ (L 1) mat pi suiṁ ḅā ‖ pḍai Klon siṁ mwai ‖ siṁ mwai ramlāai kyāk tun ‖ siṁ smiṅ ñī daw ḍā ‖ siṁ kyāk tala lok ‖ siṁ (2) kyāk mah[7] tḅan ‖ siṁ ḅåk[8] leṅ[9] ‖ siṁ smiṅ lok waṅ ‖ pāṅ tarau ‖ pḍai Basiṁ ‖ siṁ kyāk[10] smiṅ[11] kyāk gā ‖ siṁ duiw ñi ‖ kåṅ ‖ siṁ kut lyeṅ nāṅ[12] ‖ (3) siṁ khwāai jnok ‖ siṁ khwāai ḍot ‖ siṁ kyāk tma' ‖ siṁ kamā ḅuip ‖ siṁ kyāk kalay[13] ‖

[1] A *prāk*.
[2] A *apa*.
[3] B *Luiṅ*.
[4] B *luiṅ*.
[5] A *mapa*.
[6] B *Daṇḍa Phlū*.
[7] A *muh*.
[8] A *båṅ*.
[9] B *laṅ*.
[10] A *kyā*.
[11] Error for *siṁ*?
[12] A *nāk*.
[13] A *klai*.

4. . . . . (ı) sim ca[tta][1] ḅuiṅ [jnok ‖ sim] ca[tta][1] ḅu[iṅ ḍwot] . . . . . .

5. . . . . (m sā)[2] [‖ sim k]r[u]ṅ [mān] ‖ sim [håṅ][3] (t)w[o]n[4] ‖ sim ky[āk][5] . . . . . .

6. . . . . (pḍay)[6] [Mram[7] sim ja]mha(ṁ)[8] [‖ sim camå'] ‖ sim [pāṅ glåk] ‖ si[m] . . . . . .

7. . . . . (ka)na sja[9] sim (ja).(u) . . . . . (gmi cah ‖)[10] sim [dan]ī (pajau)[11] [‖] sim kyāk bī tagā ‖ sim sm(īṅ)[12] . . . . . .

8. (Koliya) ‖ [sim] . . . . . [smi]ṅ l[oka] . [r] . .[13] [‖ sim joṅ kyāk] . . . . . r [‖ sim dap[14] chu[15] ‖ sim t]ar ma[ṅ ‖ o[16] ‖ pḍay Candapūrī[17] ‖ si]m . o[18] . . . . . .

[1] Or *cakka*?
[2] Very doubtful.
[3] Or *haṅ*, or *pāṅ*?
[4] This may be an error for *kwon*.
[5] Conjecturally restored.
[6] Conjecturally restored, and extremely doubtful.
[7] Or *Mrim*?
[8] Or *jamha*?
[9] The preceding syllables are presumably part of some place-name.
[10] The preceding is written in small compressed characters and the reading is very doubtful. The last part may be *caleṅ* ı. For *gmi* we might read *smiṅ* (with the *ṅ* superscript over the *c*).
[11] Or *paja*?
[12] Conjecturally restored.
[13] Looks like *lokatrā*.
[14] Or *dūp*?
[15] Looks like *chwa*.
[16] A small mark here may be a paragraph mark. It seems to be like the cypher o.
[17] Or °*pūn*?
[18] Or *e*.

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siṁ muh dhau[1] chān lha ‖ siṁ muh dhau gniṅ samuiṅ (4) ‖ siṁ catta ḅuik jnok ‖ siṁ catta ḅuik ḍot ‖ siṁ tamyā sā ‖ siṁ ka praṅ drāai ‖ siṁ maṅ gaṅ[1] Konāguiṁ ‖ smiṅ[2] maṅ ceh da[3] khwaṅ ‖ siṁ pāṅ jakwa(5)ṁ sā ‖ siṁ kruṅ han ‖ siṁ heṅ twon ‖ siṁ kyāk gatoṁ ‖ siṁ bāhāsā ‖ siṁ kawah glau ‖ siṁ ganaṅ ḍuṅ ‖ siṁ jammunā[4] ‖ 25 ‖ (6) pḍai Samriṁ ‖ siṁ jamhaṁ ‖ siṁ camha'[5] ‖ siṁ pāṅ glåṅ ‖ siṁ jrai lalāai ‖ siṁ lān ‖ siṁ (7) meraṅja ‖ siṁ japuiw ‖ siṁ baleṅ ‖ siṁ kyāk kanhiṅ ‖ dakā ma khanhaṁ law krau ‖ siṁ taniṁ[6] bajau ‖ smiṅ[7] kyāk bī tagā ‖ smiṅ teja ‖ 7 ‖[8] pḍai (8) Koliya[9] ‖ siṁ joṅ kyāk smiṅ lok phrāai ‖ siṁ joṅ kyāk mah sgaw ‖ siṁ smaw chu ‖ siṁ

[1] A inserts ‖ here.
[2] This seems to be an error for *siṁ*.
[3] B omits.
[4] B *jamūnā*.
[5] A *jamha'*.
[6] To be read *tanī*.
[7] Error for *siṁ*.
[8] A omits 7 ‖.
[9] A *Koliyaḥ*.

9. [mbo'] . . . .[1] (mbak)[2] [sim mba] (abat) [sim smī]ṅ W[isuk]amma [sim] mba [mbuiy] (thāw sim)[3] . . [p biw][4] sim [dakā bhut] sim ca[u kamñān[5] sim garok ga] . . . . . .

10. . . (kana) [sim] (la)mba [phaṁ sim tar] (kwan)[6] [sim] (mba) [lau] [si]m [t]wān [bar][7] ma(h)[8] [o[9] pḍay Sa]t(o)ṅ[10] sim [jo]ṅ kyā[k] sa(w)a si[m pāṅ s]a(w)a [sim caḍok][11] . . . . . .

11. [kyāk] (t) . . . . . [sim] (lo)w [kyāk a] . . . . [sim tw]ān sagrā naña[ḥ sim joṅ kyāk celāsa] s[im twā]n [mbu]iy [de]wī [sim twān adan[12] ḍwot] s(im)[13] . . . .

12. . . . . (tow) [sim kyā]k banta(jī) [sim] (kyāk) [sura na]n s[im kyāk] . . . [in] (lṅ)a[ṅ[14] sim pā]ṅ ablū [sim] (p)are(ṅ[15] g)a[k sim kyāk gapāt[16] si]m b[ī] . . . .

13. [sim as]ā[m cal]aṅ [sim crep sim d]anla[y smīṅ] (sim ḍuṅ[17] Tuik) [Galā smim][18] . . . . . (bra sa)[māṅ[19] sim twā]n [smīṅ Bruim] si[m maṅ] caṁmha[20] [sim jak ri] sim ḍuṅ [lw] . .

1 The first part of the missing portion looks like *i*.
2 Very doubtful, particularly as to the vowel.
3 The *si* is certain, all the rest is more or less doubtful.
4 Or *piw* ?
5 Or *cak, caṅka,* or *caka,* and *mñān* ?
6 Or *kun* ?
7 Or *bari* ?
8 There is a mark under the *m* which I take to be accidental, though it rather resembles subscript *h*.
9 Here there seems to be an illegible mark something as in l. 8, *supra*.
10 Fairly certain.
11 Or *khaḍok* ?
12 Or *bhadan* ?
13 Conjecturally restored.
14 Or . . *sjaṅ* ?
15 The superscript mark interpreted as *ṅ* looks like a *virāma*, which would however be incompatible with the vowel *e*. If it is to be considered accidental, we must read *pare*. I have taken it to represent *ṅ*, as in the abbreviation of *heṅ* (*e.g.*, N 4).
16 Very doubtful. There is a mark before the word, but this can only be accidental as there is no occasion for a stop there. The *g* might be *w*, the *pā* might be *ha*, and the *t* might be *w i*.
17 Very doubtful.
18 Error for *sim* ?
19 Looks like *sumāṅ*.
20 The *anusvāra* is quite clear, but perhaps we should write *caṁ mha*. Or the *h* might be a *b*.

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tāṅ maṅ ‖ pḍai Candapurī ‖ siṁ juiṅ kyāk (9) mho' imak[1] ‖ siṁ ma'[2] bak ‖ siṁ abak ‖ siṁ smiṅ Wisukamma ‖ siṁ ma muiai[3] dhāt ‖ siṁ jip buiw ‖ siṁ dakā bhut ‖ siṁ cau kamṍon ‖ siṁ ma garot gapuiw ‖ siṁ mak (10) karān ‖ siṁ[4] lama phaṁ ‖ siṁ taw kun ‖ siṁ ma lau ‖ siṁ twān bamñah ‖ pḍai Satuiṅ ‖ siṁ juiṅ kyāk saw ‖ siṁ pāṅ thaw ‖ siṁ caḍok[5] ‖ siṁ juiṅ (11) kyāk tā ‖ siṁ juiṅ kyāk Asaḥ siṁ twān sagroṅ[6] ñaḥ ‖ siṁ juiṅ kyāk celāsa ‖ siṁ muiai[7] dewī ‖ siṁ twān dadan ḍot ‖ siṁ kyāk gahassa (12) tuiṅ ‖ siṁ kyāk dhandhajī ‖ siṁ kyāk sū nen ‖ siṁ kyāk li lheṅ ‖ siṁ pāṅ ablu ‖ siṁ barok[8] ‖ siṁ kyāk gahat ‖ siṁ bī khatā[9] ‖ (13) siṁ asāṁ[10] calaṅ[11] ‖ siṁ crep ‖ siṁ dalāai[12] smiṅ ‖ siṁ ḍuṅ Tuik Galā ‖ siṁ twān sabra samāṅ ‖ siṁ twān smiṅ Bruiṁ ‖

1 B *imyak*.
2 Written *maṁ*. A has *māṅ*.
3 B *puiai*.
4 Orig. has *smiṅ*.
5 A *caḍot*.
6 B *kwān saroṅ*.
7 A *mui*.
8 B *baroṅ*.
9 A *khakā*.
10 B *anhām* (or *arhām* ?).
11 B *claṅ*.
12 A *balāai*.

14. (ṅ) [sim p]ā[ṅ ja] . . (m lwān)[1] [sim mbo' bui]ṅ ‖ [sim mr]i(k tasum ṅ) . . . . . [r] . . . (u) . .[2] [ahet[3] sim mah] (sreṅ) [sim lag]an[4] ph[en sim] (t)ā'[5] ga[6] o[7] pḍa[y][8] . .

15. [ṅ] (jī) . . . . (Gawampati) . . . . . [sim] j[oṅ] kyā[k blaṅ nāk] (ṅ) [pḍay] (Mat Lamluim[9] sim) [pāṅ tara]ṅ sabl[u[10] ṅ] si[m mahāsā]mi [Siṅghui]w [sim] gayā[ṅ ta]m[h]å[k ṅ ọ[11] ṅ] (sim)[12]

16. . . . . [Siṅgha](nikā)[y ṅ ɹ[13] ṅ pḍay C]a(rot)[14] [sim] (joṅ)[15] [kyāk gam-ī sim] (klo')[16] [drow[17] ṅ] sim mraṅ [juiṅ ọ[18] pḍay Jrā sim cadim[19] samāṅ sim twān cala](dhi)[20]

17. . . . . [s]i[m] c[elā S]adhuim sim [thān smīṅ] (gra slaṅ[21] sim)[22] [tka'] (careṅ)[23] si[m ñī då]ṅ cā[n saruṅ[24] sim tabaṅ][25] jno[k sim k]rāy[26] ba

1 The *w* may be *m*, and the *n* may be *r*.
2 Possibly *kruṅ*.
3 The *h* might be *t*.
4 Or *lawan* ?
5 Or *kā'* ?
6 Or *gaṁ* ?
7 Here there is a mark, much like the one in l. 8, *supra*.
8 Looks like *pḍiy*.
9 Very doubtful.
10 Or *sabla* ?
11 The mark here somewhat resembles the numeral figure 3 of that period.
12 Conjecturally restored.
13 Here there is a mark rather like the one in l. 15 *supra*.
14 Or *Caroh*, or *Canot* ? Or *Cane Cah* ?
15 If rightly read, this is written in abbreviated form, like the *heṅ* of N 4. It looks rather like *bo*.
16 Or *tko'* ?
17 Or *droṅ* ?
18 Here there is a mark like the one in l. 15 *supra*.
19 Or *cadip* ? Or *cau dip* ?
20 Very doubtful, perhaps *gā*.
21 Or *sluṅ* ?
22 Conjecturally restored.
23 Or *cagaṅ* ?
24 Or *saraṅ* ?
25 Or *tabāṅ* ?
26 Or *trāy* ?

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siṁ maṅ caṁmha[1] ‖ siṁ jak[2] ri ‖ siṁ ḍuṅ Lwān (14) siṁ pāṅ jarāṁ lwan ‖ siṁ mho'[3] buiṅ ‖ siṁ mruit sabhuṁ ‖ siṁ kyāk goh craṅ ‖ kruṅ asaket[4] ‖ siṁ muh sreṅ ‖ siṁ lagan phen ‖ siṁ ka' gaṁ ‖ pḍai Ya(15)ṅ Ñim ‖ siṁ Gawaṁpati Sadhuiṁ ‖ siṁ juiṅ kyāk balaṅ[5] nāk ‖ pḍai Mat Lamuiṁ ‖ siṁ pāṅ taraṅ sablu ‖ siṁ mahāsāmi Siṅghuiw ‖ siṁ gayāṅ tamlåk ‖ siṁ pḍai Grāṅ ‖ siṁ miṅ (16) Siṅghanikāai[6] ‖ ‖ 2 ‖[7] pḍai Carot siṁ joṅ kyāk gam-ī[8] ‖ siṁ taka' druiṅ ‖ siṁ mraṅ juiṅ ‖ ‖[9] pḍai Jrāai ‖ siṁ cau dip samāṅ[10] ‖ siṁ twān cālagā[11] ‖ 2 ‖[12] pḍai Mattama ‖ siṁ tala naṅ men (17) ‖ siṁ cela Sadhuiṁ ‖ siṁ thān smiṅ pra lhaṅ ‖ siṁ taka' cāṅ ‖ siṁ ñī dāṅ cāṅ ‖ saruṁ

1 Or *caṁmba*.
2 B *juk*.
3 Or *mbo'*.
4 A *asagot*, or *asagok*.
5 A *braṅ*.
6 B *Siṅghanirāai*.
7 A omits 2 ‖.
8 A *gambhi*.
9 A omits 3 ‖.
10 A *samān*.
11 B *kwān cālaka*.
12 A omits 2 ‖.

18. . . . . (m ॥) [sim kyāk mrah ॥ sim] (dana) . . . . (॥) [si]m [saṅgha jā]dap[pa ‖ sim mah a]nā[w ‖ sim trui]n [॥ ९ [1]] ‖ [s]i[m trer] ‖ sim [2]

M

(Fragments *a*, *b* and *c*.)

1. . . . . [tuy] (k)[ui]w [lar] [3]

2. . . . . [Kaly]āṇī[cetī] (gaḥ) [4] [tuy ॥]

3. . . . . l[or] (mā) [5] [॥ uit k]u saṅ ga[mlu]iṅ

[1] Here there is a mark which might possibly represent the numeral 4 (or 6).

[2] There does not seem to have been another complete line below this one, so we must suppose that this record ended early in the next line, although there are a few traces of apparently unconnected letters that are barely visible under this part of the line. See the manuscript version.

[3] Above this line there are illegible traces of another one. Here begins the second of the fragmentary appendices. Apart from the evidence of the manuscript version, it is impossible to say how much of the beginning is lost: as there is apparently no lettering on the bottom part of the preceding face, the maximum loss may be roughly assessed at 25 lines. Face M has been pieced together out of three fragments: (*a*) to the right, from l. 1 to l. 20, (*b*) to the left, from l. 5 to l. 39 and (*c*) to the right, from l. 18 to l. 39 (which is the end of this face). The fragments do not fit precisely and there is a considerable gap in the middle, where they should have met.

[4] Very doubtful. [5] Very doubtful. Perhaps *tau*.

॥ siṁ tabaṅ jnok ॥ siṁ krāai pa sren ॥ sa plaṅ ॥ siṁ cau hān ruiṁ damya[1] ॥ siṁ rāai jā(18)ṁ ॥ siṁ kyāk mrah ॥ siṁ dana wāai ॥ siṁ saṅgharājā[2] damya[3] ॥ siṁ muh anāṅ ॥ siṁ truin ॥ 4 ॥[4] siṁ trew ॥ siṁ muh hot ॥ siṁ karuṁ[5] ॥ siṁ jayagiri ॥ siṁ ple ॥ siṁ plā lāt ॥ siṁ sū ॥ nū snāṁ tīla[6] puin kyāk trai Sākyamūṇi ma pa parinībān gah ॥ ḅā lṅiṁ 20 snāṁ kali lon ā tuai heṅ ॥ pḍai sakkarāt ॥ 838 ॥ gitu mrekkasuiw 8 mamāk tṅai adṁit gah ॥ samit siṁ Kalyāṇī tuai heṅ ॥ babwai lweṅ tala ta' ma nwaṁ pamik smik gwa' duṅ upasampada ñaḥ Siṅghuiw gah ॥ duṅ ā tau[7] babwai[8] lweṅ heṅ ra ॥ khā gah ma rau wwa' tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati-srīparamamahārājādhirāt[9] khyap ra ॥ rā tīla puiai ta' wwa' ma klo' taka' Siṅghuiw gah ॥ pḍai Kalyāṇī heṅ huit duṅ upasampada dah uiw da ci ॥ siṁ tala[10] puiai ta' ma samit[11] kuiṁ lew Kalyāṇīsiṁ gaḥ (M 1) tuai ॥[12] kuiw law ymu ra ॥ pḍai jareṅ[13] Kalyāṇīsiṁ wwa' gah ॥ cetī mwai ma tup[14] tau rau Kalyāṇīcetī pḍai taka' Siṅghuiw ta' gah ॥ puiai khanhaṁ pa tup ku (2) Kalyāṇīcetī tuai gap gaw kuiw law ymu Kalyāṇīcetī[15] ॥ tnaṁ bodhi mwai skuiw tuir[16] tuai Kalyāṇībodhi gaḥ tuai ॥ puiai skuiw law ymu ॥ sāk gah ra puiai sgo' cīreṅ (3) law mhā ॥ uit saṅ gamluiṅ ma kluṅ pa kaṁ saraṅ[17] pḍai siṁ wwa' kuiṁ lew ॥ sgo'

[1] A *dapya*. [2] B inserts ॥. [3] A *damyu*. [4] A omits 4 ॥.
[5] B *ka' ruai*. [6] A *ti*. [7] A *dān āt*. [8] B *babwa*.
[9] A apparently has °*paramamahādhammarātrājādhirāt*.
[10] A *tla*. [11] A *smit*. [12] B inserts *ma*. [13] A inserts *siṁ*.
[14] A *tuai*. [15] A omits *Kalyāṇīcetī*. [16] A omits. [17] B *saṅ*.

4. . . . . (ku) [saddhā gah] le[r ॥] s[go]' li[ṅwor] ey [pa]-

5. [rey] [1] . . . . . (tila ñaḥ) [1] [Rāmā-dhi]pati ks[ap t]u[y] . . . . . [he]ṅ [॥ t]ila [ñ]aḥ [Rāmādhipati ॥ p-or] . . . . .

6. . . . . (k)won ti[l]a ña[ḥ] Ba[ñā Rām] . . . . . (cetī) [ra] ॥ . . . . ja [Mindhāt ma cuin daḥ tau jamnok] p[ḍ]a- [2]

7. [y] [3] . . . . . [n d]ah tau jamno[k pḍ]ay kwo[n t]ila [ñaḥ] . . . . . [klon] . . . . [4] (thā)n ma st[ui]w [bo]dhi thā[n tuy] ma st[uiw bodhi] w[o]-

8. (') [3] . . . . . ['] klo[n t]uy ॥ [t]laṅ ma stuiw [b]odhi [gah dak tu]y ॥ ḍ[eh ta'] (l) . . . . . [g]añ[i galau lar ra ॥ ॥ thān ma dak] [4] c[etī] t[un l]er [॥] . . (bwo)- [5]

9. (y) [6] . . . . . (y) [॥] khā [ma] cuip arā [ma sdaḅut] dla[ṁ dhā]t [gah ॥ d]ak ba[tu]y dla[ṁ] dhā[t] tuy ॥ . . . . . (aṅka)de [ra ॥ kṣū teh] c[ut thar] s[r]an gañ[i galau] lo[r ra ॥ rau gaḥ]

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] There seem to be two dots (like a *visarga*) here, merely to fill up spare space.
[3] Conjecturally restored. [4] Looks like *bak*.
[5] Possibly we should read ॥ *ha mwo-*.
[6] Conjecturally restored.

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lṅow ai parai tau cetī[1] wwa' ra ॥ uit saṅ gamluiṅ mnuṁ (4) ku saddhā gah lew sgo' lṅow ai pa(5)rai cetī bodhi wwa' heṅ ॥ rau gah tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati khyap tuai heṅ ॥ pḍai sakkarāja 839 ॥ pa taṁ nū gitu bhat heṅ ॥ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ॥ p-ow amāt mwai ma himu Krāai Kamāṅ[2] ma cuin dah tau jamnok[3] pḍai (6) kon tala ñaḥ Bañā Rāṁ tuai ॥ kuiw klon bak thān ma stan[4] cetī ra ॥ Rāja Min[5] ma cuin dah tau jamnok[6] pḍ(7)ai kon tala ñaḥ Bañā U ॥ Lak Woai ma cuin dah tau jamnok mwai pḍai kon tala ñaḥ Bañā Barow ॥ kuiw klon thān ma sakuiw[7] bodhi ॥ thān ma skuiw[8] bodhi wwa(8)' tun lew ॥ babwai lweṅ heṅ ḍeh ta' klon tuai dalāṅ[9] ma stuiw bodhi dak tuai ॥ ḍeh ta' lāk law aṅgaduiw ra ॥ gñi lalau law ra ॥ thān ma sdak[10] cetī tun lew ॥ babw(9)ai lweṅ ḍeh ta' dak tuin ā tuai ॥ khā ma cuip arā ma dak glaṁ dhāt gah ॥ dak pa tuai glaṁ dhāt tuai lāk law aṅgaduiw ra ॥ kasū teh cut law thaw san gñi lalau law ra ॥ rau gah kanhaṁ tuai

[1] A inserts *ta'*. [2] B *Gamāṅ*.
[3] A inserts ॥. [4] A *skan*.
[5] Something seems to be omitted before *Rāja* (A *jarā*) and has certainly been omitted after *Min*.
[6] A inserts ॥. [7] Error for *satuiw*. [8] Error for *stuiw*.
[9] A *dlān*. [10] A *sdah*.

10. . . . . [g]ah heṅ [‖ dor] (gah) [kanaṁ][1] (thān chåṅ)[2] [jn]o[k mway ‖] w[ū]du[i]h ḍe(h) . . .[3] [‖ sa]ṅ (tu)y [kwom ku g]arhah [t]ruh b[rau] het mik . .

11. . . . . (calo)' ā wūdui[h pa]-uit ‖ b[woy m]aṅa[ḥ gati g]ah [grop ku ni]bā [pa-uit] (‖) [bwoy pḍay gati sala lar[4] yāt k]amb(u) [pa-uit] ‖ rau gah pr(eṅ)

12. . . . . m(a) da[ḅu]t kyāk dhāt [g]ah [‖ kanaṁ[5] dlaṁ ḅā th]ap ‖ dlaṁ tuy ma ci[c]won ma (ñaḥ pa gap) [gwo]r sdaḥ cui[t g]ah [kan]aṁ [tu]y ‖ [m]luiw tuy [ma] ñaḥ (bat) na (kwo)-[6]

13. (w) . . . . . (s)luy ma [ci]cwon [to]' gah tui(m)[7] lar [‖] (aṅ muy)[8] to[' gah] tui(m)[7] [l]ar ‖ (kwak) . . . . i . . (r) ra ‖ ma-(ṅaḥ) dlaṁ [ḅā thap gah] tun [ler ‖ uit jmāp] (dayoṅ)[9]

14. . . . . [w] . . . . . [g]añi [g]alau[10] lar ra ‖ rau nay ma lwon [tuy] kuim [‖ na mluiw ma ñ]aḥ bat na (kwow)[11] . . (ci)-[cwon gah ‖] wūdui[h] (he)ṅ ma gluiṅ ku thap [kwak cal]o' . .

15. . . . . [wūdui]h dlaṁ gah tun ‖ ḍāk nūṅ gara[y] mway tha[p ‖] pnāṅ [k]amak pnāṅ dan(lāṅ) [mway thap ‖] dhup [mway] tha[p ‖ rau gah g]añi lo[r uit ra ‖ thān ma]

1 Or *kanhaṁ*, or *kandaṁ*?
2 Or *chaṅ*?
3 Looks like *gah* or *gapar*.
4 Probably right, though it looks rather like *ra* ı *laga'*.
5 Or *kanhaṁ*, or *kandaṁ*?
6 Or *two-*?
7 Probably an error for *kuim*.
8 Or *aṅ may*?
9 Very doubtful: the middle consonant might be *k* or *l*, and the final might be *w*, e.g. *dakow*.
10 Looks like *walau*.
11 Or *twow*?

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heṅ ‖ pḍai thān cetī (10) gah heṅ ‖ dow gah khanhaṁ thān chåṅ jnok mwai ‖ wut duih ḍeh gah saṅ koṁ ku kharhah truh brau heṅ mik kuiw gwa' dmåṅ gaḥ tuai ‖ kanhaṁ tanhin (11) calo' ā wut duih pha-uit[1] bwai mṅaḥ[2] gah ‖ bak grop yāt nibā pha-uit bwai pḍai sala yāt kamu pha-uit ‖ rau gah preṅ tuai heṅ ‖ dow dnāai (12) ma[3] thaḅut dhāt kyāk gah ‖ khā gah khanhaṁ glaṁ dhāt ḅā thap ‖ glaṁ[4] tuai ma cicon ma[5] ñaḥ gap gaw sdaḥ cuit gah kanhaṁ tuai ‖ mluiw jaman ñaḥ bat na to(13)w ma cicon kuiṁ law ‖ pkau ma cicon ta' gah kuiṁ law ‖ kwak gñi law[6] ra ‖ mṅaḥ glaṁ dhāt ḅā tap gah tun lew ‖ uit jmāp dayuiṅ g(14)wī na yāt tuai ‖ gñi lalau law ra ‖ rau nai ma lon[7] tuai kuiṁ ‖ na mluiw ma ñaḥ bat na tow ma cicon gah wut duih heṅ ma gluiṅ ‖ kuiw thap kwak calo' ā ra ‖ ‖[8] (15) wut duih glaṁ gah tun ‖ ḍāk nuṅ garai mwai thap ‖ pnāṅ kmak

1 B *uit*.
2 A *lamṅaḥ*.
3 A omits.
4 B *khnaṁ*.
5 A *mi*.
6 B inserts *tuai*.
7 A *klon*.
8 A omits ‖.

16. (stuiw)[1] [bo]dhi (te)'[2] ler [‖ kan]aṁ lor [arām kanā ‖ sala[3] lar][4] pḍay [m]aṅa[ḥ] ‖ kwak lar[5] j . . . . . [‖ gañi gal]au [lar ra ‖ thā]n [tuy tila ñaḥ Rāmādhipa]-

17. [ti ‖ kwom] ku amāt dakui[p p]nān ‖ [a]raṁ [pariwā gamluiṅ ma sdmå]ṅ ‖ [swa]k ma spa sa[bhaṅ m][6] . . . . . (dhāt) [kyāk tr]ay [gah ler] kana[ṁ lar] (ta)m(nak)[7] . . . . . .

18. (y)[8] . . . . [rau] gah [k]anaṁ [t]uy h[e]ṅ ‖ [tṅai] ti[ṅ tṅay b]uddha-[wā gah ‖] dhāt [patimārūp] . . . . . .[9] [kuim ler ‖ cīreṅ ptuy[10] low ku s](m)i(ṅ[11] . . . . (t) . . [a]-[12]

19. mā[t da]kuip pnān gamlui[ṅ] ‖ atuiṅ acī[13] ar[eṅ] (ñaḥ ma) s(t)awā[k[14] wāṅ] phyuih dhāt ‖ pati[mārūp] (‖ bodhi gah ‖ huim)[15] [lor][16] (kuiw amāt dakuip pnā)n[15] ta ga[h] . . . . . .

20. (heṅ)[17] ‖ [y]aḥ laṅū tṅay brāpba[ti gah he]ṅ ‖ t[ila] ñaḥ Rāmādhi-pati kwo[m k]u[18] . . . . . (ṅ ‖ jak lon)[19] . . . . (tuy ‖ cui)h dmåw[20] tau pḍay ta[m]n(ak)[21]

1 Conjecturally restored.
2 Or *wo'*?
3 Looks like *sal*.
4 Looks like *larau*.
5 There is something under the *r* that looks like a *g*, but is probably accidental, or may represent an *i* belonging to the next line.
6 Perhaps *mi*.
7 Or *tamnuk*?
8 Or *p*?
9 The last of the illegible words might be *stuiw*.
10 Or *btuy*?
11 Very doubtful: it might be *stuiw*.
12 Conjecturally restored.
13 The original may (wrongly) have *aciṁ*.
14 Or *skawāk*?
15 All these words are very doubtful.
16 Or *lon*?
17 Conjectural.
18 Looks like *tu*.
19 Or *lor*?
20 Error for *dmåṅ*.
21 Or *tamnuk*?

---

mwai thap ‖ pnāṅ dhalāṅ mwai thap ‖ dhup mwai thap rau gah gñi law uit ra ‖ thān ma (16) sakuiw[1] bodhi te' lew khanhaṁ law asāṁ kanā ‖ sla[2] law pḍai mṅaḥ ‖ kwak law muk åṅ muai ‖[3] gñi lalau law ra ‖ thān tla ñaḥ Rāmādhippa(17)ti ‖ koṁ ku amāt dakuip pnān ‖ paraṁ pariwā[4] gamluiṅ ma dmåṅ ‖ swak ma spa sabhaṅ ma saloṁ dhāt kyāk trai gah[5] le ‖ kanhaṁ law tamnak jnok mw(18)ai ra ‖ rau gah khanhaṁ tuai heṅ tṅai tiṅ tṅai buddhawā gah dhāt pattimārup[6] bodhi ma skuiw[7] kuiṁ lew ‖ cīreṅ pa tuai law ku smiṅ waṅ mataṅ[8] a(19)māt dakuip pnān gamluiṅ atuiṅ acīreṅ ma stawāt weṅ phyeh dhāt pattimārup bodhi gah ‖ huiṁ law ku dakuip pnān ta' gah tuai (20) heṅ ‖ yaḥ lṅu tṅai 5 gah heṅ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ‖ koṁ ku araṁ

1 Error for *satuiw*.
2 B *salaḥ*.
3 A omits all from ‖ to ‖, inclusive.
4 Written *pariṁwā* (for *pariwa*).
5 A omits.
6 B *paṭimārup*.
7 B *sakuiw*. Apparently the right reading should be *stuiw*.
8 B *jataw*.

21. (ma kanaṁ)[1] [lor gah ra] ‖ rau ga[h tila ñaḥ lwon] c[uiṅ tuy heṅ] ‖ ui[t kwon t]ru[h] ti[la ñaḥ][2] . . . . . [to'] gam[lu]iṅ ‖ [k]wom ku [smiṅ] (wa)-[3]

22. (ṅ jataṁ)[4] [amā]t [senā]pa[ti] gam[l]uiṅ ga[h ‖ n]a carhā[y ky]āk sr[i] sabhaṁ cana(k) ma jno(k) . . . . . (dhāt) [kwom ku pat]i[mār]u[p jray bodhi] ra

23. (‖) . . . . [dhāt] ‖ pa[t]i[mārup ‖ bodhi ‖ ma cuip] (te')[5] [tuy] gah ‖ dhā[t patimārup] . . . . . (dhā)[t kyāk] kray[6] gah tuin lar ra ‖ [b]o[dh]i[7]

24. (lew pḍay)[8] d[l]aṁ [ma] s[tu]i[w bodh]i [gah ‖ ā daḅut] lor ra ‖ rau [gah daḅut lo]r [dhāt bodhi] . . . . (heṅ ‖ sabhaṁ)[9] [t]uy [ma] pa taṁ ku (k)ān[chi]ṅ[10] [‖ samā] leh galā

25. (1 ñaḥ) [ma weṅ] gdaṁ [snā]k ‖ [ñaḥ] ma we[ṅ sajaṁ] (sare)[11] [lhor] ‖ [ñaḥ ma tuik le]' ‖ [ma rap mw]a(y ga) . . . . . (we)ṅ[12] ra ‖ kuir weṅ tuy [h]eṅ ‖ [t]ṅai sa[r ā] tuy ‖ [t]ila ñaḥ preṅ [lar]

1 Or *kandaṁ* ?
2 Conjecturally restored.
3 Possibly *ga-*.
4 Very doubtful, perhaps *jataw*.
5 Or *wo'* ?
6 For *tray*.
7 Here, by anticipation, follows the vowel symbol *e*, which is perhaps repeated at the beginning of the next line and there to be read as following the consonant before which it is placed, either as *e* or as part of *o*.
8 Very doubtful.
9 Doubtful, except the last letter.
10 Looks like *tānchiṅ*.
11 Very doubtful : possibly *sane* or *dane*.
12 Looks like *baṅ* or *thaṅ*.

---

pariwāra[1] gamluiṅ jak lan ceh ā tuai ‖ ceh damāṅ tau pḍai tamnak (21) ma khaṇaṁ gah ra ‖ rau gah tala ñaḥ cuih tuai ‖ uit kon truh tala ñaḥ gamluiṅ ‖ kon brau tala ñaḥ ta' gamluiṅ ‖ koṁ ku smiṅ wa(22)ṅ jataṁ amāt seṇāpati gamluiṅ gah ‖ na carāai kyāk srī sabhaṁ sanak jnok klaḥ heṅ ‖ wāṅ phyeh ṇā dhāt koṁ ku kuiw pattimārup jrai bodhi ra (23) ‖ akhā dhāt pattimā ma cuip te' tuai gah ‖ dhāt pattimārup gah pḍai thān salaw dhāt kyāk trai gah[2] tuiṇ law ra ‖ bodhi (24) sat[3] le pḍai glaṁ ma sakuiw[4] bodhi gah ā thaḅut law ra ‖ rau gah thaḅut law dhāt bodhi tuai ‖ sabhaṁ ma pa taṁ kuiw tachiṅ samā leh ‖ galā (25) ñaḥ[5] ma lweṅ damāṅ snāk ‖[6] ñaḥ ma weṅ sjaṁ sanew lhow ‖

1 Written *parlpāra*, or *parihara*.
2 This word is corrupt.
3 Orig. has *ña*.
4 A inserts ‖.
4 Error for *satuiw*.
6 A inserts *pa*.

26. (kuiw)[1] [maṅ mway dhāt tuy ‖ tila ñaḥ] tui[n tluṅ ra ‖ mw]ay cawek [tṅ]ay sok gah ‖ (‖ akhā gah)[2] tila ñaḥ cuih ā cui[p][3] thān [t]am-n(a)k[4] (te')[5] [t]un ‖ acā sa-

27. [ṅ ma]sun cwoh ga[h ni]man [t]u[y] ‖ phāp ba[e]a [tu]y he[ṅ ‖ d]ayyadhar[6] [ma] gap (gor skuiw dān)[7] ler skuiw dān ra ‖ yāt sanā (bā)p[8] (ḅā)[9] ‖ mrek ‖ sa[t ‖ t]i-[10]

28. [la ñ]aḥ [kui]w d[ān] tuy ‖ [sabhaṅ] ma pa [t]aṁ [k]u [kānch]iṅ[11] [g]ah [le]r ‖[12] [k]uiw weṅ [ā[13] tau ra ‖ tṅay] ceṅ ñi [h]eṅ ‖ tila ñaḥ [Rāmā]dhi[p]ati ‖ kwom ku ka[lo d]ñā-

29. [t] (araṁ) [pariwā] gamluiṅ tui[n ā bway] dlaṁ [dhāt] ra ‖ (khā g)a[h daḅut gatuiw[14] l]wi mwa(m)[15] . . . . tu[y ‖ tḍo]ṅ [b]atāṅ ler cr(å)k[16] bdar lar [tuy] ‖ da[ḅ]u[t l]ar [dhā]t [p]ati[mā]-

1 Very doubtful.
2 Conjectural : it might equally well be *pḍay kāla gah*.
3 Or *cuiw* ?
4 Or *tamnuk* ?
5 Or *wo'* ?
6 There seems to be an original flaw of the size of two letters (or four dots) after *ḍayya*.
7 Very doubtful indeed, except the *w* and the *n*.
8 Cf. F 46.
9 Looks like *tau* (or *ta* ?).
10 Two dots, like a *visarga*, here merely fill in spare space.
11 Looks like *tānchiṅ*.
12 There seems to be an original flaw, of the size of a letter, just before *kuiw*.
13 The *ā* is almost certain : in any case the *a* symbol is certain and there is no room for much more.
14 There appears to be an original flaw before the *w*. No *u* is visible, and the reading is doubtful but supported by the next line.
15 The final might be *p* or *w*.
16 The *anusvāra* is very doubtful.

ñaḥ ma tuik le' ma rap lak ban preṅ kuiw weṅ tuai heṅ tṅai saw ā tuai ‖ tala[1] ñaḥ preṅ law (26) kuiw maṅ mwai dhāt tuai ‖ tala ñaḥ[2] tuin kluṅ ra ‖ mwai cawek tṅai suik gah ‖ yaḥ lṅu tala ñaḥ ceṅ ā cuip thān tamnak te' tun ‖ acā sa(27)ṅ 50 gah niman tuai ‖ phāp baca tuai heṅ ‖ daya-dhamma lew gap gaw skuiw dān lew kuiw dān ra ‖ yāt snā pāt tau mrek sat ta(28)la ñaḥ kuiw dān tuai sabhaṁ ma ptaṁ kuiw tachiṅ kuiw weṅ tau ra ‖[3] tṅai ceṅ ñi heṅ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati koṁ ku kalo dñā(29)t araṁ pariwāra[4] gamluiṅ tuin ā pḍai glaṁ dhāt ra ‖ khā gah thaḅut gatuiw lwī maṁ

1 A inserts *tuin*.
2 A omits *preṅ* to *ñaḥ*, inclusive.
3 A inserts 5.
4 Written *parīwāra*.

30. [rup][1] la[t]ū gat[uiw] gah [ra ॥] saha[ssadh]ā[rā] da[ḅ]ut [lat]ū dhā[t] tuy ॥ bam(naḥ da)cām[2] (gah ।)[3] rap ket kanu [s]aṅ ga(p)ar[4] stum ma tmuy [t]au na thar ॥ ma tmu[y t]au na [sra]-

31. [n ॥][5] ma t[mu]y [tau na] ra[t] ga[h ॥ r]au nay [ma] caro[h] smi[ṅ ma duṅ abhi]sek (rau[6] gah) [kui]m ra ॥ [caro]h cut pḍay sahas-sadhā[rā t]uy ॥ (pa)[7] abhi[s]e[k] tu[8] dhāt ॥ [pa]-

32. [timārup gah] ra ॥ rau [gah pa tuy heṅ] ॥ acā sa[ṅ dacām kuiw paḍwat[9]] gāthā . . . . . [10] mano[11]-u[dāna t]uy ma gaḥ anekajāti [s]aṁ[s]āraṁ kuim ler ॥ gā[thā ma] cuin dah tau (ba)-[12]

33. (cī)[13]-udā[na t]uy [ma] gaḥ yadā [have pātubhavanti dhammā ॥] (g)ah[14] [ku]i[m] (lar ॥) kuiw (paḍwat)[15] [t]uy (heṅ)[16] [॥ kui]w tuik phaṁ ॥ kuiw ho drā ra ॥ rau ga[h pa t]uy ॥ [॥ d]aḥ la[k mi]n

1 Conjecturally restored.
2 The bracketted portion is conjecturally restored.
3 Very doubtful.
4 Possibly wrongly spelt *gabar*.
5 Conjecturally restored.
6 Looks like *ru*, but probably the *u* mark is accidental and the *au* symbol obliterated.
7 Perhaps written *ba*.
8 Error for *ku*.
9 Or *paḍut* ?
10 The last two letters look like *dah*.
11 Extremely doubtful. It might be *ma noṁ*, or *ma nwoṅ*.
12 Very doubtful.
13 Very doubtful.
14 Very doubtful, possibly *ba*.
15 Fairly certain.
16 Very doubtful.

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thaw tuai ॥ kḍuiṅ btāṅ lew srāk bdaw law tuai ॥ thaḅut law dhāt pattimhā(30)rup latuiw gah ॥ sahassadhārā thaḅut latū dhāt tuai ॥ bamnaḥ dacāṁ gah rap ket knu saṅ gapaw ॥ satuṁ ॥ ma tmuai tau na thaw ॥ ma tmuai tau na sra(31)n ॥ ma tmuai tau na rat gah ॥ raṅ nai caruih smiṅ ma duṅ abhiseka ru gah da kuiṁ ra ॥ caruih cut pḍai sahassadhārā tuai ॥ pa abhiseka kụ dhāt pa(32)ttimārup gah ra ॥ rau gah pa tuai heṅ ॥ acā saṅ dakuip phaḍot gāthā ma dah mano-udān tuai ma gaḥ anekajāti saṁsāraṁ[1] kuiṁ lew[2] ॥ gāthā ma cuin dah tau (33) udān ma gaḥ yadā have pātibhantu dhammā gah kuiṁ law ॥ phuiw kuiw phaḍot tuai heṅ ॥ kuiw tuik phaṁ kuiw ho

1 A *taṁ sārāṅ*.
2 A *law*.

34. heṅ[1] [॥] phyui[h d]aḅut lor [dhāt] pati[mārup ॥] pḍa[y dlaṁm] dhāt [ra ॥] da[ḅut] dhā[t] tu[y he]ṅ ॥ wūduih [dhāt p]atimār[u]p gah ॥ rū[p a]ggasāwa[ka] ḅ[ā ॥ m]ah[ās]āwa-

35. [ka] dacā[m] cwoh ॥ rup[2] [arhan br]au [ma go' et]adagga ca[h pi ॥ rū]p [u]paḥ [tr]u[h ma] go' [etadagga] cah mwoy ॥ r[ūp][3] u[p]aḥ brau ma go' etadagga cah [॥ rūp][3] mi [k]y[ā]k[4]

36. [tr]ay ॥ rup mba kyāk tray ॥ uit [k]u rup klam [cah] dacām (te')[5] [t]uy ॥ má [sw]on [lar] na s[l]āk ma lāk lar na th[o]r ga[h] ॥ reṅ lor wūduih tuy he-

37. ṅ ॥ [p]nāṅ c[ḍau ॥] caṅ[6] pu[j]au tuy ॥ drāt [p]ujau mramar [ma] jar [ra ॥ tuy] he[ṅ] na tm[o]' [l]aḥ ma j[nok] san [g]ah[7] dar lar pāṅ ta[r]aṅ tuy ॥ ma kuiw da[k] suiw ḍuit [ra] ॥ dak

38. sui[w] ḍuit tuy [h]eṅ ॥ khūp cal[o]' [pāṅ] masun ta[p[8] ra ॥] bodhi tu[n le]r [॥ tu]i[w] akhā la[k] min gah heṅ ॥ [ph]yuih lar pḍay ktoṅ [t]uy

1 The *e* is at the end of the preceding line.
2 Or *rūp* ?
3 Or *rup* ?
4 Here there are two dots, like a *visarga*, which merely fill up spare space.
5 Or *wo'* ?
6 Presumably an error for *cāṅ*. There is a mark over the *c* which does not look as if it were a trace of an *anusvāra*.
7 Looks rather like *cah*.
8 Or *thap* ?

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drā ra ॥ rau gah pa tuai ॥ daḥ lak min (34) heṅ phyeh thaḅut law dhāt pattimārup ॥ pḍai glaṁ dhāt ra ॥ thaḅut tuai heṅ wut duih dhāt pattimārup gah ॥ rup aggasāwaka ḅā ॥ rup mahāsāwa-(35)ka 80[1] rup asran brau ma gwa' ekatagga 13 ॥ rup upaḥ truh ma gwa' ekatagga 12 ॥ rup upaḥ brau ma gwa' ekatagga 10 ॥ rup mi kyāk (36) trai ॥ rup ma kyāk trai ॥ uit rup klaṁ cah dacāṁ wwa' mwai mwai ma son na slāk ॥ ma let law na thaw gah ॥ raṅ law wut duih tuai he(37)ṅ ॥ pnāṅ cḍau cāṅ pa pūjau tuai drāt pa pūjau mramow jow ra ॥ pa tuai heṅ tma' laḥ ma jnok klaḥ san gah ॥ daw law pāṅ taraṅ glaṁ tuai ma kuiw dak suiw tuin ra ॥ dak (38) suiw tuin ḍuit tuai dhup calo' pāṅ masun thap ra ॥ bodhi tun lew ॥ tuik akhā lak min gah heṅ ॥ phyeh law pḍai

1 Orig. has *guḥ*.

39. ॥ ॥ tuiw lar ra ॥ khā [gah] c[ut t]ḍoṅ jn[o]r ॥ (c)å[ṅ] pnāṅ cḍau tu[y ॥ na] ḍāk [m]ra[m]ar ma jar carot[1] cut [ra] ॥ tuy tambrot[2] [b]uiṅ [lar] ra ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥[3]

[1] Error for *caroḥ*.

[2] This seems to be what is intended, though the subscript *r* is more like subscript *h* in shape. Cf. Schmidt, *Rājāwaṅ* (Vienna, 1906), p. 140 (C X 4), *tamroṭ beṅ*.

[3] Between the bordering lines at the foot of this Face there are letters, apparently forming words but not connected with the text of the inscription and not in Môn. I read tentatively: " . . . . landa traya . . . . yārākābbamasmiṁ kui ma " and there are two or three traces of single letters besides.

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katuiṅ tuai (39) tuiw law ra ॥ khā gah cut tḍuiṅ jnow cāṅ pnāṅ sḍau tuai ॥ ḍāk mramow caw caruih cut ra ॥ pḍai kmat buiṅ law ra tma' chaṭha tuai ra ॥
sakkarāt 839 cuiw cuip sakkarāt 841 ॥ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ॥ kuiw garaṅ pa tiṁ dnāal sāmmaṇī nwaṁ pamik upasampada gah ॥ atuiṅ kattika puai ma ptiṁ law tīla puiai ta' ma gap gaw skat. gah tīla ta' ॥ ph-ow kuiw kat tuai ptiṁ puiai ḍik ñi ॥ puiai sakuiw sāmmaṇī ta' duṅ upasampada pḍai Kalyāṇī rau gah gaḥ tuai ॥ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati garaṅ pa tiṁ law ra ॥ ॥[1] khā ma cuip sakkarāt[2] dacāṁ klaṁ pan coh 1[3] gah sāmmaṇī gamluiṅ atuiṅ kwat gap gaw skat ॥ pa taṁ khuddasikkhā pātimuk gah kat tuai ॥ satta gamluiṅ kluṅ pa tiṁ tala ñaḥ ॥ Rāmādhippati ra ॥ khā gah tala ñaḥ kuiw kok raṅ sāmmaṇī[4] ta' kuiw phaḍot ra ॥ tala ñaḥ paṅ miṅ sāmmaṇī ta' gah ma phaḍot tuai ॥ yāṁ cha ñaḥ ma phaḍot dah kweh ra ॥ gah tarau klaṁ mwai ma sgo' ॥ pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ damāṅ ma gap. gaw ku sāmmaṇī tarau klaṁ mwai ma dmāṅ gah ॥ ruṅ tarau kuiw khanhaṁ tuai ॥ sala phaḍān law ra ॥ swak acā guin 50[5] ॥ ma skuiw upasampada ku sāmmaṇī tarau klaṁ mwai gah ॥ kanhaṁ law damāṅ tuai ॥ salaw jamnik pḍai Kalyāṇīsiṁ lew kuiw cuiw buiṅ law janik laḥ law dakaw uit ra ॥ wut duih Kalyāṇīsiṁ tun lew ॥ swak ñaḥ gamluiṅ ma māṅ gah kuiw tuik law dasāṁ kaṇā ॥ salaw yāt cuiw buiṅ law janik laḥ law dakaw[6] uit ra ॥ ॥[7] pḍai tamnak damāṅ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ma dmāṅ suiṁ araṁ pārīwara ॥ ma sasabhaṅ sāmmaṇī tarau coh ॥ ma sduṅ upasampada gah kuiw sala law[8] janik phaḍān kuiw laḥ law skaw snā batuai ra ॥ rau gah cīreṅ tuai heṅ acā guin 50 ma skuiw upasampada ku sāmmaṇī 601[9] gah lew kuiw niman[10] ra ॥ yāṁ tīla ta' ma cau nū Siṅghuiw gah 17 ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhamma 1[11] ॥ Dhammakitti ॥ 1 ॥ mahāsāmi Tilokagaru mwai ॥ mahāsāmi Parakkamabāhu 1 ॥ Maṅgalathe[12] 1 ॥ mahāsāmi Buddhaghosā 1 ॥ mahāsāmi Guṇaratanadhara mwai ॥ mahāsāmi Neratanalaṅkāra 1[11] ॥ mahāsāmi Taratanamālī 1[11] ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammateja 1[11] ॥ Dhammarāmasāmi 1[11] ॥ Mahādewathe 1[11] Culābhayatissathe 1[11] ॥ Ñāṇapaṇḍitamahāthe 1[11] ॥ Wijayabāhupañcapariwenamahāthe 1[11] ॥ Sirilaṅkāguṇawutti 1[11] ॥ Sirilaṅkābuddhalo[13] ॥ apāṅ ñaḥ cau nū Siṅghuiw 17 ॥ tīla puiai ta' acā saṅ Bago tun ॥ mahāsāmi Udummara[14] ॥ mahāsāmi[15] Srirāmarājaguru[16] ॥ mahāsāmi Buddhadiwākara[17] ॥ mahāsāmi Ratanagiri ॥[18] mahāsāmi Saddhammarājāguru ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammadhara ॥ mahāsāmi Suwaṇṇapaduma ॥ mahāsāmi Tipitakadhara ॥[19] mahāsāmi Anumadassī ॥ mahāsāmi Dhammarājika ॥ mahāsāmi Sāmantapāsādika[20] ॥ mahasāmi Saddhammawijaya ॥ apāṅ 15 ॥

[1] A omits ॥.
[2] B *sakkarāj* ॥.
[3] A 84.
[4] Original has *sammaṇī*.
[5] A 5.
[6] A *skaw*.
[7] A omits ॥.
[8] For *sala law*, A has *salaw*.
[9] A 61.
[10] B *nimantau*.
[11] A omits 1.
[12] Orig. has °*te*.
[13] For °*lo* we must presumably read °*the* 1.
[14] A *Dudummara*.
[15] A °*sāmhi*.
[16] A *Srarāmma*°.
[17] A °*dita*°.
[18] B inserts *mahā* ॥.
[19] B inserts *mahāsāmi Ra* ॥.
[20] Orig. inserts ॥ between *Sā* and *man*.

N

1. . . [wā]sī ga[h] ॥ saṅgharā[ja] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .[1]

2. [la] ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammapajjota [॥] [mahāsāmi] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . [mahāsā]-[2]

3. mi Pi[y]adas[s]ī ॥ mahāsāmi Sāsanapaj[jo]ta ॥ mahās[āmi] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

4. [h] a[c]ā [guin mas]un (coh) tu[y] h[e]ṅ[3] ॥ pḍa[y t]ñay buddhawā ma da[h] tiṅ bapeṅ pha[llag]u[i]n g[ah] (॥) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . .

5. s[e]nā[pati[4] ॥ g]amlui[ṅ] tuy ॥ kuiw gataḥ l(ī)ṅ[5] uit ra ॥ ॥ sāmaṇi[6] klaṁ (g)å[h][7] p-a[p[8] kui]w [s]miṅ Bra Saṁ [Ḍeṅ][9] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Above this line there are a few undecipherable letters of another one. Judging by the manuscript version, about a dozen lines are lost between this and the end of the preceding piece. The dots represent a rough estimate of the portions missing to the right.
[2] Conjecturally restored.
[3] Written in abbreviated form, as if *hṅe*.
[4] The *e* must have been at the end of l. 4.
[5] Or *liṅ* ?
[6] Or *sāmaṇi* ?
[7] Looks like *wāh*. Either way the *anusvāra* is superfluous.
[8] Looks like *p-aw*.
[9] Or *Ḍew*, or *Ḍeo* ?

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tīla puiai ta' ॥ ñaḥ Bago[1] ॥ araña(N 1)wāsī gah tun ॥ saṅgharājā Sammaṇa ॥ mahāsāmi Lamuñjusa[2] ॥ Winayapajjota[3] ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammawijayaseṇapati[4] ॥ mahāsāmi Passaṁ ॥ mahāsāmi Siwali ॥ mahāsāmi (2) La ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammapajjota ॥ mahāsāmi Silapajjeta ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammawilāsa ॥ mahāthe Uttamhā ॥ mahāsāmi Saddhammasiri ॥ mahāsāmi Dhammadassī ॥ mahāsā(3)mi Piyadassī ॥ mahāsāmi[5] Sāsanapajjota ॥ mahāsāmi Aṅgulimhā ॥ mahāsāmi Guṇasāgara ॥ acā buiṅ[6] lgan apāṅ cah dacāṁ ॥ rau gah niman[7] law (4) acā guin 50 tuai heṅ ॥ pḍai tñai buddhawā ma dah tñai sī bapeṅ phawraguin ॥ sāmmaṇī gamluiṅ ta' gah ॥ paap[8] kuiw smiṅ tala pa taṁ[9] kuiw amāt (5) seṇāpati gamluiṅ tuai ॥ kuiw gataḥ liṅ uit ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ gah paap[10] kuiw smiṅ Bra Sāṅ Ḍej[11]

[1] Orig. *Babo*.
[2] A °*ñja*°.
[3] A °*pajo*°.
[4] In the orig. °*ya*° seems to have been cancelled.
[5] Orig. °*sīmi*.
[6] A *buit*.
[7] B *nimantau*.
[8] A *p-ow*.
[9] For *pa taṁ*, B has *ta'*.
[10] Orig. has *p-ow*.
[11] A *Saṅ Ḍet*

6. [॥ ॥ sāmaṇī] k[l]aṁ gah ॥ p-ap kuiw [s]miṅ waṅ [C]akkawāde preṅ ra ॥ ॥ sāmaṇī klaṁ ga[h ॥][1] p-ap [k]uiw smīṅ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .

7. (t) preṅ ra [॥ ॥ s]āmaṇī k[laṁ m]woy gah ॥ p-ap [k]ui[w[2] s]mi[ṅ] waṅ Ā[y] Gām Bin pɪ[e]ṅ ra ॥ [॥ parikkharā][3] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . .

8. [klaṁ mwoy] (cwar[4] ॥) pabeṅ turau [k]laṁ mwoy ॥ tḍoṅ turau klaṁ mwoy ॥ dacun turau klaṁ mw[o]y ॥ pn[ik] (c) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. .

9. [ph]alā suim b[ī] gapuiw [pan]āk [s]at ṭun jan ॥ me[k] su[t] ॥ turau k[l]aṁ [mwoy] ॥ rui[h] ku[iw] kui[w] s[miṅ][5] (ta gah) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . .

10. heṅ ॥ [t]ṅa[y sī] ba[pe]ṅ kitu [ph]årlaguin tṅa[y brabb]atı [y]aḥ laṅ(ū)[6] ga[h he]ṅ[7] ti[l]a ñaḥ[8] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

1 Conjecturally restored, but practically certain.
2 Looks like *tuiw*.
3 The final syllable is conjecturally restored.
4 Or *cwâr* (as in l. 14, *infra*)?
5 Or *smiṅ*?
6 Or *laṅu*?
7 Looks like *gat teṅ*.
8 The next word has the vowel *e* or *o* and may have been *lop* (or *lwop*).

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preṅ ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap[1] kuiw smiṅ[2] Sāṁ Trāy[3] preṅ ra (6) ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap[4] kuiw smiṅ Cakkawāde preṅ ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap[4] kuiw smiṅ waṅ Cau Nūrasiṅ[5] preṅ ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ paap[6] kuiw Cau Mhārhā(7)t[7] preṅ ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ mwai gah paap[4] kuiw smiṅ waṅ Aṅ Gāṅ Bin[8] preṅ ra ॥ parikkharā swak ma skuiw sāmmaṇī 601 gah tun lew sṅā (8) 601 swaw ॥ babeṅ 601 kḍuiṅ 601 ॥ dacun 601 ॥[9] pnik cakkho 601 dakaw moṁ 601 ॥ kwoṁ (9) palā suiṁ bī gapuiw panāk[10] sat ṭun jan[11] mhāai sut tarau klaṁ mwai ॥ ruih kuiw smiṅ ta' gah[12] ma preṅ ra ॥ rau gah tala ñaḥ cīreṅ tuai (10) heṅ ॥ tṅai sī bapeṅ phawraguin tṅai 5 yaḥ lṅu heṅ ॥ tla ñaḥ lon ceh ā tuai

1 A *p-ow*.
2 A omits *smiṅ*.
3 A *Sā Tṛdai*.
4 Orig. has *p-ow*.
5 A *Nūrasi*.
6 Orig. omits.
7 B *Mhārāj*.
8 A *Bgin*.
9 A omits ॥ *dacun* 601 ॥.
10 Orig. has *panāai*.
11 A *ja*.
12 Orig. repeats *ta' gah*.

11. [wīh]āra [g]aṅ ra ॥ [॥] acā sa[ṅ] masun cwoh ler ॥ niman plop raṅ pḍa[y th]ān [d]amåṅ [l]ati[1] puiy [ta g]a(h) . . . . . .
. . . . . .

12. (w)[2] ñaḥ weṅ (p)r[o]ṅ[3] ra [॥] ॥ khā gah sm(ī)ṅ[4] ta' tuy ma preṅ phyer sāma[ṇī] ta gah [॥] jak cuih [ā] nū (pa) . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. .

13. (ṅ)[5] ma [t]wāk ga[t]a ॥ ñaḥ [ma] y[o]k [d]akår[6] mwam ma twāk ga[t]a ॥ krau [dak]ar [gah ñ]aḥ ma yok (ı)[7] tḍo[ṅ ॥] (pa) . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . .

14. gaḥ [ñ]aḥ ma yok [saṅg]ā [c]wår ॥ [॥] krau [g]ah ciṅ klaṁ sā[m]aṇī [k]laṁ ma [ḍo]k gah ma t[l]uṅ [ra] ॥ pḍay klaṁ[8] [gah] kui[m] . .
. . . . . .
[da]-[9]

15. [ndå]r [kluiṅ] ॥ krau kluiṅ[10] gah [ñ]aḥ ma [dandår] kamho[k] thar[11] [॥] uit [s]āma[ṇī] klaṁ wo' kuim ॥ [slok][12] tam-iṅ [thūpārām][13] . . . . .
. . . . . .

1 Presumably error for *tila*.
2 Or *ṅ*?
3 Or *broṅ*?
4 Or *smiṅ*?
5 Or *j*, or *w*?
6 There seems to be no justification for the *anusvāra*.
7 This stop is clearly superfluous and may be merely an accidental mark.
8 Looks like *tlaṁ*.
9 Conjecturally restored.
10 Written in abbreviated form, as if *ṅklui*; or the supersctipt *ṅ* may be regarded as written over the following *g*.
11 Or *tar*?
12 Looks like *ma slāk* corrected into *slok*.
13 The last syllable is conjecturally restored.

॥ ā dmåṅ smaw kyā Kalyāṇī(11)wihā gah tuai ॥ acā saṅ 50 le niman plop rā thān dmaṅ tīla ta' gah tuai ॥ kuiw dān piṇḍapāt ra ॥ sabhaṅ sanak le preṅ kui(12)w ñaḥ weṅ gruiṅ ra ॥ khā gah smiṅ ta' ma preṅ phyī sāmmaṇī[1] ta' gah jak ceh ā nū Bago ra ॥ khā ma jak ceh gah mhā smiṅ Bra Sāṅ Ḍej[2] ma jak gata ॥ lme(13)ṅ ma twāk gah ñaḥ ma yuik ḍakaw moṁ ā gata ॥ krau gah kḍuiṅ babeṅ dacun ॥ krau gah ñaḥ ma yok twuiw palā ॥ krau (14) gah ñaḥ ma yuik sṅā swaw ॥ krau gah ciṅ klaṁ sāmmaṇī klaṁ ma ḍuik kluṅ ra ॥ pḍai klaṁ gah tun ॥ ñaḥ ma dalaw gapew ā[3] gata ॥ krau gah ñaḥ ma da(15)law kḍuiṅ ॥ krau gah ñaḥ ma khalaw khamok thaw ॥ uit sāmmaṇī klaṁ

1 Orig. has *sa°*. A *Ḍet*. 3 Orig. omits.

16. [basā] gah mā ॥ [j]akhan jakhan [akr]ā a[k]rā gah [h]eṅ [ma] (cut)[1] ā ra ॥ ॥ sāmaṇī [klaṁ smīṅ] Sāṁ [Trā]y[2] ma [p]re[ṅ] (gah)[3] . . . . . .

17. [n][4] gah [s]awān ॥ ॥ [s]āmaṇī klaṁ smī[ṅ S]āṁ [K]r[āy[5] ma] pr[eṅ gah] lon ā tu[y heṅ ॥ s]āṁma[ṇ]ī klaṁ [s]mīṅ (Cakkawāde ma preṅ gah ॥ twāk tluṅ tun ॥ rameṅ ma twāk)[6]

18. [g]ah tu[p][7] ra ॥ [t]am-iṅ gah thūpārām ku[i]m ॥ sāmaṇī k[l]aṁ smīṅ Cakkawā[d]e ma [pr]eṅ gah lwon ā tuy he[ṅ] (॥ sāmaṇī klaṁ Cau Nwarasiṅ ma preṅ gah ॥ twāk tluṅ)[8]

19. tun [॥ r]ameṅ ma twāk gah tu[p ra ॥] tam-iṅ=[g]ah[9] sa[wā]n ॥ ॥ [s]āmaṇī klaṁ [Cau] N(wa)rasi[ṅ][10] ma [p]reṅ [g]ah lon [ā] (tuy heṅ ॥ sāmaṇī klaṁ)[11] . . . . . .

20. ma preṅ gah t[w]āk [t]luṅ tun ॥ rameṅ ma twā[k] ga[h tu]p ra ॥ tam-iṅ ga[h s]awān ku[i]m ॥ ॥ sāṁma[ṇ]ī [k]laṁ C[au] . . . . . (ma preṅ gah lon ā tuy)[11]

[1] Very doubtful.
[2] Or *Krāy*? Apparently the latter is the reading in ll. 17, 26, *infra*.
[3] Conjecturally restored.
[4] Or *nda*, or *ndi*?
[5] Or *Trāy*?
[6] Conjecturally restored, only the first letter of the first word being traceable.
[7] Looks like *tum*.
[8] Conjecturally restored.
[9] The *ṅ* is superscript, and may be regarded either as over the *g* or the *m*. In the latter case this is just an abbreviation like the one of *heṅ* in l. 4, *supra*.
[10] Looks like *Nwara°* or *Nūra°*, though presumably these would be merely variant spellings of *Nara°*.
[11] Conjecturally restored.

---

wwa' kuiṁ ॥ slok thamiṅ thūpārāṁ cam-aḥ ra ॥ kwiṅ kwuik ma ptaṁ bāt sreai (16) basā mā ॥ jakhan jakhan akrā akrā heṅ ॥ ma cut ā ra ॥ sāṁmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Sāṁ Krāai ma preṅ gah ma kluṅ krau gah ra ॥ lmeṅ ma twāk tup ra ॥ tamiṅ[1] (17) gah sadhān[2] ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Sāṁ Krāāi ma preṅ gah lon ā tuai ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Cakkawāde ma preṅ gah ma kluṅ ra ॥ lmeṅ ma twāk (18) gah rup tup ra ॥ tamiṅ tupārāṁ kuiṁ ॥ sak smiṅ gah ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ Cau Nūrasiṅ ma preṅ gah tawāk kluṅ (19) tun ॥ lmeṅ ma twāk gah tuai[3] ra ॥ thamiṅ gah sawān sak kuiw[4] smiṅ gah ॥ sāṁmaṇī klaṁ Cau Mhārāt (20) ma preṅ twāk kluṅ tun lameṅ ma twāk gah tup[5] ra ॥

[1] A *smiṅ*.
[2] A *smān*. It should be *sawān*.
[3] For *tup*.
[4] Orig. has *sakuiw* (not *sak kuiw*).
[5] Orig. has *tun*.

21. h[e]ṅ[1] ॥ [s]āṁmaṇ[ī] klaṁ mwoy smiṅ[2] Āy [Gā]m [B]in ma pre[ṅ] gah ॥ twāk tluṅ [tun ॥ r]ameṅ ma twā[k g]ah (tup ra ॥)[3] . . . . . .

22. sāmaṇī turau [kl]aṁ [m]w[o]y [ma gat]aḥ liṅ tuy [g]ah [॥] smiṅ[2] [t]o' tu[y] ma [duṅ duṅ] sajuiṅ [s]āmaṇī [ta] gah (॥) . . . . . .

23. [c]w[o'] ra ॥ [k]uiw [b]aca [ph]ā[p] ra ॥ ॥ a[khā] gah acā sa[ṅ] masun cwoh ga[h ॥ par]i[bhok puṅ taṅay tu]y heṅ [t]ila [ñaḥ] . . . . . .

24. sim[4] ga[h] ra ॥ ॥ tila ñaḥ l[e]r [s]ui[m k]uiw araṁ [p]ariwā heṅ ॥ [l]wop tau pḍay samut [sim][4] ra ॥ [॥] kh[ā] gah [s]āmaṇī [klaṁ] . . . . . .

25. [॥] tuiṅ rame[ṅ] he[ṅ kwo]k[5] pt[u]in tu[y] ॥ kiw[6] tila to' [gam]-(ī)[7] ra ı gam-(ī)[7] [t]uy [he]ṅ (t)ui(ṅ)[8] arā [d]amå[ṅ] ga[h] kuiw cuiṅ dm[åṅ] . . . . . [॥ sāmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Sā]-[9]

26. [m] Krāy ma preṅ[10] [gah] ॥ tuiṅ[r]ameṅ ra[m]eṅ tw[o]k[11] [pt]uin tu[y] ॥ [k]uiw ti[la to' g]am-(ī)[12] ra ॥ ॥ na na[y] wo' heṅ ı a . . . . . .

[1] The *e* must have been at the end of the last line.
[2] Or *smiṅ*?
[3] Conjecturally restored.
[4] Or *sim*?
[5] Or (improbably) *twok*?
[6] Error for *kuiw*.
[7] Or *gam-i*?
[8] Or *kuiw*? But this seems unlikely.
[9] Conjecturally restored.
[10] There is an original flaw between the *pr* and the *e*.
[11] Error for *kwok*.
[12] Or (improbably) *gam-i*.

---

thamiṅ gah sawān kuiṁ ॥ sak smiṅ gah ॥ (21) sāṁmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Ā Gāṅ Bin ma preṅ twāk kluṅ tun ॥ lameṅ ma twāk tuai[1] ra ॥ thamhiṅ sawān kuiṁ ॥ rau gah (22) sāṁmaṇī 601 ma gataḥ liṅ tuai gah ॥ smiṅ ta' mduṅ sjuṅ sāmmaṇī ta' gah ā preṅ law pḍai thān dmåṅ sāmmaṇī 601 gah (23) ra ॥ kuiw baca phāp ra acā gah ॥ acā saṅ 50 gah pa prabhuik puṅ tāai tuai ॥ tala ñaḥ niman plop pḍai (24) siṁ Kalyāṇī ra ॥ tala ñaḥ le suiṁ kuiw paraṁ parīwāra heṅ lop tau pḍai siṁ ra ॥ khā gah sāmmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ[2] Bra Sāṅ Ḍet ma preṅ gah (25) tuiṅ lmeṅ kok ptuin tuai ॥ kuiw tīla ta' gamhī ra ॥ gamnī ta' tuiṅ arā dmåṅ gah kuiw ā dmåṅ plan ra ॥ sāmmaṇī klaṁ smiṅ Sā(25)ṁ[3] Krāai ma preṅ gah tuiṅ lameṅ lameṅ kok pa tuin tuai ॥ kuiw tīla ta' gamhī ra ॥ na nai sāk wwa' atuiṅ lmeṅ

[1] For *tup*.
[2] Orig. has *siṅ*.
[3] Orig. has *Sāai*.

27. [ṅ] m(ī)man[1] p[tuin t]uy ॥ [k]uiw ti[l]a to' gam-ī uit [ra] ॥ gam-ī tuy [he]ṅ ॥ tuiṅ ar[ā] ar(ā) ga[h k]uiw cuih dmåṅ ra ॥ ॥ rau [ga]h . .
. . . . . .

28. [ma dah] sa[juiṅ s]m(ī)ṅ[2] Bra Saṁ [Ḍ]e(ṅ)[3] gah ॥ pabwoy rweṅ [heṅ] ॥ ñaḥ ḅā [ḅā] k[wok] p[t]ui[n] tu[y ॥ k]uiw t[i]la puiy [to' ॥] kuiw u[4] . . . . . .[5]

[1] The usual and correct spelling is *niman*. [2] Or *smiṅ*?

[3] If this is rightly read, it is written in abbreviated form, as if *ṅḍe*, like *heṅ* in various places (*e.g.*, l. 4, *supra*). Otherwise we must read *Ḍe* or *Ḍeṁ*.

[4] Probably the lost word is *upasampada*.

[5] The inscription continued onto the other side of the stone the bottom of which is, however, blank. Judging by the manuscript version, there were about 12 or 15 lines on the upper part, which is lost.

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ma twāk tarau gata ॥ he(27)ṅ niman pa tuin tuai kuiw tīla ta' gamhī kle' pha-uit ra ॥ gamhī tuai atuiṅ arā arā dnāai jaku kuiw ceh dmåṅ ra ॥ rau gah preṅ tuai heṅ ॥ pḍai sāmmaṇī klaṁ (28) ma sdah sjuiṅ smiṅ Bra Sāṅ Ḍet gah ॥ babwai lweṅ heṅ ḅā ḅā kok pa tuin tuai ॥ kuiw tīla ta' kuiw upasampada khā ma kuiw upasampada gah ॥ upajhāai mwai ॥ ñaḥ ma phaḍot kammawāt ॥ sāmmaṇī mwai tīla ta' ḅā ḅā ma rap kammawāt ma skuiw upasampada ॥ khā tñai bapeṅ ā tuai gah ॥ smiṅ tala jakhī kayah phaṁ klo' pnāṅ sḍau preṅ law tuai tīla ñaḥ tuin kluṅ ra ॥ tīla ta' ma skuiw upasampada tun ॥ pa taṁ nū saw[1] tñai bapeṅ gitu phawraguin tñai[2] 5 gah ॥ duiw pan cawek[3] phawraguin tñai can[4] gah heṅ ma tuai ॥ phyāṁ tñai katau heṅ ma tuai heṅ ॥ rau gah sāmmaṇī 601 kuiw duṅ upasampada tuai kuiw niman acā saṅ pan kuiw twah dhaw pātimok ku ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada tami ta' gah ॥ ma pa pujau acā saṅ pan[5] ma [6]desa pātimuk[7] ku ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada tami gah mhā ॥ ku ñaḥ mwai mwai yāt yāt snā bāt pan 4 tau ॥ sat ḅā ḅā ॥ kḍuiṅ ॥ mrek ḅā ḅā coh pasā ॥ gitu phawraguin 5 cwek tñai 3 kuiw yaḥ lñu[8] gah ॥ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ceh ā tuai ॥ uit acā saṅ 50 koṁ ku[9] ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada tami tarau klaṁ mwai gah ॥ na bhojuin ma ka mwai prakā kuiṁ law ॥ na caṇa ma ka mwai prakā kuiṁ law ॥ taruih tuai heṅ ku acā saṅ mwai mwai heṅ yāt saṇā bāt ḅā ḅā tau ॥ dakaw moṁ mwai mwai mrek khamih ḅā ḅā pasā ॥ mrek kalā[10] pan pan pasā ॥ sat basī lñiṁ lñiṁ ॥ kwoṁ palā sablu suiṁ bī gapuiw ḅun panāk[11] sat mhāai sut mwai mwai deyadhamma ma phah sāk wwa' tala ñaḥ kuiw dān ra ॥ ku ñaḥ 601 ma duṅ upasampada tami tun gah ॥ parai nū aṭhaparikharā ma lon tuai ma kuiw dān lew ॥ mreggalā ḅā ḅā pasā ॥ sat basī pan pan klaṁ ma kuiw dān plan ॥ rau gah kuiw dān tuai ॥ tīla saṅ 50 palåṅ phyau ṇā ra ॥ rau gah palåṅ phyau acā saṅ 50 tuai heṅ ॥ ñit ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada 601 gah[12] tuiṅ ḍuiṅ gah bapeṅ gah ॥ bwai lameṅ kuiw twāk tat[13] ā tuai ॥ tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati pa aruiṁ uih tamuih cuit tuai kuiw palåṅ phyau ṇā thān damåṅ tala puiai ta' ra ॥ pwa[14] sāk wwa' tala ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ma pa gah ॥ huit ma sjuṅ sḍuik sāsnā san roṅ ॥ ñaḥ ma duṅ upasampada gah bwai ma buin kñan mik kuiw dah tuai pawa sāk wwa' ma pa roṅ ॥ ॥ bwai krau tun lew yāṁ bnat ayuk tīla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati[15] mnuṁ gah ॥ ruih ruih sāṁmaṇī ta' ma smik duṅ upasampada gah ॥ rau nai wwa' heṅ preṅ tuai tla ñaḥ Rāmādhippati ma tuiw[16] ā upasampada ra ॥ rau[17] gah huit dah uiw da ci ॥ smiṅ ma ḍuik peṅ tau koṁ saddhē kom ku pañā ma pkaṅ raṅ kamin duṅ Håṁsāwatī babwai krau tun lew ॥ kuiw dahat ku sāsnā koṁ ñi ॥ atuiṅ sāk puiai bacīreṅ wwa' heṅ pa bak ñi ॥ tma' sattama tuai ra ॥.

[1] A *sak*. [2] Orig. has *tuai*. [3] A *cathok*. [4] A 2.
[5] A 4. [6] A *pa*. [7] B *pātimukkha*. [8] A has *lñah*.
[9] A omits *ku*. [10] For *galā*. [11] Orig. has *pandai*.
[12] B omits all from here to the next *upasampada gah*, inclusive. [13] For *tit*.
[14] Orig. has *pwai*. [15] Orig. has *Ramā°*. [16] For *kuiw*. [17] A *huit*.

Translation.[1]

[Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One! May the excellent Religion of the Conqueror flourish and prosper and may reverence be paid to Buddha!

The purification of the Religion of the Conqueror was effected by Rāmādhipati, king of the Môn country. An account of this event will be related. During the reign of Rāmādhipatirāja, king of the Môn country, the Religion of the Conqueror became purified.

Two hundred and eighteen years had passed away since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One, the Sage of the Sakyas, when Dhammāsokarāja was inaugurated as king. In the fourth year[2] after this event, owing to Nigrodhasāmaṇera, the king had great faith in the religion of Buddha; and the gifts and honours to the monks greatly increased, while those to the heretics diminished. The heretics, for the sake of gifts and honours, embraced the ascetic life among certain monks, received the *upasampadā* ordination, and promulgated their own heresies, such as the Sassata heresy. Some took orders themselves, assumed the guise of monks, and taught their own heretical doctrines. All these heretics mixed promiscuously with, and resided among, the monks, who performed *uposatha* and such other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Owing to this circumstance, the Saṅgha considered that the *parisā* was corrupt, and would not perform *uposatha*. Therefore, for seven years, the performance of this ecclesiastical ceremony had ceased in the Asokārāma monastery.

[1] Owing to the fragmentary condition of the Môn text, this translation has, for the sake of intelligibility, been based on Mr. Taw Sein Ko's version of the Pāli wherever the Môn text makes default. Where both texts are available, any differences worthy of notice are mentioned in the notes. From the end of Face F a similar use has been made of the Môn MS. copies mentioned in §§ 71,77-9. For the same reason it has been found necessary in this inscription to place the numbers of the lines in accordance with the portions of the Môn text that have been preserved, not where it might be presumed that a particular line originally commenced. The parts taken over from the Pāli and Môn MS. texts have been enclosed in square brackets; and so far as they lie outside the scope of the Môn fragments that have been preserved on the stones, they are not divided into numbered lines and can therefore be easily distinguished from the portions representing the actual fragments remaining on the stones themselves. Words conjecturally restored, or added in compliance with English idiom, or for the sake of intelligibility, have been put in parentheses. A mark of interrogation is added where the restoration may be regarded as doubtful.

[2] According to the traditional reckoning, this date will be 322 B.C., but there is some reason to believe that the usual reckoning antedates Buddha's death by about 64 years; so, for 322, we should probably say about 258 B.C.

On account of these circumstances, King Dhammāsoka became desirous of purifying the religion by removing the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in it, and secured the co-operation of Moggaliputtatissa-mahāthera. Having acquired, by study, the knowledge that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādī, and that those who professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools were heretics, the king convoked an assembly of all the monks. Those who held similar doctrines were commanded to form themselves into groups, and each group was dismissed, one by one. There were six millions of monks professing the religion, who, if asked what the belief of the Fully Enlightened One was, would say that he was a Vibhajjavādī, while the sinful, heretical monks, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, numbered sixty thousand. The king directed all the sixty thousand sinful monks to leave the order, and saying: "Now that the *parisā* has been purified, let the Saṅgha perform *uposatha*," returned to the city.

Therefore, Moggaliputtatissamahāthera performed *uposatha* in the Asokārāma monastery in the company of all the six millions of monks. This being concluded, he promulgated, in an enlarged and expanded form but on the lines indicated by the Blessed One, the treatise called Kathāvatthu, of which a summary had been expounded by the Blessed One.]

A

Moggaliputtatissamahātheta having preached,[1] [like as the venerable Mahākassapathera selected five hundred monks, in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisambhidās*, and convened the First Council, which sat for seven months,] (l. 2) and like as our lord the Mahāthera Yasa [selected 700 monks in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisambhidās*, and convened the Second Council, which sat for eight months; even so did he (Moggaliputtatissa-mahāthera) select 1,000 monks, in whom all passions were extinct and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññās* and the four *paṭisam-*

[1] The Pāli merely has "subsequently."

bhidās, and convened the Third Council, which sat for nine months][1] (l. 3) from the first (day of the) waning of the month of Māgha until the full-moon (day of the month of Kārttika).[2] [At the conclusion of this Council,] (l. 4) Moggaliputtatissamahāthera reflected[3] that in the future [the religion would be established in neighbouring foreign countries, and sent such Theras as Majjhantikathera with the injunction: "Do you establish the religion] (l. 5) in those neighbouring foreign countries." [Of these Theras, he sent] our lord Mahindathera [to establish the religion in the island of Tambapaṇṇi,[4] and Soṇathera and Uttarathera to establish the religion in] (l. 6) the Môn country,[5] [which was also called Suvaṇṇabhūmi.]

At the time when our lords the two monks, namely Soṇathera and Uttarathera (arrived?),[6] [a king called Sīrimāsoka ruled over the country of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. His capital was situated to] (l. 7) the north-west of the Kelāsapow pagoda.[7] One half[8] of it was on a hill,[9] one half[10] [was built on a plain. This town is called, to this day, Goḷamattikanagara,][11] (l. 8) because [it contains many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the Goḷa people.[12]

The town was situated on the sea-shore; and] an ogress who lived in the sea [was in the habit of] coming up [and devouring] every child of the king that was [born in the king's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two Theras,] (l. 9) a child of the king was born (and) the ogress, saying[13]

[1] In the Môn this is apparently expressed in days, of which there must have been *two hundred and sixty-five*: the only thing legible being (at the beginning of l. 3) "five" preceded by the form of "ten" used as a multiplicand. The Pāli does not give the number of days.

[2] Conjecturally restored. This passage is not in the Pāli.

[3] The Pāli has "foresaw."

[4] Ceylon.

[5] So far as can be conjectured from the fragmentary remains of the Môn text, it probably expressed itself in this way: "in Suvaṇṇabhūmi, which is the Môn country."

[6] For all the preceding, the Pāli merely has "at that time."

[7] Pāli, *Kelāsabhapabbatacetiya*. Explained as being near Bilin in the Shwêgyin District.

[8] In the Pāli, "the eastern half."

[9] Literally, "rock." But the word is used elsewhere in both senses.

[10] In the Pāli, "the western half."

[11] Explained as being Taikkulā (Ayetthèma) in the Shwêgyin District. Here, most curiously, the Pāli text contains (on the stone) a Môn sentence, viz., *ḍuṅ Tuik Galā rman ma dah tluṅ krau krau to' gaḥ*, "The Môns who came thereafter called it Tuik Galā." This does not appear in the manuscript text or translation as edited by Mr. Taw Sein Ko. See Plate I, l. 15, of his article in Vol. XXII of the *Indian Antiquary*. Cf. l. 14, *infra*.

[12] Probably the Môn order differed somewhat, but the only legible words are "the reason men," which seems to correspond to the "because" in the Pāli. The Goḷa (or Gauḍa) were the people of Eastern Bengal. Their name has become the Môn and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the West.

[13] In the Pāli, "knowing."

[that a child had been born in] the king's [palace], came up out of the sea together with a retinue of five hundred.[1] When[2] . . . . . (l. 10) having (made ?) . . . . . were two lions, which were calculated to inspire terror and were more numerous than . . . . . all the . . . . . chased away the ogres. Then[3] the ogres . . . . . (l. 11) (not ?) desiring to allow the ogres to return again (later on ?),[4] throughout the extent of the [country] our lords the two Theras set guards; and to all the people, [who had assembled together], (they) (l. 12) preached the law of the Brahmajāla-sutta, and delighted them all.[5] Four (thousand ?) . . . . . the *saraṇasīla*.[6] At that time sixty thousand people attained to the comprehension of [the Law] . . . . . (l. 13) thousand five hundred came out (and) became monks. Thenceforward, in the Môn country all young children,[7] that were (born ?) [on the anniversary day of that event, were named Soṇuttara.] In order to prevent the savage[8] demons, (servants) (of Varuṇa ?),[9] (from seizing) them, (l. 14) men had to inscribe [on

[1] *I.e.* other ogres, as in the Pāli, which proceeds: "with the object of devouring it."

[2] Literally, "at that time." The Pāli goes on: "the people saw the ogress, they were stricken with terror and raised a loud cry. The two Theras, perceiving that the ogress and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the ogress, and these monsters chased the ogres and obstructed their further progress. When the ogres saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two Theras, they cried out: 'Now we shall become their prey,' and, being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea." It does not seem likely that the Môn text had room for all this and I can only give the fragments of it without attempt at restoration.

[3] Or "when," lit. "at that time." The Pāli merely has: "In order to prevent the return of the ogres, the Theras established a cordon of guards around the country, and preached the Brahmajāla-sutta to the people, who had assembled together."

[4] The reading and meaning are doubtful.

[5] These last four words have no equivalent in the Pāli.

[6] In the *lacuna* we must supply something like "took refuge in." The Pāli gives this passage somewhat differently: "At the conclusion of the sermon, 60,000 people attained to the comprehension of the Truth; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world, and the rest were established in the 'three Refuges' and the *sīlas*," adding, "Thus the religion was established in this Môn country by the two Theras in the 236th year that had elapsed since the attainment of *parinirvāṇa* by the Fully Enlightened One." This addition has no equivalent in the Môn text. (The date, according to the traditional reckoning, would be 308 B.C., but probably this is about 64 years too early.)

[7] The Pāli has "princes." The Môn has a *lacuna* after "born" in which this may have been expressed somehow.

[8] Lit. "because not desiring to let the tiger demons."

[9] This rendering (which is not paralleled in the Pāli) is somewhat uncertain. It is also not quite certain whether the fragments supplied from the Pāli text in the passage immediately following were all contained in the Môn original.

palm leaves figures of the creatures with ?] heads of ogres (and) bodies of lions [created by the supernatural power of the Theras ?] and put them on (their heads ?), [and also placed a stone engraved] in accordance with those (same) shapes upon the top of the hill[1] of Tuik Galā[2] . . . . . (l. 15) remains (until now).

From the time that[3] our two lords[4] came (and) established the religion in the Môn country . . . . . it shone[5] in the Môn country for a very long while. (When) a long time[6] . . . . . (l. 16) (thereupon ?) parties disputed (and) went apart (?),[7] pestilences[8] . . . . . (and) because of a great calamity of famine which also arose, ... (l. 17) also, the Môn country diminished[9] in power. Owing to [these calamities,] the monks settled[10] in the Môn country, (or) who lived in the Môn country, (l. 18) were unable . . . . . [11] and the religion diminished in power.

(During the time when ?) Sūriyakumā, who bore the name of King Manohor, ruled the city of Sudhuim,[12] the religion[13] . . . . . (l. 19) [This happened] a thousand and six hundred years from the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the exalted Buddha[14] (and) when the religion (had been)

[1] Lit. "rock"

[2] Cf. l. 7. The Pāli merely says "on the top of a hill to the north-east of the town," and adds "This stone" (literally, however, "figure, shape," Pāli *rūpam*) "may be seen to this day." This last sentence is perhaps represented by the *lacuna* in the Môn ending with "remains." But the Môn seems to have something more, the first (and only) word of which is unidentified, unless it corresponds with L.M. *lweh* and represents the above mentioned *rūpam*.

[3] Lit. "beginning from."

[4] *I.e.* the two Theras.

[5] *I.e.* flourished.

[6] Presumably we must supply something like "had elapsed." The Pāli equivalent for this whole passage is: "Since its introduction, the religion flourished for a long time in the Môn country. In course of time, however, the power of the Môn country declined, because civil dissensions arose," etc.

[7] *I.e.* split up. But the Pāli says: "and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the seven kings."

[8] Doubtful reading and meaning.

[9] Lit. "went soft."

[10] Or "sheltered." The Pāli seems to have no equivalent for this clause.

[11] The Pāli here has: "were unable to devote themselves, in peace and comfort, to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts; and the religion also declined." There is not room for all this in the Môn.

[12] *I.e.* Thatôn.

[13] The Pāli merely has: "During the reign of Manoharī, who was also known by his princely name of Sūriyakumāra, the power of the kingdom became very weak."

[14] 1056-7 A.D.

established (in) the Môn country a thousand (three hundred and sixty-four years ?)[1] . . . . . A thousand six hundred and one years from the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the exalted Buddha, in the year [419][2] of the Common Era, (King Anuruddha established the religion in Pukām,[3] which ?)[4] (l. 20) is called the city of Arimaddanapur.

From (the year when the religion ?) reached the city of Pukām, it was[5] . . . . . (the year) 532.[6] At that time King Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion . . . . . (l. 21) (at) that time, the Mahāthera Uttarājīva, the teacher of the king of Pukām, in order to go and venerate the pagodas [of Ceylon], said, "[7] . . . . . (the island of ?) Ceylon," and together with many monks went (and) embarked on a ship at [Bassein.[7] Who was this Mahāthera Uttarājīva ?] (l. 22) Our (lord ?) (was) a Môn, a disciple of the Mahāthera Ariyavaṁsa. The Mahāthera Ariyavaṁsa, in his turn, [was a disciple of Mahākāḷathera] (who was called the Mahāthera of Krabaṅ Damyoṅ ?).[8] The Mahāthera of Krabaṅ Damyoṅ, in his turn, (was) a disciple of the Mahāthera Prāṇadassī,[9] [who was endowed with] (l. 23) *lokiyajjhāna*.[10] Our lord dwelt at Sudhuim.

1 The passage in parentheses has been added conjecturally by subtracting 236 (cf. note on line 12, *supra*), from 1600, there being no equivalent in the Pāli for this whole sentence.

2 1057-8 A.D. Cf. the note on the text.

3 Pagan.

4 There seems to be no room for the whole of the Pāli passage, which reads: "King Anuruddha, the lord of Arimaddanapura, took a community of monks together with the Tipiṭaka and established the religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugāma."

5 It is not quite clear whether the Pāli, from here on, agrees exactly with the Môn. It has: "One hundred and seven years after this event, or in the year 526 of the Common Era [= 1164-5 A.D.], King Sīrisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion in Laṅkādipa (*i.e.* Ceylon). Six years after the latter event, or in the year 532 of the Common Era, Uttarājīvamahāthera," etc. It seems difficult to find room for all this amongst the fragments of the Môn text.

6 1170-1 A.D.

7 The Pāli makes him "set out for Kusimanagara, saying to himself: 'I shall embark in a ship with a great many monks.'" This will not fit into the Môn text, which makes reference to Ceylon. Kusimanagara is the literary name for Bassein (in M. Môn *Kusim*); cf. A 31.

8 The clause in parentheses is a conjectural restoration. I take *damyoṅ* (which means "black, dark") to be part of this place-name, though the Pāli has no equivalent for it. Cf. the note on the text.

9 Cf. the note on the text. The Pāli adds: "who lived at Sudhammanagara," *i.e.* Thatôn.

10 The Pāli adds "and *abhiññā*" and mentions these qualifications after stating his place of residence.

(At dawn ?)[1] our lord would go (and) sweep the Bodhi tree . . . . . (and) having (swept it ?), would return (and) go on his alms-pilgrimage in the city of Sudhuim. (Such) being our lord's nature,[2] (one) morning, [while he was sweeping[3] the Mahābodhi tree, certain] (l. 24) men of the city of Sudhuim, who were going to trade in the country of (Magadha ?),[4] . . . . . having seen (him), [on their return, related what they had seen to the people of Sudhuim.] (Thus) people knew the fact that our lord indeed possessed *lokiyajjhāna*. . . . . [5]

. . . . . [6] (l. 25) a *sāmaṇera*, a son of people[7] of the village of Chapat (in the district of Bassein ?)[8] followed our lord (the Thera, who, embarking on a ship, sailed to the island of ?)[9] Ceylon. All the monks who lived in the island of Ceylon greeted (him) with particular enquiries.[10] [As they were well disposed towards him, they said: "We are the spiritual successors of] (l. 26) Mahindathera, who came (and) established the religion in the island of Ceylon . . . . . (you), our lords, [are the

1 Or perhaps, "every morning." But either way, a monosyllabic illegible word after the supposed *yaḥ yaḥ* remains untranslated. The Pāli of this passage reads: "Being thus gifted, he would, every morning, proceed to Magadha and sweep the courtyard of the Mahābodhi tree in Uruvelā, return to Sudhammapura, and go on his alms-pilgrimage." Presumably the missing passage in the Môn version contained some of these particulars.

2 This inadequately represents *tradaḥ*, lit. "being," which may include "state, condition," etc., and also have the sense of "fact." If the latter be its meaning here, it may be dependent on the verb *ñāt* and the passage may mean that the traders "witnessed the fact" of his miraculous performance.

3 The Pāli, as above, adds "the courtyard of." It also speaks of the men who witnessed the miracle as "traders, who lived in Uruvelā, and were on their way to Magadha from Sudhammapura." There is here a difference between the two versions, which I am unable to reconcile, the Môn distinctly saying that they were *ñaḥ ḍuṅ Sudhuim*, "men of Sudhuim."

4 Or "of the Mahābodhi," the reading being very doubtful.

5 The two words at the end of the line have been left untranslated, as in the absence of the context it is impossible to determine the sense borne here by *gati*, a word of various shades of meaning (lit. "going").

6 The Pāli here has: "On arrival at Kusimanagara, Uttarājīvamahāthera embarked in a ship, accompanied by many other monks and by a *sāmaṇera*, whose age was fully twenty years. Who was this *sāmaṇera*? Why was he called Chapaṭasāmaṇera?" There is not room for all this in the Môn version.

7 *I.e.* "natives of" Chapat. It may be that the *sāmaṇera* was himself born there also.

8 Doubtful; cf. the note on the text. The Pāli has: "His parents were natives of Kusimaraṭṭha while he himself was a pupil of Uttarājīvamahāthera. He was called Chapaṭasāmaṇera because his parents were natives of a village called Chapaṭa in Kusimaraṭṭha."

9 Conjecturally restored with the help of the Pāli.

10 The Pāli has: "accorded him" (*i.e.* Uttarājīvamahāthera) "a meet reception."

spiritual successors of] Soṇathera (and) Uttarathera, who went (and) established the religion in Suvaṇṇabhūmi."[1] Having spoken (thus), [they conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on] (the *sāmaṇera*?) (l. 27) Chapaṭo.[2]

The Mahāthera Uttarājīva, (having venerated?) the pagodas in the island of Ceylon, [made preparations to return to Pukām]. (Then) the monk Chapaṭo[3] [thought thus?]: "(When?) our lord the Mahāthera Uttarājīva (returns home, if I were to return home with him,?) (l. 28) by reason of being very near my brothers (and) relatives, there would be 'impediments caused by relatives' . . . . . [4] there would be happiness of mind for me, on the other hand.[5] I should" . . . . . (l. 29) Ceylon.

This monk, having completed all his studies[6] . . . . . people called (him the Mahāthera Chapaṭo?).[7] The Mahāthera Chapaṭo, when[8] . . . . . [After reflecting thus, he appointed] (l. 30) the Mahāthera Sivili, a native of Tāmal(itthi?)[9] . . . . . .

1 The Pāli adds: "Let us all, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order." There does not seem to be room for all this in the Môn.

2 The Môn appears to call him, literally, "the son of people of Chapaṭo," here.

3 Here the Môn clearly has "the monk, son of people of Chapaṭo." This is curious, as in l. 25, the place is spelt Chapat.

4 The Pāli has: "'I should not be able to enjoy that peace and quiet, which are conducive to the study of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries. It is, perhaps, advisable, therefore, that I should, with the permission of the Mahāthera, remain in Ceylon, and return home only after I have mastered the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries.' Accordingly, Chapaṭa asked permission from Uttarājīvamahāthera and remained behind in Ceylon. Uttarājīvamahāthera, accompanied by a large company of monks, embarked in a ship, and returned to Kusimanagara. Thence he proceeded to Pugāma" (*i.e.* Pagan), "and took up his residence there." It is quite impossible to find room for all this in the Môn.

5 If this is the force of *tun*.

6 The Pāli has: "Meanwhile, the monk, Chapaṭa, by dint of hard study, had acquired a knowledge of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries; and, as he had completed his tenth year in orders, he acquired the designation of Thera. Being now desirous of returning to Pugāma, he reflected thus: 'If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarājīvamahāthera, I did not wish to associate with the monks of Pugāma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of a *pañcavaggagaṇa*, perform such functions separately? It is, perhaps, proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other monks, who are well versed in the Tipiṭaka.'" There is not room for all this in the Môn.

7 Conjecturally restored.

8 Perhaps one could conjecturally add: "the time came for him to return," etc. But it is impossible to be sure how much of the long Pāli passage above cited had its counterpart in the Môn text.

9 Probably Tamluk in Bengal. The reading is doubtful in the Môn but supported by the Pāli.

the Mahāthera Tāmalinda,[1] [the son of the Rājā of Kamboja,[2] the Mahāthera Ānanda, a native of] Kāncīpura,[3] (and) the Mahāthera Rāhula, [a native of Ceylon, to accompany him][4] . . . . . (l. 31) The five exalted lords, having embarked on a ship, arrived at the city of Kusim.[5] All . . . . .

Burmese monks ?)[1] have become supreme, we do not wish to associate[2] [with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies." Thus, through pride, the Mahāthera Chapaṭo declined to associate with the monks of Pukām in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately.

It should be borne in mind that in the year] (l. 37) 543 of the Common Era,[3] [and the 124th year[3] that had elapsed since the introduction of the religion into Pukām in the Burmese country from Sudhuim in the Môn country,][4] the religion from Ceylon [was established at Pukām. At that time a king, called Narapatijayasūra,[5] was ruling in Pukām. He conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five Mahātheras, and, after having had a bridge of boats constructed on the great river Erāwatī, requested them to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the many monks who desired to receive it. In consequence of this,] (l. 38) our lords, these five, (gradually increased ?)[6] (in) [influence and their following grew in numbers.

One day, the king ordered festivals to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the five Mahātheras. On that occasion] (l. 39) the Mahāthera Rāhula saw a [beautiful] dancing-girl, [and the loss of his delight in asceticism became burdensome to him. He longed to be a layman, and made preparations to carry out his object. The Mahāthera Chapaṭo and the three other Mahātheras repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take. But][7] (though they endeavoured to ?) (l. 40) prevent (him), they were not able to prevent (him). (Our ?) lords, [therefore, said: "Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to the Môn country and there embark for Malayadīpa,[8] where you may carry out your wish." Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course,]

[1] Doubtful: see the note on the text. [2] Conjecturally restored. [3] 1181-2 A.D.

[4] It seems more than doubtful whether the Môn version had this sentence. At any rate, if it occurred, it must have been after, not before, the next one.

[5] According to Phayre (*History of Burma*, pp. 50, 281) Narabadisīthu (or Narabadītsītsithū) reigned from 1167 to 1204 A.D. [6] Doubtful; see the note on the text.

[7] The Pāli proceeds: "the religious discourses expounded by the four Mahātheras, by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore," etc.

[8] It is regrettable that the Môn equivalent for this place-name (probably Southern Sumatra) has not been preserved. See § 75.

(l. 41) Rāhulathera [went to the Môn country][1] and embarking on a ship, (reached ?) [Malayadīpa.[2] Now the king of Malayadīpa[2] was desirous of learning the Vinaya, and Rāhulathera taught him the Khuddasikkhā together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the Vinaya. The king was pleased with the Thera and presented him with] (l. 42) an alms-bowl [filled with many kinds of gems].[3] Rāhulathera [accepted the gift,][3] became a layman, [and married.

Subsequently, of these four Mahātheras, Chapaṭo died, and the surviving three Mahātheras, namely, Sivilimahāthera, Tāmulindamahāthera,[4] and Ānandamahāthera, continued to maintain the religion in splendour at Pukām.

One day, the king of Pukām, having conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the three Mahātheras, presented them with three elephants]. (l. 43) Then Sivilimahāthera and Tāmulindamahāthera [liberated their two elephants in a forest. But Ānandathera, saying to himself: "I shall make a present of my elephant to my relatives living in Kāñcīpura," proceeded to Kusim and shipped it off]. (Then ?) (l. 44) the monks Sivilithera and Tāmulindathera [said: "Why have you caused pain to an animal by making a present of it to your relatives? Your action is improper." Ānandathera replied: "Why, reverend sirs, have you spoken to me in this manner?][5] (Buddha ?)[6] (l. 45) spoke thus: 'To do [kindness to] relatives [is a sacred duty.'" The two Mahātheras continued: "Ānanda, you are indeed headstrong. If, brother, you will not accept] (l. 46) advice and admonition[7] [from elders like us, do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and we shall perform ours in like manner." Thenceforward, the two Mahātheras] (Sivilithera and ?) (l. 47) Tāmulindathera[8] performed [their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately and Ānandathera performed his likewise.

[1] It seems doubtful whether the *n-ā tuy* of the text is a remnant of this clause.

[2] It is regrettable that the Môn equivalent for this place-name (probably Southern Sumatra) has not been preserved. See § 75.

[3] It is doubtful whether our text had the equivalent of these words.

[4] I have followed the more usual spelling of the Môn version. The English translation of the Pāli MS. has Sīvali°, Tāmalinda°, but I observe that the Pāli transcript from the actual stone gives Sivili°.

[5] The Pāli proceeds: "What! Reverend sirs, has not the Blessed One declared that kindness to one's relatives," etc. [6] It may be that Ānandathera is the subject of the following verb.

[7] It is not clear whether this corresponds with the small Môn fragment, which seems to mean "to instruct thoroughly." For one thing, it is difficult to see how the preceding space can have been filled in. But I cannot fit the words in elsewhere.

[8] It is by no means certain that this name has been fitted in here correctly. The Pāli version does not repeat the names in this connection, and the Môn is represented by two words, with a conjectural restoration between them.

[In course of time, Tāmulindathera, for the benefit of his pupils, who were learned, wise, and able, said to] (l. 48)[1] all the laymen, nobles (and) chiefs, [and other classes, that came to his presence:]. . . . . (l. 49) the monks . . . . . are . . . . . laymen . . . . . .[2] (l. 50) our lord Sivilithera . . . . . .[3] Tāmulindathera: "O my lord, (the acquisition of?) the requisites [by means of *vacīviññatti* was censured by the Blessed One: why have you procured the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*? Your action is improper]. (l. 51) . . . . . ."[4] So spake Sivilithera. Thus [replied] Tāmulindathera: ["My lord, the acquisition of requisites by means of *vacīviññatti* was censured by the Blessed One when such property was for oneself; but, my lord, I] (l. 52) did not practise *vacīviññatti* [for myself;] it was for the sake of the benefit (and) advancement[5] of religion (that I determined?)[6] . . . . . ." [Sivilithera again said to Tāmulindathera:] "(So it is thus that my lord?)[7] (l. 53) Tāmulindathera speaks! As

1 I have not been able to fit in the doubtfully read word *kwon* in this line. Perhaps it is part of the expression "pupils."

2 I have been unable to fit the fragments of this line into a continuous context, owing to the uncertainty of the sense of *dok . . . . . t* and *tak pa(t)*. The Pāli version gives the following:—"'O laymen, the monks are learned, wise, and able; but, because of their not being supplied with the four requisites, they are unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts. Laymen, it is our desire, therefore, that these monks should be furnished with the four requisites. Should you undertake to do this, the monks would certainly be enabled to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts.' The Thera thus procured the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*." This word means "verbal suggestion."

3 The Pāli has: "Then Sivalimahāthera said to Tāmalindathera." I doubt if the Môn represents this; it depends on the meaning of the doubtful word *do(k)*.

4 I cannot fit in the Môn from *wihā* to *so'*. It seems to have no equivalent in the Pāli, and the sense is not clear. *Wihā* means "monastery," *twaḥ*, "pupils," "disciples," *tila* (presumably here in the genitive), "of my lord," *daḥ*, perhaps "should," or "must," *so'*, probably "indeed," "certainly," but I can find no suitable meaning for *kambā* (which may mean "tank," or "twin," L.M. *kamā*), and another word is missing.

5 Literally, "increase."

6 The Pāli, after "but, my lord," proceeds: "the four requisites procured by me by means of *vacīviññatti* were not for myself. I thought that if my pupils, who are learned, wise and able, obtained the four requisites, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, and to the observance of the precepts, the interests of the religion would be promoted; and therefore I procured for them the four requisites by means of *vacīviññatti*."

7 Doubtfully restored. The Pāli has the speech thus: "Brother Tāmulinda, is this your explanation? Do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform mine likewise. Brother Tāmulinda, association in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies is agreeable only when the parties taking part in the performance are of the same mind and opinions and are amenable to the advice and admonition of each other." It is clear that the Môn order is different.

(it is) thus (that) my lord speaks, (the nature?)[1] of men who are steadfast[2] in the doctrine (and teaching?) . . . . . [Do you perform][3] (l. 54) (your) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform (my) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately," (he) said. Thenceforward our lord Sivilithera (and our lord Tāmulindathera)[4] [performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

At that period there were in Pukām four distinct communities,] (l. 55) the monks formed four sects, (namely) the monks who were of the religious succession (of those) that came up from Sudhuim (were) one sect, (the others being) [the disciples of Sivilimahāthera, the disciples of Tāmulindamahāthera, (and) the disciples of Ānandamahāthera (respectively). Of these communities] (l. 56)[5] the successors (of those) who came up from Sudhuim, being of the succession of those who (had) arrived first, were called *arhe' sā*[6] by the Burmese, (while) the monks of the three sects of the succession of those who had returned from Ceylon[7] [were called the Sīhaḷa fraternity and also the Pacchima fraternity, because of their later arrival.

Two of these three Mahātheras, namely Sivilimahāthera and Tāmulindamahāthera, passed away according to their deeds after maintaining the religion in splendour to the end of their lives; and Ānandathera, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the religion in splendour in Pukām, also passed away according to his deeds in the year 607 of the Common Era.[8]

A *sāmaṇera* called Sāriputta, who was a native of Padippajeyya village,[9] in the province of Dala, went to Pukām and received the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of Ānandathera. He studied both the Dhamma and the Vinaya together with their commentaries. Being thus well-versed in the Dhamma and the Vinaya, the fame of the learning, wisdom, and ability of the

1 Doubtful reading.

2 Doubtful reading and meaning. Another possibility is "who have learnt," "who have studied." If it were possible to read *samaratha* it might mean "agreeing," "concurring."

3 Restored from the earlier passage in the Pāli version of the speech.

4 Conjecturally restored to fit the context.

5 I cannot fit in the doubtful *atuiṅ* at the beginning of the line.

6 The Pāli equivalent for these two Burmese words is *purima*. Evidently the meaning in both languages must be "prior, earlier." In this place the Pāli stone introduces the Môn gloss *arhe sā bamā to' gaḥ*, "the Burmese called (them) *arhe' sā*." See *l.c.*, Plate I, l. 73.

7 This is the end of the legible part of Face A of the Môn version; what follows is merely adapted from the Pāli, till we reach the beginning of the top fragment of Face B.

8 1245-6 A.D.

9 Stated to be near Rangoon.

monk Sāriputta spread abroad. The king of Pukām heard about his fame, and reflecting, "If the monk Sāriputta is learned, well-informed, a seeker of knowledge, wise, and able, and if the members of his body are perfect, I shall do him honour by appointing him to be my preceptor," sent messengers to institute enquiries. The messengers sent by the king accordingly proceeded to enquire whether the members of the body of the monk Sāriputta were perfect. In the course of their enquiry, they found that one of the big toes of the monk was too short, and reported the result of their investigation to the king. The king, thinking inwardly, "The monk is not perfect in all the members of his body," presented him with a great many offerings, conferred on him the title of Dhammavilāsathera, and dismissed him with the injunction: "Do you maintain the religion in splendour in the Môn country."

Dhammavilāsathera proceeded to the Môn country, and taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to a great many monks in Dala. The people of the Môn country called, at the time, the fraternity of these monks at Dala the "Sīhaḷapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha,"[1] and designated as the "Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha" the fraternity of monks who were already in the country and were the ecclesiastical successors of Soṇamahāthera and Uttaramahāthera.[2]

There was a learned Mahāthera, belonging to the Ariyārahantapakkhabhikkusaṅgha, who lived in a monastery situated near the mouth of a river in the Lakkhiyapura[3] province called the Bakāsa, because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy birds.[4] Near the monastery was a market, and not very far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Kamboja[5] prisoners of war were located. On account of this fact, the market was called the Kamboja market,[6] and the monastery was called

[1] Here the Pāli stone (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 6) had another Môn gloss of which only the words *rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called," have been preserved.

[2] Here the Pāli stone has another Môn gloss, not very legible on the plate (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 6) which may perhaps be read *bwok saṅ tray arhan rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called (them) the fraternity of the noble arahans." This reading is supported by an ink-impression of the stone. Cf. B 6 n.

[3] Stated to be identical with Lekk'aik near Twàntê in the Hanthawaddy District.

[4] Here the Pāli stone has another Môn gloss (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 7) which may perhaps be read *pāṅ kruṅ gah pāṅ gapuiṅ rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns call this river-mouth Pāṅ Gapuiṅ."

[5] The Môn equivalent, as will shortly appear, is Krom. It has been supposed that Kamboja here means Shan or Lao; but as to this point see *J. Burma Research Society* (1922), Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 39–45, and §§ 75, *supra*.

[6] Here the Pāli stone has another Môn gloss (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 8) reading *pṣā krom rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called it the Krom market."

the Kambojāpaṇavihāra,[1] because of its vicinity to the Kamboja market. The Mahāthera living in the monastery was, in like manner, called the Paṭhama-Kambojāpaṇavihārathera.[2] Subsequently, the designation Paṭhama-Kambojāpaṇavihārathera was changed to]

B

(Mahāthera of?) the Krom market.[3] . . . . . (l. 2) . . . . . .[4] . . . . . (l. 3) who were the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom market[5] . . . . . [At that period, because this Mahāthera of the Krom market was the oldest and most celebrated member of the Ariyārahantasaṅghapakkha in Dala, the whole of that fraternity was designated] (l. 4) "the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom market." [In after times, the designation] "(fraternity of the Mahāthera?) of the Krom market" [fell into disuse, and the fraternity was called "the fraternity of the Krom market."[6] However, the latter term, "fraternity of the Krom market," itself fell into disuse and people] (l. 5) called [it "the Krom fraternity."][7]

[1] *I.e.* the monastery of the Kamboja market. The gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 9) is *wihā pṣā krom rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called it the monastery of the Krom market."

[2] *I.e.* Superior of the monastery of the Kamboja market. The gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 9) is *mathe* [for *mahāthe*] *wihā pṣā krom rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called him the Mahāthera of the monastery of the Krom market."

[3] The Pāli equivalent is Kambojāpaṇamahāthera, and the words in parentheses are practically certain. There is here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 10) a gloss of which only the words *mahāthe pṣā*, "Mahāthera of the . . . market," are preserved.

[4] I cannot fit in the words of l. 2 (see the text). Their meaning is obscure (except *jamnok*, "great") and they seem to have no equivalents in the Pāli, which proceeds: "A pious nobleman, called Sirijayavaḍḍhana, who was living at Dala, built a monastery near a great lake and invited the Kambojāpaṇamahāthera to occupy it."

[5] This part does not seem to be represented in the Pāli. It is evidently a reference to the monks of the monastery of which this Mahāthera became the head. The Pāli equivalent of their designation, which appears again in the next line, is Kambojāpaṇamahātherasaṅghapakkha. A gloss there (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 12) reads *bwok saṅ mahāthe . . . . . to' gaḥ*, "(the Môns) called (it) the fraternity of the Mahāthera (of the Krom market)."

[6] The Pāli equivalent is Kambojāpaṇasaṅghapakkha. A gloss here (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 13) reads *bwok saṅ pṣā krom (rman) to' gaḥ*, "(the Môns) called it the fraternity of the Krom market." It is probable, though not quite certain, that part of the Môn equivalent for the phrase "in after times" is contained in the word *lo'*, "a long time."

[7] The Pāli equivalent is Kambojasaṅghapakkha. Here the gloss is *bwok saṅ krom rman to' gaḥ*, "the Môns called it the Krom fraternity" (*l.c.*, Plate II, l. 13).

Because people called [the Ariyārahanta fraternity in Dala,] which was the fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom market, "the Krom fraternity," . . . . . (l. 6) all the Ariyārahanta fraternity[1] which was in the Môn country also having been called "the Krom fraternity," all the Môn so styled it.[2]

At that time, in the city (of Dala, there existed the Ariyārahanta fraternity and?) (l. 7) the Ceylon fraternity: two fraternities had been formed.[3] In the city of Mattma,[4] again (there were) the Krom fraternity, (which was) one fraternity, (and the Ceylon?)[5] fraternities, (which were five?)[5] (l. 8) fraternities. The Ceylon fraternity which was in succession to Sivilithera (was) one (such) fraternity; the members of[6] the Ceylon clergy who were of the fraternity of . . . . . [7] (l. 9) screened (themselves with a?) cloth to eat (their) rice. When people invited (them to a?) shed, they were not able to eat in the house, (but) returned to eat (in the) monastery.[8] Our lords, these (monks), ... (l. 10) the Ceylon fraternity who were successors of the pupils of the Mahāthera Tāmalinda[9] (constituted) one fraternity; the members of[1] the fraternity styled "teachers of the minister of the silk cloth screen"[2] . . . . . (the fraternity?) (l. 11) called (after?) Buddhavaṁsamahāthera; (he was) the teacher of the queen in Mattma (and) went to the island of Ceylon; and on his return to the city of Mattma, (whatever?)[3] persons came (to him, he would not perform his?) (l. 12) ecclesiastical ceremonies with them, (but) performed (his) ecclesiastical ceremonies separately. The fraternity of these clergy (of) Ceylon (constituted) one fraternity. The fraternity of our lord Mahāsāmimahāthera[4] . . . . . (constituted) (l. 13) one fraternity.

Therefore in the city of Mattma there were one fraternity of the Krom clergy (and) five Ceylon fraternities, (making) six fraternities (in all?) . . . . . (l. 14) (and) as (they) were unable to join with one another in ecclesiastical ceremonies, various sects arose into existence. In all these sects of clergy . . . . . (l. 15) there were none . . . . . [5] that were wise (and) qualified to come (and) investigate (and) ascertain (matters concerning?) ecclesiastical ceremonies. The clergy[6] of these various fraternities . . . . . (l. 16) would say ["We, indeed, are wise and?][7] qualified," and these clergy would perform (ceremonies such as?) consecrating a *sīmā*[8] (or) conferring the *upasampadā* ordination, performing (such) ceremonies separately.[9]

At that time [some] clergy, [who, wishing to consecrate a *sīmā* on a *gāmakhetta* of whatever size, (and) having placed boundary marks] (l. 17) all

[1] The Môn calls it *bwok saṅ tray arhan*, from which it appears that *tray* corresponds to *ariya* in value.

[2] Apparently this is the meaning, though it is expressed in a roundabout way. The Pāli merely says, "the same designation was thenceforward applied to that fraternity in the whole of the Môn country."

[3] The words in parentheses are a purely conjectural restoration. There is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with this passage.

[4] Martaban, Pāli Muttima.

[5] The queried words in parentheses are conjectural restorations. In this whole passage the Môn version seems to be more discursive than the Pāli, which has the following: "There were in Muttimanagara, the Kambojasaṅghapakkha, the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Sivilimahāthera, the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Tāmulindamahāthera, the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Ānandamahāthera, the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Buddhavaṁsamahāthera, the preceptor of the queen, who went to Ceylon and received his *upasampadā* ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara, and the Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the successors of Mahāsāmimahāthera, otherwise called Mahānāgamahāthera, who visited Ceylon and received his *upasampadā* ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately." The corresponding Môn passage ends in l. 13.

[6] The meaning of *ñām* (if that is the right reading) is doubtful: cf. ll. 10, 20, *infra*.

[7] Presumably we should restore "Sivilithera" here, but possibly "Ānandathera," whose name is lost in the *lacunæ*.

[8] The precise meaning of this passage is not certain, as some of the words are doubtful and there is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with it. Presumably "not able" means "not allowed by their rules."

[9] So spelt here.

[1] The meaning of *ñām* is doubtful: cf. l. 8, *supra*, and l. 20, *infra*.

[2] The meaning is not quite certain, and it is not clear whether these were the successors of Ānandathera (following the order of the Pāli), or of Buddhavaṁsamahāthera, next mentioned.

[3] This is doubtful owing to the uncertain reading and meaning of the word *yra*, which I tentatively associate with L.M, *yrau*, "any." The doubt extends to the next restoration in parentheses, though this receives support from the Pāli. If we read *ey* (for *yra*) the phrase might mean: "we who have arrived" . . . . . But I do not see how this fits in.

[4] Who also received his orders in Ceylon: see the note to l. 7, *supra*.

[5] Here the Pāli has "who were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka."

[6] The Pāli speaks of them as Mahātheras.

[7] Restored with the help of the Pāli.

[8] I have followed the English version of the Pāli in the spelling of this word; but the dictionaries have *sīmā* and this also appears on the stones of the Pāli text. As this discrepancy was not noticed until the present translation had already been set up in type, it has not seemed worth while to alter the spelling here and in the numerous other places where the word occurs. The M.M. form is *sim*.

[9] Possibly the last clause should read "(and) would perform other (such) ceremonies." The Pāli has neither, but says "in a manner that appeared fitting to them."

round the *gāmasimā*, purified [it by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks] if[1] within those boundary stones; [but they would not] effect purification [through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks living outside the boundary, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. In such a *simā*] (l. 18) ceremonies such as the *upasampadā* ordination [would be performed.[2]

There were] some [clergy] again who purified all round the *gāmasimā*, who had to induct (?)[3] [within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing round that *gāmakhetta*, inside or outside the boundary.[4] Therefore, whenever a *simā* was to be consecrated, they thought that it would be difficult to purify the whole of the *gāmasimā*][5] . . . . . (l. 19) a *gāma* (also ?), the (proper ?) characteristics . . . . . was properly a *visuṁgāma*. Those characteristics they did not investigate (and) ascertain . . . . . (l. 20) in a very subtle way.[6] Members[7] (of the clergy ?) . . . . . having depended on[8] . . . . . At the moment of performing the ceremony of consecrating the *simā*, if (a piece of) land that suited (them) . . . . . (l. 21) measurement[9] that suited (them), boundaries . . . . . (they would) say (it was ?) a *visuṁgāma*, and on land which was devoid of the characteristics of a *visuṁgāma* . . . . . .

[1] I take *ayām* here to be the same as L.M. *yāṁ*.

[2] It seems to me very doubtful whether there is room in our text for all the contents of the above paragraph.

[3] The reading and meaning are very doubtful here.

[4] The Pāli has: "There were some monks who declared: 'If it is desired to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, such consecration should be carried out after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing round that *gāmakhetta*, who are inside or outside the boundary.'"

[5] It is doubtful whether all the above can have been represented in our text. The Pāli proceeds: "and would not ascertain the true nature of the characteristics of a *visuṁgāma*. They, however, assumed that if a piece of land with its boundaries defined was granted by a king, that land was a *visuṁgāma*; and they would ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of a piece of land, which they had chosen and whose area would be sufficient for the consecration of a *simā*, or of a piece of land of larger area." I find it difficult to fit the fragments of our text into this.

[6] Owing to the loss of the context, the meaning is in doubt.

[7] As to the sense of *ñām*, cf. l. 8, 10, *supra*.

[8] It is doubtful whether this is the sense of *nisray ket*. In III A 9 *nisrey* seems to mean "to find a resting place."

[9] The original includes the expression *maṅ laṁ*, which is defined as "a measure equal to seven cubits," but how many of these units are referred to is doubtful.

. . . . (l. 22) having been able to purify, (they would) consecrate . . . . . also, and perform ceremonies such as the *upasampadā* ordination.[1]

[There were some] clergy [who, holding the opinion that] (l. 23) there would be the flaw of confusion of *simās*[2] [if two *baddhasimās* were] (connected ?) [with each other by the branches of trees, etc., but][3] in the case of a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, [or two *gāmasimās*,] . . . . . (l. 24) there would be no (such) flaw of confusion of *simās*, in . . . . . at the time for the constructing of a *baddhasimā* upon the *gāmasimā* . . . . . (l. 25) around it, the (connecting branches of) trees, etc., ... get together with the *gāmasimā* which was (to be) the site of the *baddhasimā* that (they were) to construct . . . . . (l. 26) who purified the *gāmasimā* . . . . . purified the *gāmasimā* which was (to be) the site of the *baddhasimā* that (they were) to construct, ... [In such a *simā*] (l. 27) the *upasampadā* ordination [would be performed.

There were some clergy,] again, [who would not ascertain in every way] whether the characteristics[4] of a river or the characteristics of a lake (were present ?) [(as) mentioned in the *pāḷi* and the *aṭṭhakathās*,[5] and who, without ascertaining well the interpretation of the words mentioned in the *aṭṭhakathās*,] (l. 28) (which are ?) *anvaḍḍhamāsaṁ anudasāhaṁ anupañcāhaṁ*,[6] [would in this excessively rainy region, the Môn country, perform the *upasampadā*

[1] The corresponding Pāli passage has: "They would then consecrate the *simā* after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing on the *gāmakhetta*, but without effecting purification in regard to the whole of the *gāmasimā*. In such a *simā* the *upasampadā* ordination would be performed."

[2] The Pāli has "mutual confusion."

[3] The Pāli proceeds: "there would be no such confusion if a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, or two *gāmasimās*, were connected with each other by the branches of trees, etc., would, whenever there was a *simā* to be consecrated on a *gāmakhetta*, perform the consecration without cutting off the branches of trees, etc., which connected that *gāmakhetta* with the others around it, but after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*." It does not appear that our text fits precisely into this, though the general purport is similar.

[4] That is, as laid down by Buddhist rule for the special purpose in question. In order to fit in the fragments of our text, I have had to make small verbal modifications in the English version of the Pāli in this paragraph.

[5] The canonical scriptures and the commentaries on them.

[6] "Every fortnight, every ten days, every five days."

ordination in an *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on a river or] (l. 29) lake devoid of the characteristics of a river or (the characteristics of) of a lake. . . . . (l. 30) . . . . . [1]

Some clergy, again, (purified ?) . . . . . (l. 31) (were ?) . . . . . able to cut away, purified . . . . . [2]

[When] (l. 32) two thousand (and) two years had elapsed [since the Fully Enlightened One] achieved Parinirvāṇa,[3] [there reigned in Haṁsawatī] [4] . . . . . (l. 33) (Veda scriptures ?),[5] the sciences of logic, grammar, (and) prosody, rhetoric . . . . . (l. 34) more than one language, perfect, together (with ?) . . . . . (l. 35) the province of Muttima according to the Law . . . . . (l. 36) His Majesty Rāmādhipati[6] [had exceedingly

[1] It is not clear whether our text contained anything represented by these dots. The first words legible in l. 30 are merely two particles.

[2] The Pāli corresponding with this paragraph has: "There were some monks who, whenever they wished to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, would cut off the branches of trees, etc., that connected it with other *gāmakhettas*, and carry out their object through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gāmakhetta*, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. But whenever there was an *upasampadā* ordination to be performed in such a *simā*, the ceremony would be performed without cutting off the branches of trees, etc., which connected that *gāmakhetta* with others." It is more than doubtful whether our text had room for all this.

[3] The Pāli also has "the 82oth year of the Common Era," which may or may not have been in our text. This corresponds to 1458-9 A.D.

[4] The Pāli here proceeds, in a somewhat different order: "Rāmādhipati, who, assuming the title of Sīripavaramahādhammarājādhirāja, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of the Môn country, which comprised the three provinces of Kusimamaṇḍala, Haṁsavatīmaṇḍala, and Muttimamaṇḍala. He was the lord of a white elephant, whose colour was like that of the white esculent water-lily, or of the *jasminum multiflorum*, or of the autumnal moon, and he was replete with faith and many other qualities. He was well acquainted with the languages of various countries, and with many manual arts, such as masonry and carpentry. He was, moreover, learned and well read, and was versed in the Tipiṭaka and the sciences of *takka, byākaraṇa, chanda, alaṅkāra*, astrology, medicine, and arithmetic, pertaining to the Vedasā." (This last word seems to be for "Vedas.")

[5] So literally, but it is apparently sometimes extended to the Buddhist Canon (which is, however, separately mentioned in the Pāli and probably was in our text). The translator of the Pāli takes the expression as qualifying these sciences, as it were "the Vedic sciences of," etc. Our text has the Pāli terms, slightly varied in order.

[6] The Pāli here has "the king."

deep faith in the religion of the Teacher, and the following thoughts arose in his mind: "The *upasampadā* ordination is dependent on that of *pabbajā*, and the basis of the religion itself is the *upasampadā* ordination, which in order to be appropriate, inviolable, and valid must] (l. 37) be possessed of five characteristics,[1] [namely, *simāsampatti*, *parisasampatti*, *vatthusampatti*, *ñattisampatti*, and *anusāvanasampatti*. Of these characteristics there exist means of attesting the validity of *vatthusampatti* and *ñattisampatti*, owing respectively to the ability of a candidate for the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination to fulfil the condition of the former, and to the accessibility of qualified *ācariyās*, who could recite the *kammavācā* with correct intonation."] [2] . . . . . (l. 38) there are three characteristics . . . . . [The king, in repeatedly investigating and considering the ruling of] (l. 39) the Vinaya [as regards the consecration of a *simā* which would be in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, as interpreted by the authors of *aṭṭhakathās*, *ṭīkās* and *pakaraṇas*, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the *aṭṭhakathā* by means of the *pāḷi*, the *ṭīkā* by means of the *aṭṭhakathā*, and the *pakaraṇa* by one another, and at the same time collating what was gone before with what came after:—the Vinayapāḷi, the Vinayaṭṭhakathā, the Vinayaṭīkā called Sāratthadīpaṇī, the Vinayaṭīkā called Vimativinodaṇī, the Vinayaṭīkā written by Vajīrabuddhithera, the Mātikaṭṭhakathā called Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī together with its *ṭīkā*, the Vinayavinicchayapakaraṇa together with its *ṭīkā*, the Vinayasaṅgahapakaraṇa, the Simālaṅkārapakaraṇa, and the Simālaṅkārasaṅgaha.[3]

To the king, who] (l. 42) repeatedly [investigated and] considered [this question, the ruling of the Vinaya appeared to be thus:—"If it is desired to consecrate a *simā* on a selected site, whether it be a *pakaṭigāmakhetta* or a

[1] The original word is *sampatti*, which may be taken in the sense of "condition, excellence, attainment."

[2] It seems very doubtful whether our text had room for all the foregoing. The Pāli proceeds: "But by what criterion can I ascertain the non-existence of *simāsampatti* and *parisasampatti*?" In this English version of the Pāli there is an accidental omission of any reference to the validity of *anusāvanasampatti*; but the Pāli original adds it to the other two whose validity could be ascertained. Possibly our text put this part about "the three characteristics" after the other.

[3] The above passage in the Pāli corresponds to an indefinite number of lines in our text, of which, those whereof any traces remain have been numbered 40 and 41 in the text; but as there is nothing translatable left in them, these numbers do not appear in the translation.

visuṁgāmakhetta,][1] . . . . . (l. 43) men (and) women, the fact that . . . . . (l. 44) and the fact that it is a site (obstructing ?)[2] . . . . . (l. 45) (a *simā* ?), if there are boundaries of the sites, (and) a village headman[3] who (takes ?) . . . . . (l. 46) also the revenues of some portion, desire to give to (other persons ?) . . . . . (l. 47) give the other (that ?) he may enjoy a new village whereof he may collect[4] the revenues . . . . . (l. 48) having (discoursed what they ?) . . . . . (to define who shall get ?)[4] the revenues. In a *visuṁgāmakhetta,* complete . . . . . (l. 49) having taken the piece of land, if it suited them, (and ?) the monks[5] (should ?) desire to make a *simā,* at the time when it was desired to make (it) . . . . . (l. 50) other . . . . . around. Having cut away the connecting branches of trees, etc., (and) having planted (boundary) marks around the piece of land where (they) desired to consecrate the *simā,* (when ?) . . . . . (l. 51) if (the way the boundary ?) runs is difficult to apprehend, though the circumference of the figure should not run otherwise than, for example, a figure of three sides (or) four sides, in . . . . . (l. 52) if the course of the boundary is easy to apprehend even though one cannot set

[1] It is difficult to fit the fragments of our text into the Pāli, which proceeds thus: "whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue, and which possesses the following characteristics, namely, that it is inaccessible to men and women; that it is favourable to the exercise of the four *iriyapathas;* that it is not a place subject to noise; and that the usufructuary right exercised in respect of it is capable of supporting life;—the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *pakaṭigāmakhetta* or *visuṁgāmakhetta* with other *gāmakhettas* should be cut down; and a number of boundary marks should be placed around the site selected for the consecration of the *simā,* should such *simā* be a *mahāsimā,* whose extent is difficult to apprehend and whose form is not well defined." Our text, while retaining some of these particulars, seems to expand others and introduce fresh matter.

[2] Reading and meaning doubtful.

[3] Meaning doubtful.

[4] Meaning doubtful owing to absence of the context.

[5] I have neglected the doubtful word *yata,* as its meaning is undetermined. If it is to be read *yati* ("ascetic, monk"), it adds nothing to the translation, being merely a synonym of *gam-i.* But cf. G 29, where the reading is certainly *yata.* Another view is that *yata* means "any (monks)." Cf. D 47.

up many boundary marks, (and one) desires to make a triangular figure[1] . . . . . (l. 53) (of) four sides, set up four boundary marks. Should (one) desire to make a figure of five sides, set up five boundary marks. If (one) desires to make numerous circumferences of figures,[2] . . . . . boundary marks (such as ?)[3] . . . . . boundary marks . . . . . (l. 54) (should) the circumference[2] of the figure not be (such that ?) it is easy to apprehend the course of the boundary of the *simā,* (even) if one should set up many boundary marks, there would be no advantage in setting up those many boundary marks.[4]

["The connecting branches of trees, etc., which are either within or without the boundary, should be cut down, and the extent of the *simā* clearly defined. Of all the monks residing within or without the boundary of that *gāmakhetta,* those who are worthy of the privilege should be inducted within the *hatthapāsa,* and the declarations of assent of those who are absent should be received, the remaining monks being excluded from the *gāmakhetta.* For the purpose of guiding travelling monks, guards should be stationed all round the *gāmakhetta*; and, in order to notify the fact publicly, flags and streamers should be planted at various places; and the boundaries should be proclaimed three times by the sounding of drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments. Eventually, the *simā* should be consecrated by having the *kammavācā* read with proper intonation. The consecration of]

[1] I am not sure that I have rendered this rather obscure passage correctly. The corresponding Pāli proceeds, much more concisely: "If, however, it is desired to consecrate a *khuddakasimā,* whose form is triangular and whose extent is easy to apprehend, three boundary marks should be placed. But if the form of the *simā* to be consecrated is square or rectangular, four boundary marks would suffice; and if the form is a polygon, the number of boundary marks should be in proportion." I have taken *tameṅ* in the sense of "boundary, circumference" (E.M. *tuṁwiṅ* I F 17, *tuṁwīṅ* IX N 5), not as connected with L.M. *tmeṅ,* either in the sense of "different" or "a variety." The latter meaning would make an intelligible translation, but I do not see how it would be consistent with the Pāli version.

[2] Here again the word *tameṅ* comes in. I am disposed to think that what I have rendered "numerous circumferences of" may really be meant to convey "polygonal," though I do not see my way to getting that sense out of the words as they stand. Another suggested rendering, taking *tameṅ* in the sense of "different," is: "If it is desired to make different figures of many (sides)." But this seems more remote from the Pāli version.

[3] Reading and meaning doubtful. The next word was probably a number.

[4] The fragments of Face B end here, with a paragraph mark.

C

[a *simā*, which is attended by such ceremonies] (l. 1) as aforesaid,[1] [is inviolable and valid; and the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are likewise inviolable and valid.

"The characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that during the four months of its continuance] (l. 2) (rain falls ?) once (in) each half of a month[2] . . . . . (l. 3) one . . . . . [3] *sammādhārāpavecchana*, the fact that rain (falls ?) . . . . . (l. 4) *sammādhārāpavecchana*, the fact that rain falls . . . . . (If after the lapse of ?) half a month rain falls, [it is the characteristic of a deficient rainy season, and if] (l. 5) rain falls [once every four days,] or rain falls once every three days, or rain falls once [every two days, or rain falls] every [day, it is the characteristic of an excessive rainy season.

"If the season is (?)] (l. 6) an equable rainy season (and) during the four months connected with[4] the time of Vassa, ... (whether) in a place that is a landing-place (or) a place that is not, ... (l. 7) (in) crossing a stream at that time the under robe of a nun should be wetted, as (one might) say[5] [to the extent of] one finger (breadth) or two finger (breadths), [such a stream acquires the status of a *nadī*.] Now, equable (l. 8) rainy seasons (are) of three kinds[6]: if during an equable rainy season (in which) rain falls once (in) each half of the month [during the four months connected with the time of Vassa] (l. 9) the under robe of a nun who crosses (a stream)[1] is wetted, that stream is a *mahānadī*.[2] If during an equable rainy season (in which) [rain falls once] every ten days [during the four] (l. 10) months of the time of Vassa the under robe of a nun who crosses (a stream)[1] is wetted, as (one might) say,[3] that stream is a *majjhimanadī*.[4] If during an equable rainy season (in which) [rain falls once] every five days, [the under robe] (l. 11) of a nun who crosses a stream[1] is wetted, that stream is a small stream.[5]

"If, again, in any stream, during an equable rainy season, [the under robe of a nun who crosses] (the stream)[1] (l. 12) is wetted, but during a deficient rainy season (it) is not wetted, inasmuch as a deficient rainy season is no criterion, [it should not be declared that] such a stream as aforesaid [is] not [a *nadī*,] (l. 13) (and if) during an equable rainy season, the under robe of a nun who crosses (the stream)[1] is not wetted, but during an excessive rainy season (it) is wetted, [inasmuch as] an excessive [rainy season is no criterion,] it is not proper to declare [such a stream] (l. 14) to be a *nadī*.

"The nature of a *jātassara*[6] is (that) it arises spontaneously: it cannot be made by anyone digging (it), [but] (l. 15) is filled [with water that flows from all round it.] Such a lake as aforesaid (is) called a *jātassara*. [If in] a [reservoir of such description,] during an equable rainy season, during the four months of Vassa, (l. 16) there is water [sufficient for the purpose of drinking or washing] feet (and) hands, it attains to (the status of) a *jātassara*.[7] . . . . . It can be called a *jātassara*. An equable rainy season (is) of three kinds . . . . . *mahājātassara*, (l. 17) *majjhimajātassara*, (and), *khuddakajātassara*, (are ?) three

[1] It is of course impossible to be quite sure that these two words are rightly fitted in here.

[2] The English version of the Pāli, which is based on a variant reading here (see l. 3 of our text) after "continuance" proceeds :—"an uninterrupted shower falls once every half month, or every fifth day; that of a deficient rainy season is, that a shower falls after the lapse of a half month; and that of an excessive rainy season is, that the intervening period between one shower and another is less than five days, that is to say, rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption)." Our text expands somewhat. After "every half month" the original Pāli text on the stone adds "or every tenth day." For "the lapse of a half month" we must understand "an interval of more than half a month."

[3] I can make nothing of the fragmentary *ratha*; *sammādhārāpavecchana* means, apparently, much the same as "an uninterrupted shower."

[4] Or, simply, "of," like the use of L.M. *dadak tau*.

[5] These four words are merely an idiom and might have been left untranslated.

[6] The Pāli, which otherwise agrees fairly closely in this passage, does not appear to contain this sentence.

[1] The Pāli here adds "at any place."

[2] A big stream.

[3] These four words are merely an idiom and might have been left untranslated.

[4] A stream of medium size.

[5] In the Pāli, *khuddakanadī*. It is curious that here the Pāli word is not given in our text, which translates it into its Mōn equivalent.

[6] That is, "a lake."

[7] After this point our text parts company with the Pāli, which says nothing here about the three kinds of *jātassaras* (big, medium and small), or of equable rainy seasons.

kinds . . . . . [If][1] a *jātassara*, in an equable rainy season, (l. 18) contains water [sufficient] for [these purposes,] (but) during a deficient rainy season, (or) in winter [or summer,] there is not [sufficient] water, it is (nevertheless) a *jātassara*. (But it is) not a *jātassara* . . . . . (if) (l. 19) during an equable rainy season, in the four months (connected with the time of Vassa?) there is no water, while during an excessive rainy season there is water (in it) . . . . . .

(l. 20) "Now this Môn country of ours is an excessively rainy one, [but how can one] (declare that[2] the nature?)[3] of this Môn country of ours is chronically[4] an excessively rainy one? According to the statement of the teachers (in) the Aṭṭhakathās . . . . . (l. 21) the extent[5] of the Vassa season is four months . . . . . (thus it is?) stated in the Aṭṭhakathās. But in this Môn country of ours the Vassa season (is) six months . . . . . (How can one?)[6] (l. 22) know (that?)[6] it is excessively rainy . . . . . (or?)[6] not? (l. 23) Inasmuch as the Aṭṭhakathās say [that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is] that rain falls, at the very utmost, once every five days, (it follows that if) rain should fall once every four days, or rain should fall once every three days, or rain should fall once every two days, or (rain?) (l. 24) should fall (every

[1] The Pāli here proceeds: "If a lake, which satisfies such a condition when the rainy season is an equable one, does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution when the rainy season is a deficient one, or during winter or summer, it should not be declared that such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jātassara*. If, during the four months of a rainy season which is an equable one, a lake does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, but satisfies this condition when the rainy season is an excessive one, such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jātassara*."

[2] The Pāli has: "but how could one know that its rainy season is an excessive one? That the rainy season comprises four months is thus declared in the Aṭṭhakathās:—'*yasmā hi vassānassa catūsu māsesu.*' But in this country of Rāmaññadesa the rainy season comprises six months."

[3] Doubtful reading; and perhaps the doubtful word (*tadaḥ*) here means "the fact (that)" not "(that) the nature (of)."

[4] Or "truly," "indeed"?

[5] Or "state, nature," literally "being."

[6] I am doubtful whether I have rightly added these words to our fragmentary text. The Pāli does not help, for it merely has: "Because it is said that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that rain falls every fifth day, methinks that the characteristic of an excessive rainy season is, that rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day."

day?),[1] that is called the characteristic of an excessive rainy season. . . . . .[2] is reached.

"Now in this Môn country of ours (it) sometimes (happens that) (rain falls once?)[3] every four days, or (l. 25) rain falls once every three days, or rain falls once every two days, or rain falls every day. Sometimes (l. 26) during ten days, too, without interruption, if the rays of the sun wish to penetrate somewhat, (they) are quite unable (to do so),[4] throughout the whole expanse of the sky all is dark (and) dull[5] . . . . . (l. 27) pouring forth, rain falls. Inasmuch as it is thus, it is fitting to note that this Môn country of ours is characterized by an excessive rainy season. Thus, in (l. 28) this Môn country of ours, either in (the case of) a large *nadī*,[6] or in (the case of) a large *jātassara*,[6] as defined by[7] the rainfall in an equable rainy season, though the rain (l. 29) may be . . . . . [8] if in such a large *nadī* as aforesaid (or) such a large *jātassara* as aforesaid, an *udakukkhepa* is made, persons (may validly perform?)[9] such ceremonies as the *upasampadā* ordination."

[1] This restoration, though supported by the Pāli, seems rather doubtful, as there is perhaps hardly room for it.

[2] I can make nothing of the doubtful words here.

[3] This restoration is conjectural, and it is doubtful whether there is room for it; but it seems to be required by the context and by the Pāli, which has: "In this country of Rāmaññadesa, sometimes once every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption), sometimes once every seventh or tenth day, the rays of the sun are invisible, and the sky becomes cloudy and murky, and a continuous shower of rain falls. Therefore it is established beyond doubt that the rainy season of Rāmaññadesa is an excessive one." It should be noted that our text is an expanded paraphrase, but says nothing about "every seventh (day)."

[4] That is, "when there is no sunshine at all."

[5] The words following in the ink-impression are doubtful, but may include "clouds," which cause the rainfall to flow (*jawar*, which I have rendered "pouring forth").

[6] Here our text uses the Pāli technical terms for "stream" and "lake," respectively.

[7] Literally, "by the kind of." The reference is to the tests mentioned in ll. 5-9, 15-18, though in the fragments of our text there is no specific definition of a *mahājātassara* preserved.

[8] Perhaps, "deficient in that season"?

[9] Conjecturally restored. The Pāli corresponding to this whole passage has: "For the reasons stated above, in this country of Rāmaññadesa, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner described, the under robe of a nun crossing a stream of such description, at any place, is wetted. On such a *mahānadī* an *udakukkhepasimā* may be consecrated; and the *upasampadā* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable. If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls as described above, a lake of such description contains water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution: on such a *mahājātassara* an *udakukkhepasimā* may be consecrated; and the *upasampadā* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable."

. . . . . (l. 30) the ruling of the Vinaya was clear in (the mind of His Majesty ?)[1] Rāmādhipati.[2] Then the following considerations occurred to His Majesty Rāmādhipati:—"At the time that [it is desired to consecrate a *simā*] (l. 31) some [clergy], if upon a *gāmakhetta* . . . . . within the *gāmakhetta*, if within the boundaries also (they ?) have (kept watch ?),[3] if (there are) monks who live within the boundaries . . . . . and (l. 32) monks who live outside the boundaries . . . . . (and they) have not caused (them) to be brought (down into ?)[4] the *hatthapāsa*[5]; (and) have not expelled (them) out of the *gāmakhetta*; (and they) consecrate . . . . . (l. 33) if . . . . . so, (there is) *parisavipatti* . . . . . (why is it said that there is ?)[3] *parisavipatti* ?[6]

"If[6] in a *gāmasimā* . . . . . (l. 34) planted boundary marks . . . . . within those boundaries, a *gāmasimā* other than the . . . . . *gāmasimā* . . . . . (it is ?) (l. 35) proper (to define by getting ?) . . . . . that *gāmakhetta* (the line which it is desired ?)[7] . . . . . (l. 36) to the king, (define ?) . . . . . which is within (those boundaries; because one desires to ?).[7] . . . . . (l. 37) (not ?) . . . .

[1] Conjecturally restored.

[2] This sentence does not seem to be literally represented in the Pāli, which proceeds: "The following thoughts arose in the mind of Rāmādhipati, to whom the valid manner in which a *simā* should be consecrated had appeared as described above:—'There are some Theras who, wishing to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* the monks residing inside the boundary, but without effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., all the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*. The consecration of such a *simā* by the Theras is invalid by reason of *parisavipatti*.'"

[3] Doubtful reading and meaning.

[4] Conjecturally restored.

[5] Owing to the fragmentary state of our text, I have not been able to piece it together with the Pāli version, of which it seems to be an expanded paraphrase. The same applies to much of what follows.

[6] The Pāli proceeds: "If, in order to alienate the revenue of a selected place, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue and which is situated on a *pakaṭigāmakhetta*, the boundaries are again defined and the place itself is given away by the ruling authorities: such a place acquires the status of a *visuṁgāmakhetta*. The consecration of a *baddhasimā* is consummated at the conclusion of the recitation of the *kammavācā*, and not merely by the proclamation of its boundaries. Therefore the land referred to above, which is situated inside the boundary, does not acquire the status of a *visuṁgāma*, because of its perpetually forming a part and parcel of the *gāmasimā*; nor does the *simā* become a *baddhasimā*, because the lands, both inside and outside the boundary, constitute but one *gāmasimā*."

[7] Meaning doubtful.

. . . . . is a *baddhasimā* . . . . reciting the service of the consecration of a *simā* . . . . . (l. 38) cannot . . . . . (part ?) which is within that boundary, if . . . . . (l. 39) (still ?) is . . . . . it cannot be said to be another (piece of land, it cannot be said to be a *baddhasimā* ?) . . . . . (l. 40) to be . . . . . If the persons who dwell within the boundary[1] . . . . . (l. 41) inasmuch as the consecration of the *simā* is *vagga*[2] . . . . . [the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā*] (l. 42) are void [by reason of] *simāvipatti*.[3] [There are also] (some) clergy, [who ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of some place selected by them, but which does not possess the characteristics of a *gāma*. Considering that such a place is a *visuṁgāmakhetta*,] (l. 43) when they have decided on it[4] and the time has come for the consecration of a *simā*, (they do so ?) [by inducting within the *hatthapāsa* only the monks residing on the whole of the *pakaṭigāmakhetta*.] . . . . . (l. 44) . . . . . .[5] (l. 45) making (it) separate, to be a *visuṁgāma* . . . . . [The consecration of the *simā* by these clergy is void by reason of *parisavipatti*. Therefore, because of *simāvipatti*,] (l. 46) the *upasampadā* ordination which they perform in [such a *simā* is invalid.[6] There are also other clergy, who, wishing to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, do not cut down the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *gāmakhetta* with] (l. 47) the other *gāmakhettas* which are around it,

[1] The Pāli has: "If all the monks residing on that very *gāmasimā*, who are deserving of the privilege, are not inducted within the *hatthapāsa*; if the declarations of assent of those who are entitled to send them are not received; if those who deserve exclusion are not excluded; and if only the monks residing within the boundary are inducted within the *hatthapāsa*; the consecration of the *simā* (attended by such ceremonies) is violable and not in accordance with the law."

[2] This word, which appears in the Pāli as *vaggaṁ*, seems to mean something like "void."

[3] That is, "by reason of the invalidity of its consecration."

[4] The reading is doubtful. The Pāli has: "they select a site on it, and consecrate a *simā* by inducting," etc.

[5] In this line there are only some doubtfully read and isolated words, such as "cause," "also," "revenue" (?), "if," which I have been unable to fit into any framework. Much the same applies to the next line. The Pāli proceeds as shown in the text.

[6] The Pāli has: "the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are invalid."

[but carry out their object after effecting purification through the act of] (l. 48) inducting [within] the *hatthapāsa* [the monks residing on that *gāmakhetta*. By reason of *parisavipatti*,] the consecration [of the *simā* by these monks is invalid. As] (l. 49) there is mutual confusion[1] [between two *baddhasimās*] because of their being connected by the branches of trees, etc., [so there is mutual confusion[1] between] a *baddhasimā* and a *gāmasimā*, [or between two *gāmasimās*, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, etc. By reason of] (l. 50) (*simāvipatti*?),[2] the consecration of the *simā* is void, (and) because the consecration of the *simā* is void,[3] (the *upasampadā* ordination performed therein is invalid?).[4]

["There are other clergy, who perform the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in an *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on rivers and lakes that are devoid of their respective characteristics (judged by the conditions prevailing) in the exceedingly rainy region of the Môn country. By reason of *simāvipatti*, the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed by these clergy are void. As to this exceedingly rainy region of the Môn country: during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, the under robe of a nun crossing a river, at any place, may not get wet (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal); but owing to excessive rainfall in this country, the under robe will get wet. Judging, therefore, by the wetting of the under robe, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a river acquires the status of a *nadī*? Again, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, a lake may not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal); but owing to excessive rainfall in this country, during the four months of the rainy season, it will contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution. Judging, therefore, by the sufficiency of water in such a lake for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a lake acquires the status of a *jātassara*?]

[1] The English version of the Pāli says "junction," but the word *saṅkarabhu* appears to imply "confusion." The curious word *ndā* seems to be a particle. Cf. D 28, 36, 38, 47, 50.

[2] The Pāli proceeds: "the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies performed in such a *simā* are void."

[3] End of the fragments of Face C. [4] Conjecturally restored with the help of the Pāli.

D

["There are also some clergy, who, desiring to consecrate a *simā* on a *gāmakhetta*, cut down the branches of trees, etc., connecting that *gāmakhetta* with others, and carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapāsa*, etc., all the monks residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gāmakhetta*. But whenever][1] (l. 2) the *upasampadā* ordination [and other ceremonies are performed in such a *simā*, the connecting branches of trees, etc., of that *gāmasimā* are not cut down. The *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies of these clergy are, therefore, void] (l. 3) by reason of *parisavipatti*, [caused through the confusion (of boundaries) of such *baddhasimā* and *gāmasimā*. If, on the other hand, these clergy perform the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in a valid *baddhasimā*, or on a *pakaṭigāmakhetta*] (l. 4) which possesses [the characteristics of a *gāma*, or on] a *visuṁgāmakhetta*, which possesses (l. 5) [the characteristics of] a *gāma*, [or on a *mahānadī* possessing the characteristics of a *nadī*,] or on a *mahājātassara*[2] which attains to [the characteristics of a *jātassara*,] or [on a *samudda*,] which attains to the characteristics of a *samudda*, [they may constitute a Chapter,][3] . . . . . (l. 6) those ceremonies, in a *baddhasimā* which (is void according to?) . . . . . on a *visuṁgāmakhetta* which is devoid of[4] the characteristics of a *gāma* . . . . . (l. 7) on a small *jātassara* that has not the characteristics of a *jātassara* . . . . . by reason of (such?) circumstances as aforesaid . . . . . (l. 8) are void on account of *parisavipatti*." (Thus?)[5] . . . . . .

[1] No entire word is legible in l. 1 of this Face, though one may conjecture *kle'*, which probably formed part of the expression "cut down," *supra*.

[2] The Pāli omits the *mahā*.

[3] Owing to differences in syntactical order, I have not attempted to fit the fragments of our text, that follow on here, into the framework of the Pāli, which proceeds: "but the functions performed by them are void by reason of *parisavipatti*, caused through their having been ordained in a *simā* whose consecration was invalid for the reasons indicated above, or on a *visuṁgāmakhetta* that does not possess the characteristics of a *gāma*, or on a *khuddākanadī* that does not possess the characteristics of a *nadī*, or on a *khuddakajātassara* that does not possess the characteristics of a *jātassara*."

[4] Literally, "separated from."

[5] The Pāli here is somewhat more concise and has: "Then King Rāmādhipati became aware of the existence of *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies in Rāmaññadesa, and thought thus:—"

considered . . . . . , (which were connected with ?) . . . . . (l. 9) came to know of (the *simāvipatti* and ?) *parisavipatti* which existed. Then His Majesty *Rāmādhipati* (thought thus ?):—"The *simāvipatti* (and) *parisavipatti* which are connected with the *upasampadā* ordination[1] . . . . . (l. 10) (to ?) me, appear clearly thus. In this Môn country of ours (clergy ?) . . . . . (monks ?) who are well versed in the Tipiṭaka, who are learned (and) able . . . . . (l. 11) in this Môn country, to our lords the leading monks[2] in general (it) appears . . . . . I should urge our lords to consider . . . . . (l. 12) having compared the older (and) the subsequent,[3] I should urge our lords to lay down a ruling . . . . . this *simā*."

Thus His Majesty Rāmādhipati[4] . . . . . (l. 13) all give a ruling (based on the) Vinaya (as to the) erection[5] of this *simā*. Then our lords the leading monks . . . . . considered the Pāḷi Vinaya together with (its Aṭṭhakathās ?)[6] . . . . . (l. 14) the *simāvipatti* (and) *parisavipatti* which existed, our lords the leading

[1] Here the Pāli has: "The *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies appear to me in the manner indicated above. Now there are in Rāmaññadesa and Haṁsavatīnagara many monks who are well versed in the Tipiṭaka, learned and able, and I am not sure whether the *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadā* ordination and other ceremonies appear to them in the same manner. It is, perhaps, advisable that I should ask all of them to investigate the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapiṭaka together with its *aṭṭhakathās* and *ṭīkās*, to compare and collate the *aṭṭhakathās* with the *pāḷi* texts, the *ṭīkā* with the *aṭṭhakathās* and what follows with what is gone before, and to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simā*." It does not seem possible that our text can have contained all this.

[2] The original has *gaṇācariya* which must have the same sense as L.M. *acā guin*, explained by Haswell as "a head priest of a district, a bishop."

[3] The reading is somewhat doubtful but is supported by the Pāli.

[4] Presumably one must supply "thought," or the like. The Pāli merely proceeds: "All the monks who were well versed in the Tipiṭaka were accordingly asked to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simā*. Then, in compliance with the request of King Rāmādhipati, all the monks who were well versed in the Tipiṭaka investigated the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapiṭaka, together with its *aṭṭhakathās* and *ṭīkās*, and through repeated comparison and collation perceived the existence of *simāvipatti* and *parisavipatti*, and communicated to the king the result of their enquiry as to the manner prescribed in the Vinaya."

[5] I am not sure that this is the sense of *taṅgū*. Perhaps it means a "straight" (or "direct") ruling (as to this *simā*).

[6] Conjecturally restored.

monks in general (having ?) . . . . . gave (?) the nature of the *simāvipatti* which existed (and) the *parisavipatti* . . . . . (l. 15) . . . . . .[1] In the end, when he had received the decision of our lords the Mahātheras[2] . . . . . His Majesty Rāmādhipati considered: "The religion (of the exalted Buddha should last ?) (l. 16) five thousand years, these say. At the present time the religion of the exalted Buddha has (lasted) two thousand (and) sixty-four[3] years . . . . . .[4] (l. 17) the religion, which is bound up with the *upasampadā* ordination, how can[5] it last until (the end ?) of the period of five thousand years? The state[6] of the religion . . . . . (l. 18) (being) impure (and) corrupt, as aforesaid, (and) we being aware (of it)[7] (if ?) we do not exert ourselves so as to purify the religion from all impurity (and) corruption, (and) all manner of doubt,[8] (l. 19) (we shall ?) assuredly (be wanting in devotion ?) to the religion of the exalted Buddha, we shall assuredly be wanting in affection to the exalted Buddha, we shall assuredly be wanting in reverence to the exalted Buddha . . . . . .

[1] I do not know the meaning of the word *laṅah* near the beginning of l. 15. The word also occurs in E 55, F 45, 49, 52, where it does not seem to add anything substantial to the sense of the context.

[2] The Pāli merely has: "The king said to himself: 'The excellent compilers of *aṭṭhakathās* have declared that the religion of Buddha will last 5000 years; but alas,'" etc.

[3] This agrees with the actual Pāli reading on the stone itself, but the MS. followed by Mr. Taw Sein Ko makes it 2047. Evidently the scribe was puzzled by the date, which cannot refer back to the time of Buddha's death but must run from the moment (traditionally 45 years earlier) when he received full enlightenment under the Bodhi tree and yields the date 1475-6 A.D. (= 837 of the Common Era of Burma; cf. E 38). Making this alteration, the Pāli proceeds: "only 2064 years have now passed away since the Enlightened One attained Buddhahood, and the religion has become impure, tainted with heresy and corruption, and the *upasampadā* ordination has also become invalid. This being the case, how can the religion last till the end of 5000 years?"

[4] I cannot translate the doubtfully read words at the end of this line.

[5] The word actually intended is not quite certain: cf. the text and note.

[6] Or, "the fact"?

[7] I have translated in this way in order to keep the sequence of the original: what is meant is, "if, being aware, of the corrupt state of the religion, we do not exert ourselves," etc. The Pāli has: "The king again reflected thus: 'Being aware of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the religion, methinks that, in order to ensure the continuance of the religion to the end of the period of 5000 years, it is essential that it should be purified by resuscitating the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination. However, if I do not exert myself, and remain indifferent, I shall be guilty of not having intense love for, or faith in, the Blessed Fully Enlightened One, and of being devoid of respect and reverence for him. It is, therefore, I think, expedient that the purification of the religion should be effected by me.'"

[8] That is, as to its validity in all essentials.

. . . . . (l. 20) (If ?) we can . . . . . introduce (?)[1] (and) plant an *upasampadā* ordination (which is free ?) from impurity, corruption and all manner of doubt, (and) which is the seed of religion,[2] . . . . .

that time that king founded the Jetavanavihāra; (he) was fond of a heretic[1] . . . . . .[2] [who] (l. 33) was an associate of wicked people and dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma monastery. (The king) caused him to enter into [the Jetavanavihāra] . . . . . [Thenceforward, the monks of the Jetavanavihāra monastery detached themselves from] (l. 34) the monks who dwelt in the Mahāvihāra and also from the monks who dwelt in [the Abhayagirivihāra] . . . . . [and thus] (l. 35) arose this one fraternity called the fraternity of the residents of the Jetavanavihāra. Thus . . . . . (l. 36) [six hundred] years [had not yet[3] elapsed since the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon, when] (there were three?) communities of monks in the island of Ceylon: the residents of the Mahāvihāra . . . . . .[4] (l. 37) one fraternity, was the fraternity . . . . . the three fraternities . . . . . [Among these fraternities,] (l. 38) the residents of the Mahāvihāra [were extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining] two fraternities [were neither pure nor orthodox][5] . . . . . (l. 39) who were deficient in moral conduct . . . . . who practised . . . . (l. 40)[6] . . . . . [Owing to this circumstance,] the religion [became impure and tainted with heresy and corruption.

[1] Or "heretics."

[2] It appears from the Pāli that the latter part of this *lacuna* must have contained something like "a monk named Tissathera, who." The Pāli further characterizes him as a man "of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he (*i.e.* the king) conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence."

[3] I have followed the wording of the English translation of the Pāli. Our text here has the word *ñiña*, "a very little" (to which the Pāli *kiñci* apparently corresponds). Perhaps it means that the 600 years had all but elapsed. As Mr. Taw Sein Ko pointed out in a footnote to his translation, these 600 years elapsed two years before the termination of the reign of the king mentioned in l. 31, *supra*.

[4] Here, no doubt, our text enumerated the other two fraternities, with, perhaps, some further description of them. This is not in the Pāli.

[5] The Pāli proceeds: "In course of time, however, in the island of Ceylon, the number of the orthodox monks gradually decreased, and their sect became weak, while the unorthodox monks continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices." Probably these last few words are represented by the beginning of l. 39 of our text.

[6] I am not sure of the sense of *ku jala*. It might mean "with thorns," a figurative way of expressing the evils that had grown up n the Church. But this does not seem quite satisfactory, though the reading appears to be certain.

"In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon, the 1708th year that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Master, and the eighteenth year since the inauguration of][1] (l. 41) King Sīrisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu [as ruler of the island of Ceylon, that king, by seeing the monks who, though professing the religion, did not conform to the rules of the order and followed evil] (l. 42) practices,[2] [became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in the religion, and he thought thus:—'If such an one as I, knowing the existence of] (l. 43) the impurity, [heresy, and] corruption[3] [that have arisen in the religion, do not exert myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that] (l. 44) (I) do not reverence (the Buddha?)[4] . . . . . [It is, perhaps expedient that I should afford support to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who are orthodox, whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and whose superior is] (l. 45) Mahākassapathera, who dwells [in Udumbaragiri; and that, as Asoka, king of righteousness, with the assistance of (l. 46) Moggaliputtatissamahāthera, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox monks who declared that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavādī, and effected the purification of the religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 60,000 impure and sinful monks who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, even so should I purify the religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of] (l. 47) all the impure monks who are unorthodox,[5] [who do not conform to the rules of the Order and are followers of evil practices][6] . . . . . (l. 48) (of) the three fraternities I should make one fraternity, (and) any monks[7] who are . . . . . .'

[1] It may be doubted whether there was room in our text for all the foregoing chronological details. The date is 1164-5 A.D.

[2] Our text has the word *paṭipat* twice, presumably in correspondence with the Pāli *apaṭipatti-duppaṭipattiyo*.

[3] Our text has the words as adjectives, no doubt qualifying *sāsanā*, "religion."

[4] The Pāli, after "that," proceeds: "my love for, or faith in, the Fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for him, are not intense." Very likely our text had the substance of all this.

[5] The Pāli has: "the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful monks," etc. As to *yata* (or *yati* ?), cf. B 49 n.

[6] The Pāli continues: "and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra the only sect (in my kingdom)."

[7] Here *yata* occurs again.

"[The king][1] (l. 49) having (thus ?) reflected, entirely expelled all the impure monks that were unorthodox; any that . . . . . (l. 50) purified the religion. From the time that these kings[2] purified the religion, the religion in the island of Ceylon was bound up with . . . . . (l. 51) until the present time.

"Since[3] (that) is so, we shall make a request to our lords the monks . . . . . (l. 52) the religion from the island of Ceylon. We will cause them to return (and) establish the religion in this Môn country of ours," His Majesty Rāmādhipati said (and)[4] . . . . . .

[Accordingly King Rāmādhipati invited the twenty-two Theras, headed by Moggalāna, and addressed them thus: "Reverend Sirs, the *upasampadā* ordination of the monks of the Môn country now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to the end of 5000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the religion in the island of Ceylon up to the present day, there has been existing in that island an exceedingly pure sect of monks, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, you go to the island of Ceylon, and, after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the monks of the Mahāvihāra, a Chapter who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the *upasampadā* ordination in the *udakukkhepasimā* consecrated on the Kalyāṇī River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath; and if you make this form of the

[1] The Pāli proceeds: "acted accordingly, purified the religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the monks. In after times, with a view to purifying the religion, Vijayabāhurāja and Parakkamabāhurāja caused (similar) covenants to be made. From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in the island of Ceylon a sect of monks who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahāvihāra, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed in a proper manner to the rules of the Order."

[2] Or "this king."

[3] The Pāli has: "I (Rāmādhipati) shall, therefore, invite in a respectful manner learned and qualified monks to receive the extremely pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination in the island of Ceylon, and to establish it in this country of Rāamññadesa. By inducing men of good family, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it, and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination, the religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5000 years." It would seem that our text did not contain the whole of this.

[4] End of the legible part of Face D.

upasampadā ordination the seed of the religion, as it were, plant it, and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this Môn country, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the religion will become pure and last till the end of 5000 years. Reverend Sirs, by your going to the island of Ceylon, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in the island of Ceylon,][1]

E

"(you) will be able (to see with your eyes ?), (you) will be able (to venerate ?) . . . . . (l. 2) the . . . . . cetī, the Sīlācetī, the Kalyāṇīcetī, etc. My lords will be able to . . . . . (l. 3) Thus a flood of much merit will be able to accrue to our lords . . . . . (l. 4) our (lords ?)." Thus did His Majesty make a request to our lords the Theras . . . . . [To this the Theras replied: "Mahārāja, your excellent request is indeed in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the religion][2] . . . . . (When we ?) (l. 5) have taken steps[3] to go (and) receive the *upasampadā* ordination, which is the seed of religion . . . . . (in the island of ?) (l. 6) Ceylon, (when the ?) *upasampadā* ordination which is in our station,[4] (is one ?) that is free from

[1] It seems more than doubtful whether the whole of the above passage from the Pāli version can have been represented in our text, particularly as the substance of some of it appears lower down. It would seem that the Môn text arranged the order differently. The Pāli, however, now proceeds, with some difference in detail: "an opportunity will be afforded to you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bodhi trees, headed by the one which was the southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), to the Ratanacetiya and other shrines, and to the Cetiya of the Holy Foot-print of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantakūṭa Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech of you the favour of going to the island of Ceylon."

[2] It is doubtful whether our text contained the preceding, as it appears to be duplicated further on. The Pāli proceeds: "the visit to the island of Ceylon will increase our great accumulation of merit."

[3] Literally, "done deeds."

[4] That is, the status of a monk. But I am not clear as to the precise sense of *santhāna* here, as the Pāli *saṇṭhāna* has so many different meanings, and the Pāli version omits all this passage. It also seems possible to translate: "when the *upasampadā* ordination, in ourselves" (or "in our minds") "is free from doubt."

(doubt?) . . . . . (we shall be able to confer it?) (l. 7) upon persons of (good) family who have the desire (to receive) the *upasampadā* ordination at our hands.[1] We . . . . . (l. 8) these (persons?), which is free from doubt, until the end of the period (of 5000 years?) . . . . . (l. 9) we shall be able to receive the doctrines, by reason of being able to visit the island of Ceylon . . . . . (l. 10) we shall be able to venerate (and) make offerings to the holy sites, such as the Ratanacetī, the merit . . . . . (l. 11) inasmuch as (Your Majesty's request?) is indeed in accordance with the law, it is fitting[2] (that) we grant a favour to Your Majesty." Thus (our) lords (the Theras spake?) . . . . . (l. 12) our lords the twenty-two Theras.[3] For the purpose of offering to the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha, an umbrella[4] . . . . . (l. 13) a . . . . . to put on the top of the peak of the umbrella, (of the) value of a hundred (and) forty[5] of silver, a [stone][6] alms-bowl, [embellished with sapphires of great value and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 *phalas*; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 *phalas*; a golden vase weighing 30 *phalas*; a dodecagonal] (l. 14) betel-box[7] of

1 Literally, "in our presence."

2 I am not sure that this is the force of *san* here. The sentence might be taken to mean "we do indeed grant," etc., which is closer to the Pāli: "'We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit the island of Ceylon.' Saying thus, the Theras gave a promise."

3 I have not attempted to translate *reṅ* at the beginning of this line, as it may only be the last syllable of some word unknown. It might mean "arranged, marshalled," perhaps. The Pāli differs considerably here: "On receiving the reply of the Theras, the king directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic—a stone alms-bowl, embellished," etc., omitting all reference to the umbrella.

4 Or "umbrellas"? Probably not: cf. l. 55, *infra*.

5 No unit of value is mentioned, but I presume that what is understood is identical with the *phala* of the Pāli version, which is really a unit of weight and would therefore be the same for silver as for gold. The Môn equivalent is *daker* (l. 14), L.M. *dakew*, defined by Haswell as "a tical, a weight a little less than half an ounce, the hundredth part of a viss, a rupee." It might be possible to render the words in the text by "the value of the silver (being) 140," but I do not think that can be intended.

6 It is doubtful whether our text had this, or many of the details that follow, though the total in l. 14 shows that the same objects are enumerated in both versions.

7 I do not know the meaning of *nāṅ*.

gold, (weighing)[1] thirty (*phalas*)[1]; a reliquary of gold (weighing)[1] thirty-three (*phalas*)[2]; total two hundred (and) three *daker* of gold; golden flowers . . . . . (l. 15) a . . . . . ; (and) a glittering[3] reliquary. For the purpose of offering to the Holy Foot-print, the Bodhi trees, beginning with . . . . . (l. 16) the Ratanacetī, etc., fifty large gilt waxen candles; fifty ungilded candles, eight(y-five?) dyed cloths,[4] . . . . . .

[For presenting to the Mahātheras][5] (l. 17) in the island of Ceylon, cloth . . . . . one red *kambar*[6]; one golden coloured *kambar*; three motley *kambars*; . . . . . (cotton?) *tabay*[7] . . . . . (l. 18) one bluish[8] . . . . . (three?) fleecy cotton *pandī*[9]; . . . . . *sāy*[9] cotton *tabay*[9] . . . . . twenty big boxes of twilled work;[10] four stone pitchers; six earthenware[11] pitchers of motley colour; . . . . . .

1 Our text leaves "weighing" and "*phalas*" to be understood, giving merely the numbers.

2 The Pāli proceeds: "and constructed in the shape of a *cetiya*; a relic-receptacle made of crystal; a relic-receptacle embellished with pieces of glass resembling *masāragalla* gems; and golden flowers." The order of our text differs somewhat.

3 I am not sure of the meaning of *paccer* (here assumed to be L.M. *bcī*), but the reference seems to be to the last of the reliquaries mentioned in the Pāli version.

4 The Pāli has: "For the purpose of offering to the Ratanacetiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print, and to the twenty-two Bodhi trees, the following articles were prepared:—85 canopies of various colours; 50 large gilt waxen candles; and the same number of small gilt waxen candles."

5 The Pāli proceeds: "of the island of Ceylon the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture: 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white."

6 This is the Pāli *kambalaṁ*, meaning either "a blanket" or "a woollen garment," in this case probably the latter. But it does not agree with the Pāli, which speaks only of cottons and silks.

7 The meaning of this word is undetermined, but it presumably refers to some kind of garment.

8 Or "dark blue"? The meaning has not been strictly determined.

9 The meanings of these words have not been determined.

10 L.M. *lāai* is the name of a species of reed with which such boxes are made. It appears from the Pāli that in this case they were betel-boxes; it has: "20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhuñja; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers, manufactured in Cinadesa; and 20 fans manufactured in Cinadesa." But for the "eight" the real reading of the stone itself (and of one MS.) is "six," as in our text.

11 The reading and meaning of *paṅgān* are doubtful; but cf. L.M. *paṅān*, Burmese *pukan*, which denote earthenware dishes, bowls, etc.

. . . . . (l. 19) a letter addressed to our lords (the clergy) of Ceylon in general . . . . . thus did His Majesty prepare: "His Majesty Rāmādhipati, with great veneration . . . . . [1] (l. 20) dwelling in the island of Ceylon, these offerings for the purpose of offering to the Tooth Relic, which I (have) caused (to be sent?), let them be offered to the Tooth Relic. These [2] (twenty-two?) Theras (whom I have caused?) (l. 21) to go, let them view the Tooth Relic, let them adore the Tooth Relic also. After adoring the Tooth Relic, [and making offerings to it, the twenty-two Theras and their disciples will proceed] (l. 22) to elect [from among the fraternity] which dwells in the Mahāvihāra [3] [a Chapter of monks] who are free from impurity (and) corruption,[4] (and) in an *udakukkhepasimā* arranged on the Kalyāṇī River [5] . . . . . (l. 23) let our (lords?) (the said Theras) be allowed to receive the *upasampadā* ordination."[6] Thus did His Majesty prepare a letter to be sent to the clergy in general.

For a present to be given to the king, [Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon,[7] two sapphire] (rings,[8] of the value of) (l. 24) two hundred (*phalas*)[9] of silver, four ruby rings,[8] (of the) value of four hundred (and) thirty (*phalas*)[9] of silver, total, six rings, of the value of six hundred (and) thirty (*phalas*)[9] of silver;

[1] We must, presumably, supply either "(for) the clergy," or "(for) the holy sites," in the latter case substituting "situated" for "dwelling." The Pāli, for this passage, has: "Rāmādhipati, the Lord of Rāmaññadesa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greetings to Their Reverences the Mahātheras of the island of Ceylon, and thus addressed them by letter: 'Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other relics, I have sent monks with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings.'"

[2] The corresponding Pāli has: "With the twenty-two Theras and their disciples, I have sent Citradūta and Rāmadūta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it," etc.

[3] The Pāli has: "who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery."

[4] The Pāli has: "free from censure and reproach."

[5] The Pāli adds: "where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath."

[6] The Pāli adds: "May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter," ending, "Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the Mahātheras of the island of Ceylon."

[7] There was probably no room in our text for these four words.

[8] The Pāli has: "sapphires" and *two* "rubies," without any reference to "rings," but our text is explicit on that point.

[9] See the note on l. 13, *supra*. The Pāli has the word here also, but it does not give the total value of the jewellery, while our text does.

four (pieces of) *khre tān lak sak*[1] silk; (of) *apā*[1] . . . . . silk, (l. 25) one; (of) variegated "parrot's wing"[2] silk, two; (of) black *lam-ek*[1] silk, two; (of) "parrot's wing" *lam-ek*[1] silk, one; (of) gold-coloured silk, one; (of) red *lam-ek* silk . . . . . (one?)[3] (l. 26) (of) . . . . . one; twenty variegated fine *byau*[4] cloths; two (hundred?) woollen coverlets[5] . . . . . were prepared. A letter (on a) gold tablet[6] . . . . . .

(l. 27) . . . . . .

. . . . . (l. 28) "(make offerings to?) . . . . . .

. . . . . (l. 29) together with my servants[7] . . . . . .

. . . . . cause[8] . . . . . .

. . (l. 30) having worshipped[9] . . . . . on the Kalyāṇī River, where the exalted Buddha bathed[10] . . . . . (l. 31) the

[1] The meanings of these words are undetermined. It would appear that the Pāli here gives its account in a different order, beginning with the pieces of China cloth, which it specifies, and going on to the silk cloth, which it does not. Our text does just the reverse. But in neither do the items specified amount to the total given in the Pāli. Further, there are discrepancies of reading in the Pāli text of the stone itself as compared with the version on which the English translation is based, the former having *vakkhapiṭṭhahatthapādathānesu* and *vattavaṇṇaṁ maṭṭham ekam ghana-Cinapaṭṭañca*, while the latter has *gīvakkhakaṭinitambapādaṭṭhānesu* and *rattavaṇṇa-vāyimapupphikamekaṁ pelava-Cinapaṭṭañca*. The English version reads: "four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from head to foot; three pieces of thick, embroidered, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour; in all 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called *pavitti*, and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases."

[2] That is, "green." Apparently in L.M. this became *sneṅ ṅek*, and, colloquially, *sṅek* (as in Haswell).

[3] Doubtful, but indicated by the *y* at the beginning of l. 26. It is not clear whether an item has not been altogether lost in the *lacuna* that follows.

[4] Meaning undetermined.

[5] Or "blankets." But the Pāli says "mats."

[6] The Pāli proceeds: "The letter addressed to Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon, was in import similar to that addressed to the Mahātheras of Ceylon, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold." Our text, however, not content with this summary statement, apparently gave the contents of the letter in some detail in ll. 27-32, *infra*. Unfortunately the greater part is lost.

[7] The reference is to Rāmadūta and Citradūta (in the Môn text °*dutān*) whose names seem to be dimly discernible in this line, and who were sent along with the monks. See note on l. 20, *supra*.

[8] Or, "give,"?

[9] The Tooth Relic: see l. 21, *supra*.

[10] Cf. note on l. 23, *supra*.

king of Ceylon having caused to be selected[1] . . . . . in the presence[2] of our lords the clergy . . . . . (l. 32) . . . . . "[3]

Having said thus,[4] His Majesty prepared a letter (on a) gold tablet to be given to the king of Ceylon . . . . . [Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the king presented the twenty-two Theras with the following articles[5]:—twenty-two carpets made of Burma wool;] (l. 33) twenty-two variegated [leather rugs;] twenty-two variegated boxes of twilled work[6] (with) covers; forty-four [boxes of] fine cotton cloth[7] [for making the *ticīvara* robes; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage. The twenty-two monks, who were the disciples of the Theras, were each] (l. 34) presented with [a piece of cloth called *kaṭiputta*, and a thick, embroidered, carpet manufactured in Burma.]

All the twenty-two Theras together with these twenty-two disciples [were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Citradutān and Rāmadutān, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above-mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents] (l. 35) to be given to the clergy of Ceylon, the presents to be given to the king of Ceylon, (and) the letter (on) a gold tablet to be given to the king of Ceylon. [Two hundred *phalas*[8] of gold were given to the emissaries] (l. 36) in case scarcity of food should occur, so that our lords (the monks)[9] should be secured from distress and should be enabled to obtain the four requisites . . . . . (l. 37) The eleven [Theras,] headed by Moggalānathera, together with (their) eleven disciples were arranged to embark on Rāmadutān's ship;

1 Cf. ll. 21, 22, *supra*, where, however, the selection of the ordination Chapter is left to the monks themselves. Our text may mean merely that the king is to allow the monks to make the selection.

2 Cf. l. 7, *supra*, and note, as to the meaning. The reference is to the ordination of the monks by the Ceylon clergy.

3 The meaning of the doubtfully read *kabu* is undetermined.

4 The real meaning is that the king caused a letter "to this effect" to be prepared.

5 Our text may have expressed the foregoing somewhat more briefly, and it also gives the items in a different order. In the Pāli the "44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making *ticīvara* robes" are mentioned first.

6 These were betel-boxes: see note on l. 18, *supra*.

7 This rendering is rather conjectural, so far as the Môn words are concerned, but is supported by the Pāli.

8 See l. 14 n., *supra*.

9 The Pāli text does not appear to contain the words "and their disciples" of the English version.

. . . . . [while the remaining eleven Theras, headed by Mahāsīvalithera, together with their disciples,] (l. 38)[1] embarked on the ship of Citradutān.

Our lords having thus embarked, the ship of Rāmadutān, (in the year) 837[2] of the Common Era, [left the mouth of the Yoga[3] River on Sunday, the eleventh day of the waning half of the month of Māgha,[4] and went out to sea. The ship, in which Citradutān embarked, however,] (l. 39) left the mouth of the Yoṅ[3] on Monday, the twelfth day of the waning (half) of the month (of Māgha ?).[5] On Friday, the eighth day of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna,[6] (it) [reached, through skilful navigation, the port of Kalambu. When] (he) [heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), on the new-moon *uposatha* day of the month of] (l. 40) Phālguna[7] the king of Ceylon sent down (people) to welcome our lords the monks[8]; (and) His Majesty Rāmādhipati's letter (on) a gold tablet (having been read aloud ?) . . . . . [The king, having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the Theras and Citradutān,[9] arose from his seat, and with his own hands offered] (l. 41) betel together with camphor[10] to our lords, (and) having given a friendly welcome[11] to our lords, (appointed for them ?) a dwelling-place[12] . . . . . .

1 I can make nothing of the syllable *ḍā* with which this line begins.

2 1475-6 A.D.

3 *Yoga*, the form given in the Pāli text, is evidently based on the Môn *Yoṅ*; the reference is perhaps to the Bassein River.

4 Sunday, 21st January 1476 (old style).

5 Monday, 22nd January 1476.

6 Friday, 16th February 1476.

7 Friday, 23rd February 1476.

8 The Pāli has: "the eleven Theras and Citradūta," proceeding, "He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Citradūta, and which was sent by Rāmādhipatimahārāja, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of the Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conch-shell, the *jasminum multiflorum*, the white lily, or the autumnal moon." It may be doubted whether all this was contained in our text.

9 Very possibly this clause did not occur here in our text as a similar statement is contained in the next line.

10 I assume that this is the meaning of *oaḍān*, as the Pāli says "with camphor." But it is not the usual L.M. word and I have found no other authority for it.

11 I take this to be the meaning of the doubtfully read *pa patisanthāra* of our text. The Pāli has not got an equivalent in this place, but expressed the same idea in l. 40, *supra*. Cf. F. 46, 54.

12 The Pāli has: "He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the Theras and Citradūta."

[On the following day] (l. 42) Citradutān [delivered to the Mahātheras of Ceylon the presents sent by Rāmādhipatimahārāja] (and)[1] the letter which His Majesty had given (him) for our lords the clergy of Ceylon; [and the Mahātheras,] (l. 43) saying: "According to the desire of the Lord of the White Elephant, that (which) pleases his heart will we do," gave a promise.

[The eleven Theras, who embarked on the same ship as Citradutān, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadutān, reflected: "With the permission of the king of Ceylon, we shall remain in the island of Ceylon, awaiting the arrival of these Theras."][2] (So) (l. 44) these monks, who had arrived first, informed the king of Ceylon (of their desire) and got a guide who knew the way (by) which (they) could go to Anurādhapura . . . . . (There they visited and adored ?)[3] (l. 45) the . . . . . cetī, the Maricavaṭṭicetī, the Dakkhinasākhā, and the Lohaprāsāt.[4]

Rāmadutān's ship [missed the route to Anurādhapura, and meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage, and it was not till Sunday, the ninth day of the waxing half of the month of Caitra,[5] that she reached] (l. 46) Valligāma.[6] Before the ship had arrived there, the minister Gorucī (had rebelled ?)[7] against the king of Ceylon. [At the time of the arrival of the

[1] I have not translated the doubtfully read word at the beginning of the line. If it is *atuin*, it means "in accordance with," and perhaps one would have to presume that something like "the message" stood before it.

[2] It may be doubted whether our text contained all the foregoing. The Pāli now proceeds: "They accordingly asked permission from the king, and remained there awaiting the arrival of the Theras who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadūta"; and does not say anything about the visit to Anurādhapura until after relating the arrival of the belated vessel, when it speaks of what they had seen there and of their return.

[3] Conjecturally restored, to make the passage intelligible.

[4] The English version of the Pāli has: "visited Anurādhapura and adored the Ratanacetiya, Maricivatticetiya, Thūpārāmacetiya, Abhayagiricetiya, Silācetiya, Jetavanacetiya, and the Mahābodhi tree, which was the southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), and saw the Lohapāsāda." But on the stone itself only the name of the Abhayagiri is distinctly legible, the stone being fragmentary in this place. It then proceeds: "They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the courtyards of the various *cetiyas*, and cleaned their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara." The *Dakkhinasākhā* of our text means the Bodhi tree which was the southern branch of the one at Buddha Gayā.

[5] Sunday, 3rd March 1476.

[6] The Pāli adds: "Now at Valligāma resided a Sinhalese minister, called Garavi, who had rebelled against the king." The minister's name, however, is lost on the stone itself, and probably the Môn version has it correctly.

[7] Though the reading is not quite clear, this rendering is almost certainly right.

ship, the younger brother of the king of Ceylon had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror, and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands,] (the younger brother of the king of ?)[1] (l. 47) Ceylon [took up his residence there.] . . . . .

prêsents sent by the king who was the Lord of Haṁsavatīnagara] (for the clergy of Ceylon?).[1] Saying, "According to the wish of the Lord of the White Elephant, will we do," the clergy gave a promise.

[After a month had elapsed from that date,] our lords the clergy who had arrived first, and had gone to Anurādhapura,[2] arrived.[3] [The King of Ceylon now] said[4]: "All the clergy who (l. 53) came (in) ships, these two parties,[5] (having now) come together, (it is) fitting that we should exhibit the Tooth Relic," and on Sunday, the first (day of the) waning (half) of the second (month of) Āṣāḍha[6] (he) disclosed[7] the Tooth Relic, and exhibited (it) to our lords, the two parties of clergy, (l. 54) together with Rāmadutān (and) Citradutān. Our lords having been enabled to worship the Tooth Relic (and) enabled to put (it) on their heads, the king of Ceylon, calling to mind the tenour of[8] the letter which His Majesty Rāmādhipati had sent (to him), put the Tooth Relic in the reliquary (l. 55) of gold which His Majesty had sent, and set up over it the white umbrella.[9] The golden alms-bowl, the vase, (and) the golden betel-box[10] (he) set up facing[11] the Tooth Relic (and)

[1] These words are doubtfully read, in l. 51: owing to the difference between Môn and English syntax, the order of the translation has had to depart considerably from that of the text.

[2] In the Pāli here follows the passage given in l. 45 n., *supra*.

[3] At Jayavaḍḍhananagara, as stated at the end of the Pāli passage referred to in the preceding note. It is evident from a comparison of the dates in ll. 51 and 53 that the interval could not have amounted to a month and did not exceed three weeks and a day at most.

[4] There is nothing in the Môn to correspond with these words till we get to l 53, but they have been introduced here, partly from the Pāli, in order to present the narrative in an order intelligible to the English reader. The Pāli has "thought" instead of "said."

[5] Or, "who came in these two ships."

[6] Sunday, 7th July 1476.

[7] Lit. "opened." The Pāli, after giving the date, has: "and the day on which *vassa* residence was entered upon, he had the whole of the tower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The Mahātheras of Ceylon were set apart on one side, while the twenty-two Theras and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Citradūta and Rāmadūta, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the twenty-two Theras and Citradūta and Rāmadūta might see and adore it, and make offerings to it."

[8] Lit. "in accordance with."

[9] No doubt the one mentioned in l. 12, *supra*, which the corresponding Pāli passage did not mention. Here, however, it has: "and had a white umbrella placed over it."

[10] This box was mentioned, under a different name, in l. 14, *supra*. The reading is doubtful in both places.

[11] Or, "in front of."

exhibited (them) to the two parties of monks,[1] the twenty-two Theras, together with Rāmadutān (and) Citradutān . . . . . .[2]

Saying,[3] (l. 56) "Hereafter, according to the message (in) the letter of His Majesty Rāmādhipati, that (which) pleases his heart, will we do," the king of Ceylon gave orders to the Sinhalese ministers, and on the Kalyāṇī River, in the bathing-place (where) the exalted Buddha had bathed, (he) caused (l. 57) a raft[4] to be built (and) a tower to be made[5] . . . . . ; . . . . . (and) decorated.

(He) requested our lord Vidāgamathera to[6] select monks who were pure and free from any degree of[7] blame (or) reproach and who came of the succession of the clergy that dwelt in the Mahāvihāra; [and he accordingly selected a Chapter of] (l. 58) twenty-four monks [such as] our lords Saddhammakittimahāthera,[8] [Vanaratanamahāthera,] Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalamahāthera, (and) Sīharājayuvarājācariyathera.[9] Having thus arranged the raft[10] (and) selected (l. 59) (the clergy?)[11] . . . . . (on the) eleventh

[1] This refers to Rāmadutān's party and Citradutān's party, not to the Sinhalese clergy and the Môn clergy.

[2] The meaning of *laṅah* (which appears to be the actual reading) is undetermined. If it were *laṅat*, that would mean "to practise," which does not seem to fit in here. Cf. D 15, F 45, 49, 52.

[3] This word does not actually occur till the next line. Here the Pāli has: "'Reverend Sirs, and Citradūta and Rāmadūta, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?' asked the king of Ceylon, who saying to himself: 'Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly,' issued commands to the Ceylon ministers," etc. This is curious, as he had heard both letters already (ll. 40, 49, *supra*).

[4] Or, "a bridge of boats," as the English version of the Pāli expresses it. It may be possible to construe our text, "the king of Ceylon gave orders to the Sinhalese ministers to cause a raft to be built (and) a tower to be made," etc., "on the Kalyāṇī River," etc., which makes no substantial difference in the sense.

[5] The Pāli has: "A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up."

[6] Or, literally, "having requested Vidāgamathera, selected," etc. But this must really mean that the actual selection was done by Vidāgamathera, not by the king personally, otherwise there is no sense in the request. Cf. note 4, *supra*, for a somewhat similar case.

[7] The meaning of *ayām māt* is given as "measure, suitable quantity; just as, while." The first word appears to be the Pāli *āyāmo*, "length," the second perhaps *mattā*, "quantity," or else *mattaṁ*, though the spelling of the word rather supports Schmidt's derivation from *mātikā* (*Buch des Rājāwaṅ*, p. 29). But the Pāli here has *garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇaṁ*.

[8] The Pāli has *Dhamma*°.

[9] Here the Pāli reading on the stone is as above, but the English version wrongly has *Sīhalarāja*°.

[10] The usual meaning of *twān* is "village," but the *Akkharavidhāna* of the Môn *Abhidhānappadīpikā* gives it as one of the equivalents of the Pāli *kullo*, "raft." Our Pāli text has *nāvāsaṅghāṭam*. It must have been a sort of pontoon.

[11] Doubtful reading. The Pāli has: "Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed and a Chapter of monks elected."

(day of the) waning (half) of the month of Āṣāḍha, the day (being a) Wednesday[1] . . . . . [the king] caused the twenty-four Sinhalese clergy who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination to be invited to descend (to the raft), (and) requested them to have the *upasampadā* ordination conferred[2] [upon the forty-four Môn monks. In conformity with the custom followed by the Sinhalese Mahātheras of old, whenever monks from foreign countries were ordained, the forty-four Môn monks were first established in the condition of laymen, and then admitted to the Order as *sāmaṇeras* through the act of Vanaratanamahāthera, who presented them with yellow robes, and accepted their profession of faith in the Three Refuges. On the night of Wednesday, five Theras, namely, Moggalānathera, Kumārakassapathera, Mahāsīvalithera, Sāriputtathera, and Ñāṇasāgarathera were ordained in the presence of the Chapter of the twenty-four monks, Dhammakittimahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalathera being respectively the *upajjhāya* and *ācariya*. On the night of Thursday, the 12th,[3] ten Theras, namely, Sumanathera, Kassapathera, Nandathera, Rāhulathera, Buddhavaṁsathera, Sumaṅgalathera, Khujjanāndathera, Soṇuttarathera, Guṇasāgarathera, and Dhammarakkhitathera were ordained, Vanaratanamahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalathera being respectively the *upājjhāya* and *ācariya*. In the course of the day on Friday, the 13th,[4] seven Theras, namely, Cūḷasumaṅgalathera, Javanapaññāthera, Cūḷakassapathera, Cūḷasīvalithera, Maṇisārathera, Dhammarājikathera, and Candanasārathera were ordained, Vanaratanamahāthera and Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalathera being respectively the *upajjhāya* and *ācariya*. On Saturday, the 14th,[5] the twenty-two young monks, who were the disciples of the Theras, were ordained, Pañcapariveṇavāsimaṅgalathera and Sīharājayuvarājācariyathera[6] being respectively the *upajjhāya* and *ācariya*.

When the twenty-two Theras of the Môn country had been ordained, the king of Ceylon invited them to a meal, at the end of which he presented]

1 Wednesday, 17th July 1476. The Pāli proceeds: "the king invited the twenty-four ordaining monks, headed by Dhammakittimahāthera, on Wednesday," etc., "and had them conducted to the bridge of boats, and had the forty-four monks of Rāmaññadesa ordained by them."

2 End of Face E.

3 Thursday, 18th July 1476.

4 Friday, 19th July 1476.

5 Saturday, 20th July 1476.

6 According to the reading on the stone. The English version has Sīhaḷarāja.

F

each of them [with the following articles:—three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of Gocarati; a leather mat painted in variegated colours; a fan shaped like a palmyra fan but made of ivory carved by a skilful turner; and a betel-box. Then the king of Ceylon] (l. 2) said to our lords (the monks): "My lords, (members of the Order?) [you will return to Jambudīpa and maintain the religion in splendour in Haṁsavatīpura.[1] If, Reverend Sirs, I present you with any other gifts, no reputation would accrue to me, because such gifts are subject to speedy decay and] (l. 3) perish.[2] (If?) I (confer upon you?) the gifts that are called titles . . . . . (they will last during the time that?) my lords (shall live?) . . . . . (Therefore) (l. 4) I desire to confer (these) gifts upon my lords." [So saying,] the king of Ceylon conferred titles [on the eleven Theras who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadutān, namely,] (l. 5) to our lord Mogallānaṁathera (he) gave [the title of Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi,][3] to [our] lord [Kumārakassapathera] (he) gave the title of Kittisīrimeghasāmi, (l. 6) [to our lord] Ñāṇasāgarathera [he gave the title of Parakkamabāhusāmi,] to Buddhavaṁsathera (he) gave the title of Buddhaghosasāmi, [to Nandathera he gave] the title of Sīhaḷadīpa[visuddhasāmi,] (l. 7) to Rāhulathera [he gave the title of Guṇaratanadharasāmi,] to Sumaṅgalathera (he) gave the title of Jinālaṅkārasāmi, [to Dhammarakkhitathera he gave] the title of Ratanamālisāmi, (l. 8) [to Cūḷa]sumaṅgalathera [he gave the title of Saddhammatejasāmi,] to Kassapathera (he) gave the title of Dhammārāmasāmi, (and) [to Maṇisārathera he gave] the title of Bhūvanekabāhusāmi. (l. 9) Having (given these titles to the eleven Theras who had embarked on?)[4] (l. 9) Rāmadutān's ship, (he) also gave titles to the eleven Theras (who had embarked on?)[5] Citradutān's ship. [To Mahāsīvalithera he gave]

1 Pegu.

2 The Pāli has "dissolution," and proceeds: "Therefore, I shall now confer titles on you. If, Reverend Sirs, this is done, such titles would last throughout your lifetime."

3 This, and the other passages in square brackets down to l. 13, *infra*, represent *lacunæ* in our text which it has been possible to restore with practical certainty by the aid of the Pāli version, though the Pāli order is different and the wording is much more concise.

4 Conjecturally restored on the analogy on the wording of the next sentence.

5 Conjecturally restored to fit the context.

the title of [Tilokagurusāmi], (l. 10) to Sāriputtathera (he) gave [the title of Sīri]vanaratanasāmi, to Sumanathera (he) gave the title of Maṅgalasāmi,[1] [to Cūḷakassapathera he gave] the title of Kalyāṇītissa-[sāmi], (l. 11) to Cūḷanandathera (he) gave [the title of Candanagirisāmi], to Soṇuttarathera (he) gave the title of Sīridantadhātusāmi, to [Guṇasāgara-thera] (he) gave the title of Vanavāsitissa,[2] (l. 12) to Javanapaññāthera [he gave the title of Ratanālaṅkārasāmi], to Cūḷasīvaḷithera[3] (he) gave the title of Mahādevasāmi, to Dhammarājathera[4] (he) gave the title of Udumbaragirisāmi, (and) (l. 13) to Candanasārathera [he gave] the title [of Cūḷābhaya-tissasāmi].

The king of Ceylon having thus addressed our lords,[5] our lords the eleven Theras together with Rāmadutān [left Jayavaḍḍhananagara and returned to Valligāma.] (l. 14) Our lords the eleven Theras who had embarked on Citradutān's ship . . . . . having adored the Holy Foot-print, which is on the top of the Samantakūṭa hill,[6] [returned to] the city of Jayavaḍḍha-nagara.

[The eleven Theras,] (l. 15) who had come down to the port of Valligāma, [embarked on Wednesday, the second day of the waxing half of the month of Bhādrapada,[7] and] returning home, arrived [at the mouth of the Yoga River[8] on Thursday,] the second (day) of the waning (half) of (that?) month . . . . . [When] (l. 16) His Majesty Rāmādhipati received the tidings that our lords the eleven Theras who had embarked in Rāmadutān's ship [had arrived at the mouth of the Yoga River,][8] (l. 17) (he) said: "[Considering that] (it was) I who urged [these Theras to visit Ceylon,] (and that) our lords did go to Ceylon [and that they are the inaugurators of the *upasampadā* ordination,] (l. 18) it (would) not (be) proper [to send any of my officials] to meet (and) welcome our lords. [It would, indeed, be appro-priate that] I [should] myself [welcome them on my return from the town of Rangoon,][9] (l. 19) after having presented the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics of

1 The Pāli has *Maṅgalatherasāmi*.
2 The Pāli adds *sāmi*.
3 The Pāli (on the stone) has °*sivili*°; in the English version, °*sīvali*°.
4 The Pāli (on the stone) has °*rājaḥa*°; in the English version, °*rājika*°.
5 The Pāli has no equivalent for the foregoing clause.
6 Literally "stone," or "rock." In actual fact it is a high mountain.
7 Wednesday, 21st August 1476.
8 See E 38 n. The date is Thursday, 5th September 1476.
9 In the Pāli called *Tigumpanagara*. The Môn equivalent (l. 20, *infra*) is *ḍuṅ Dguṅ*.

the exalted living[1] Buddha [with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tolas*.][2] When I . . . . . ."[3] [Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter, saying: "As I am][4] (l. 20) going to the town of Rangoon, (let?) our lords the eleven Theras (go and stay a while?) in the town of Rangoon." [And after making arrangements for their entertainment, he] (l. 21) caused our lords to be disembarked from [their sea-going] vessel [and conveyed to the town of Rangoon in river] boats.

[Meanwhile the eleven Theras, who embarked in the same ship as Citradutān, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to the Môn country, because the king of Ceylon had said to them:] (l. 22) "My (lords?), [it is my desire to send an emissary to Rāmādhipatimahārāja, the Lord of the White Elephant,] (l. 23) with presents . . . . . (which?) I will send,[5] [including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a hundred *phalas*, which were constantly worn by my father, Parakkamabāhumahārāja. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then!" The eleven Theras and Citradutān, therefore, waited for the emissary of the king of Ceylon and anchored their ship at the port of Kalambu. Meanwhile] (l. 24) a violent wind, [called *parādha*,] arose [and sank in the sea the large

1 Explained in the Pāli as hair relics of Buddha "obtained during his life-time," in accordance with the well-known traditional story which localized the home of the two merchants Tapusa and Bhallika in Lower Burma and the enshrining of the hair relics in the Shwedagôn Pagoda, Rangoon. The Pāli here mentions the intended date of the presentation of the bell, viz. the full-moon day of Āsvayuja (Thursday, 3rd October 1476). See l. 47, *infra*.

2 There seems to be some doubt as to what this weight amounted to. Taw Sein Ko in his additional notes (*Some Remarks on the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions*, I.A., Vol. XXIV, p. 332) says 120,000 viss, which seems unduly large. According to Childers (s.v. *tulā*, in his Pāli Dictionary) the *tola* contained 100 *phalas*. We know from E 14, *supra*, that a *phala* (in the Pāli version of our inscription) was equiva-lent to a tical (*daker*, L.M. *dakew*) of which there are 100 to the viss. Therefore, according to this reckoning, the bell weighed 3,000 viss. The point cannot be settled by actual weighing, as the bell was removed by Philip de Brito and lost at sea (*I.A., l.c.*).

3 Probably our text differed somewhat in order from the Pāli and the sentence went on: "have presented the bell," etc.

4 The Pāli has: "visiting the town of Rangoon, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town!" Our text is in bad preservation here, but from the little that remains it is clear that the sense intended is much the same.

5 This clause does not fit into the framework of the Pāli text, which has "with presents including," etc., but that is probably only due to a slight difference of order in our text. It is, however, very doubtful how much of the following details were represented in our text.

sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the king of Ceylon received the intelligence that Citradutān's ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the Theras and Citradutān: "If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and] (l. 25) (return home"?). [Accordingly, the Theras and Citradutān, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the king of Ceylon and left the port of Kalambu.

Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course] (l. 26) (and reached?)[1] [the Strait of Silla, which lies between the island of Ceylon and Jambudīpa.[2] After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kalambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea-water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realizing their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and,] (l. 27) (constructing?) [a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to the coast of Jambudīpa, which was close by.

Having lost the presents] (l. 28) which the king of Ceylon had given (him),[3] [the emissary of the king of Ceylon returned to the island of Ceylon. The Theras and Citradutān, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapaṭṭana,[4] and there visited the site of the Padarikārāma] (l. 29) (monastery?) . . . . . (and) (were enabled to see?)[5] . . . . . [and worshipped the image of Buddha in a cave constructed by command of the Mahārāja of Cinadesa on the spot, on the sea-shore, where] (l. 30) the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha was deposited[6] [in the course of its transit to the island of Ceylon in charge of Daṇḍakumāra and Hemamālā, who were husband and wife. Thence they travelled on to the port of Nāvuṭapaṭṭana. At this port resided Mālimmarakāya and Paccuḷiya,[7] two intendants of the port, who annually sent two ships for trading purposes (to the Môn country). In doing so, they sent presents for Rāmādhipatimahārāja, and] (l. 31) (the king?) . . . .

[1] The Pāli has "through."
[2] The mainland of India.
[3] These words are not in the Pāli.
[4] Negapatam.
[5] These words are not represented in the Pāli, which has: "monastery, and there visited," etc.
[6] I am not sure that the doubtfully read *pḍok* can bear this meaning (which I have taken over from the Pāli version). Normally the word means "to load," and would apply rather to the act of putting the relic on the ship that was to take it to Ceylon. The whole of this passage (ll. 26–43) is almost entirely obliterated in our text.
[7] These are, apparently, the names on the stone; not Mālimparakāya and Paccaliya, as in the English version.

(having heard the tidings?), caused (them) to come[1] . . . . . (l. 32) . . . . . [Owing to this circumstance, they] (l. 33) (gave our lords?) [food, clothing, and a residence, and treated them with much reverence. Citradutān was likewise provided with clothing, food, and lodging. The intendants of the port then said: "Reverend Sirs, when our ships start from this] (l. 34) (port of Nāvuta?),[2] [may it please] (our lords?) [to embark in them in order to be once more near the Lord of the White Elephant!" Accordingly, the four Theras, namely, Tilokaguruthera, Ratanālaṅkārathera, Mahādevathera, and Cūḷābhayatissathera, and their four disciples resided with them. The remaining seven Theras, however, saying: "We shall embark, together with the seven monks, in a ship at Komālapaṭṭana," went and resided at that port.

On Wednesday,] (l. 35) (the fourth?) (day of the) waxing (half of the) month of Vaiśākha, [in the year 839[3] of the Common Era, the three Theras, namely, Tilokaguruthera, Ratanālaṅkārathera, and Mahādevathera embarked in the ship belonging to Mālimmarakāya, while Cūḷābhayatissathera embarked in the ship belonging to Paccuḷiya, and they left Nāvuṭapaṭṭana. Of these Theras,] (l. 36) our lords, [the three who embarked in the same ship, reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi[4] Mountain, on Friday, the twelfth day of the waning half of the month of Vaiśākha,[5] and] (l. 37) our lords [arrived at Kusimanagara[6] on] the first (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Jyeṣṭha, the day (being) [Tuesday.[7] Cūḷābhayatissathera, however,[8] reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi Mountain, on Saturday, the thirteenth day of the waning half of the month of Vaiśākha,[9] and arrived at Kusimanagara on] (l. 38) the fourth (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Jyeṣṭha, the day (being) Friday.[8][10]

[1] I am not sure that I have fitted these words into their proper place. They have no precise equivalent in the Pāli, which, after "and," proceeds: "thus, because of their having exchanged with him, the compliments of friendship and civility, they conceived feelings of great respect and honour for him. Owing," etc.
[2] This appears to be the spelling in our text, but it is a doubtful reading anyhow.
[3] The Pāli version gives full particulars of the date, which was Wednesday, 16th April 1477.
[4] Negrais.
[5] Friday, 9th May 1477.
[6] Bassein.
[7] Tuesday, 13th May 1477.
[8] From this point there is a considerable divergence between the English version of the Pāli and the actual record on the stone itself, the former omitting everything from "reached" to "four monks." I have endeavoured to fill this *lacuna* from the transcript of ll. 63-64 of the Reverse Face of the second stone.
[9] Saturday, 10th May 1477.
[10] Friday, 16th May 1477.

[Thence, these four monks arrived at Haṁsavatīnagara[1] on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing half of the month of Āṣāḍha.][2] (l. 39) . . . . . .[3]

[Of the seven Theras, who,] (l. 40) together with [the seven monks, went and resided at Komālapaṭṭana,] (l. 41) (our lord Maṅgalathera alone?) [accompanied by his own attendant monk, as well as by those of Vanaratanathera, and Siridantadhātuthera, embarked in a ship commanded by Binda and left Komālapaṭṭana on Wednesday, the new-moon day of the month of Bhādrapada, in the year 841 of the Common Era.[4] They reached the mouth of the river, which has its source in the Nāgarāsi Mountain, on Friday, the first day of the waxing half of the month of Kārttika,[5] and, touching at Kusimanagara on Monday, the eleventh,[6] eventually arrived at Haṁsavatīnagara on Friday, the fourteenth day of the waning half of the month of Kārttika.[7] The remaining six Theras and the four young monks had died, as they were unable to obviate the consequences of demerit and the course of the law of mortality, to which all living beings are subject. Alas! "Whatever is material is subject to change and dissolution."

On Thursday, the eighth day of the waxing half of the month of Āśvayuja,[8] in the year 838 of the Common Era, Rāmādhipatimahārāja, with the object of presenting a great bell to the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics,[9] embarked on a barge surmounted by a golden spire, and, escorted by a number of boats, headed by golden boats, such as the *indavimāna*, proceeded to the city of Rangoon. On Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the waxing half of the month of Āśvayuja,][10] (when?) (l. 44) (His Majesty Rāmādhipati arrived at Rangoon?), [he invited the eleven Theras who] (l. 45) had [embarked in the same] ship as Rāmadutān and had returned from Ceylon and were in the town of

[1] Pegu.

[2] Tuesday, 24th June 1477. This date is anomalous: one would expect Tuesday to be the 14th day of the waxing half of this month, not the 13th (which would normally be Monday). Probably the weekday is right in this case. The Pāli text, right or wrong, is however supported by the stone.

[3] As this line is entirely illegible, it is impossible to fit it into the framework of the Pāli, which, however, runs on as shown. The same applies to ll. 42, 43, of which the numerals have, therefore, been omitted.

[4] Wednesday, 15th September 1479.

[5] Friday, 15th October 1479.

[6] Monday, 25th October 1479.

[7] Friday, 12th November 1479.

[8] Or Āśvina, L.M. *wah*. The date is Thursday, 26th September 1476

[9] The Shwedagôn pagoda.

[10] Tuesday, 1st October 1476.

Rangoon, (and) gave gifts by way of alms food[1] . . . . . *ticīvara* (cloths?) . . . . . (l. 46) two mats[2] each . . . . . to our lords, and having given (them) a friendly welcome,[3] (he) had our lords sent on (their) way to their dwelling-place. Then His Majesty had [grand][4] festivals held for three days, and on the holy day of the full moon of the month (l. 47) (of Āśvayuja?), the day (being) Thursday,[5] (he) (went up to present[6] the bell?) (at) the foot of the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics of the exalted Buddha. On Friday, the 1st of the waning (half of the month),[7] His Majesty feasted all the clergy of Rangoon. To[8] . . . . . His Majesty, (l. 48) (having made arrangements, caused?) gifts to be given. On Sunday, the 3rd of the waning (half of the month),[9] His Majesty, by way of showing reverence and veneration, had eleven boats prepared (and) decorated in order to convey our lords the eleven Theras.[10] On Monday, (early in the morning,?) (l. 49) His Majesty embarked[11]; our lords (also) embarked,[11] (but) on reaching the landing-place of the Mahābudharūpa[12] our lords stopped[13] (there). His Majesty Rāmādhipati, on Friday, the eighth (day of the) waning (half) of the month of Āśvayuja,[14] (l. 50) reached His Majesty's abode at Pegu. His Majesty having arrived at Pegu, on the tenth (day) of

[1] The Pāli has: "and served them with various kinds of delicious food. He likewise presented each of them with two couples of cloths for their *ticīvara* robes." The meaning of *laṅah* has not been determined: cf. D 15, E 55, F 49, 52.

[2] Meaning doubtful. Cf. H 39 n.

[3] Cf. E 41, F 54.

[4] So in the Pāli. The precise sense of *canak* has not been determined, and even the reading is not quite certain. It may be connected with the *cnak* of I D 49. The L.M. *saṇak, sanak, snak* is used in the sense of "wedding." Cf. M 22.

[5] The month is not named but must be Āśvayuja. The date is Thursday, 3rd October 1476.

[6] The Pāli has: "the great bell was conveyed to the quadrangle of the *cetiya* of the Hair Relics in order that it might be presented to it."

[7] Friday, 4th October 1476.

[8] The Pāli has: "and the king commanded that largess be given to paupers, way-farers, and beggars."

[9] Sunday, 6th October 1476.

[10] The Pāli has: "eleven boats were adorned in a reverent manner, and ministers were sent to escort the Theras. Having thus made preparations for escorting the Theras, Rāmādhipatirāja left Tigumpanagara on the morning of Monday, the fourth day, and, reaching in due course Haṁsavatīnagara on Friday the eighth day, entered the bejewelled palace, which was his home." The Monday is the 7th October 1476.

[11] The text has *tuin tluṅ*. Perhaps this means "came up (stream)," *i.e.*, up the Pegu River.

[12] Explained as the Kyaikpun pagoda near Pegu, or (more probably) the colossal recumbent image of Buddha between the Kalyāṇīsimā and the Mahācetī at Pegu.

[13] The meaning of *laṅah* is undetermined. Cf. D 15, E 55, F 45, 52.

[14] Friday, 11th October 1476.

the waning (half of the month), the day (being) Sunday,[1] had ferry-boats[2] prepared (and) decorated as was most fitting, with many xylophones,[3] (and) ordered a number of leading chiefs (l. 51) to go down (and) welcome (and) (escort ?) our lords.

When our lords had arrived at His Majesty's abode, our lords (unpacked and produced ?)[4] the sandalwood (powder which had surrounded ?)[5] the Tooth Relic of the exalted Buddha, branches of the Bodhi ficus, leaves of the Bodhi ficus, (and) seeds of the (l. 52) Bodhi ficus which were fit for planting, (and) our lords presented (them) to His Majesty[6]; a treatise[7] relating how King Sīrisaṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu purified the religion, how King Vijayabāhu purified the religion, (and) how King Parakkamabāhu (l. 53) purified the religion, which (treatise) had been composed in the language of the people of Ceylon (and) which our lords (the clergy) of Ceylon had given (them), our lords (also) presented to His Majesty; a writing[8] . . . . . containing . . . . . (with instructions ?) . . . . . our lords the clergy of Ceylon (l. 54) with the king of Ceylon, named Bhūvanekabāhu, our lords (also) presented to His Majesty. His Majesty and our lords having thus exchanged friendly greetings,[9] . . . . . our lords the eleven Theras (l. 55) severally, (the king) ordered a number of

[1] Sunday, 13th October 1476.

[2] Presumably *kaṇḍo'* is the L.M. *khadui'*; but the identification is not absolutely certain.

[3] Perhaps specifically xylophones, as described by Haswell, s.v. *twiṅ twuik*. But it may here represent musical instruments in general; the Pāli has: "gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments."

[4] The reading is doubtful here.

[5] The reading is doubtful. The Pāli has: "a casket containing the sandalwood powder, with which the Holy Tooth Relic was besmeared, an image of the Holy Tooth Relic; some branches, leaves, and seeds of the Bodhi tree"; etc. It looks as if our text had inadvertently omitted some portion of this list of things. Possibly instead of *buiṅ* we should read *buim*, "image" (Pāli *bimbaṁ*), and presume that after the doubtfully read *tuit* the words *dhāt gnih kyāk tray* have been omitted.

[6] The meaning of *laṅah* is undetermined. Cf. D 15, E 55, F 45, 49.

[7] I am not sure of the precise meaning of *katiwat*. It may possibly have some relation to the *katikavattānaṁ* which the Pāli has in the next clause (a clause which is, however, either fragmentary or omitted in our text). But the sense "a book of covenants" hardly fits in here.

[8] The Pāli has: "a treatise setting forth the covenants entered into, at the solicitation of the said kings, by the clergy for the observance of the Order; a letter sent by the Sinhalese Theras and a book recording the covenants entered into by them; a book of *gāthās* written by Vanaratanamahāthera; and a letter from Bhūvanekabāhu, king of Ceylon." It does not appear clearly from the fragments of our text, how much of all this was represented in it; but certainly not the whole. For "instructions" we should perhaps read "information."

[9] Cf. E 41, F 46. The Pāli has: "Rāmādhipatimahārāja accorded a gracious greeting to the eleven Theras, and commanded his ministers to escort each of them to his monastery with many flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments."

leading chiefs, with flags, (and) with many drums[1] (and) xylophones,[2] His Majesty . . . . . our lords. His Majesty (gave ?)[3]

. . . . . .

[Then His Majesty Rāmādhipati reflected in this wise: "The eleven Theras have received the pure *upasampadā* ordination; but as in this land of ours there is no pure *sīmā*,[4] how can these Theras perform the ceremonies of the *uposatha*, the *pavāraṇā*, the *upasampadā*, and so on ? (Let) us seek a *gāmakhetta* that can be guarded (and) cause these Theras to consecrate (thereon) a pure *baddhasīmā*. Then these Theras will be able to perform the ceremonies of *uposathā*, *pavāraṇā*, *upasampadā*, and so on."

His Majesty,[5] having thus reflected, went (and) investigated a *gāmakhetta* which was on the edge of the forest and belonged to a minister named Narasūra, (and) having taken note of the results of (his) enquiries, upon a site which was near the orchard[6] of the minister Narasūra His Majesty caused a clearing to be made and a design to be prepared for consecrating a *sīmā*. As regards the boundaries of the *gāmakhetta* with (the land of) the minister Narasūra, inasmuch as it was not desired that there should be confusion with any other *gāmakhettas* that surrounded it, when (they) had trenched (it) around completely, (they) had to clear away the roots of trees

[1] The precise meaning of *klo'* has not been determined. It is either a specific designation of some particular kind of drum (*phaṁ*) or else the name of some other musical instrument used in conjunction with drums. Cf. G 33, and VIII A 6, IX A 10, F 34, G 4, H 46, K 5.

[2] Or "musical instruments," in general. Cf. l. 50 n., *supra*.

[3] I am unable to restore the rest of this line. Here ends Face F, so far as it is decipherable from the ink-impressions available; and here follows the modernized copy of the text contained in the MSS. mentioned in § 71 on which the rest of the translation is based, in so far as the text on the stones themselves is deficient.

[4] The Pāli, instead of the preceding clause, has: "In this city of Haṁsavatī there does not exist any pure *baddhasīmā*, nor any *mahānadī* possessing the characteristics of a *nadī*, nor any *mahājātassara* possessing the characteristics of a *jātassara*, nor any *gāmakhetta* whose purification can easily be effected."

[5] The Pāli has: "Rāmādhipatirāja accordingly sent his attendants to search for a *gāmakhetta* answering the description. During the course of their search, the king's attendants found on the skirts of a forest to the west of a great *cetiya*, called Mudhava, a *gāmakhetta* belonging to the minister Narasūra, which was small and could easily be guarded; and they reported accordingly to the king. Rāmādhipatirāja personally inspected the site, and considered that it was a *gāmakhetta* which could easily be guarded and was an appropriate spot for the consecration of a *sīmā*. The ground of a selected place on that land was cleared of jungle, the site of the proposed *sīmā* was marked out, and a house was built in the middle of that site. The inside and outside of that house, as well as the site of the proposed *sīmā* and a selected place outside that site, were smeared with cow-dung. Then a fencing was erected enclosing the whole place on its four sides, and four openings with doors were constructed." For Mudhava, or Shwe Maw Daw, cf. K 11.

[6] Or, according to the ordinary modern meaning of the words, "areca-nut" (or "betel-nut") "garden." This is not, however, specified in the Pāli version.

(and) the roots of bamboos[1] (on the ground) below which would be apt to cause confusion, and also to lop, cut (and) entirely clear away branches of trees (and) branches of bamboos above which would be apt to cause such confusion. On the site where (they) made a design for consecrating the *simā*, within the building and also on the land outside the building which was fitting, within the boundary stones and also outside the boundary stones, a general clearance had to be made (and) water poured into the trench,[2] making a wet ditch. Outside, the land being enclosed on the four quarters, (they) put doors. On the west of the site where the *simā* was to be consecrated (they) made a monastery for the eleven Theras to come (and) dwell in, a refectory, privy, and a place for bathing. Then (they) invited the eleven Theras (and) brought (them) to dwell on the site.

During these preparations His Majesty again reflected, in this wise: "All these eleven Theras together with (their) eleven disciples have been caused to receive the pure *upasampadā* ordination, (and) when we have made a permanent[3] *simā*, purifying it because (we) wish it to be the root of religion, we desire that for the future it shall be perfectly pure and that it shall make a pure *upasampadā* ordination. But in so far as there exists (among these clergy) any occasion of censure or reproach, we assuredly do not desire that such a monk should be allowed to enter into these ecclesiastical ceremonies. Certainly we desire that only such clergy as are clearly free from censure or reproach should be allowed to enter into these ceremonies."[4] Having reflected thus, (he) made enquiries, and upon enquiry ascertained that among the eleven Theras there was in one Thera a small fault, clearly not a great one, (dating) from before his reception of the *upasampadā* ordination, but still there were in him grounds of censure and reproach of a trivial nature, while among the junior monks, though there were no other intentional sins, yet there was some degree of censure and reproach. (Accordingly) the one Thera who was involved in censure, and also his disciple, and four other junior monks who were involved in censure,

[1] "Trees and bamboos" is a stock term for jungle vegetation in general.

[2] The Pāli, which differs somewhat in its order from the above, states that "a small trench, about a span in depth and the same in width, was dug."

[3] Or, following the B reading, "and now when we have made a *simā*."

[4] The Pāli, though agreeing in substance with the foregoing, differs in some details, particularly in the conclusion "because the inclusion of monks who are not free from censure and reproach, though they may have received the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination, in the Chapter consecrating a *simā*, would in after times afford matter for objection to the enemies of the religion.'

these six clergy were excluded. Ten Theras and six junior monks who were their disciples, these sixteen only (were admitted as) having an *upasampadā* ordination that was pure and being themselves free from censure or reproach. Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhipati decree.

When it was near the time for the consecration of the *simā*, our lord Guṇaratanadharathera[1] said that he was sick and together with his disciple Sathapāla[2] returned (and) dwelt in his former monastery. Our lords Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi, Kittisīrimeghasāmi, Parakkamabāhusāmi, Buddhaghosasāmi, Jinālaṅkārasāmi, Ratanamālisāmi, Saddhammatejasāmi, Sudhammārāmasāmi, and Bhūvanekabāhusāmi, nine senior monks, and our lord Sīrisaṅghabodhisāmi's disciple Saṅgharakkhita, our lord Kittisīrimeghasāmi's disciple Dhammavilāsa, our lord Buddhaghosasāmi's disciple Uttara, our lord Jinālaṅkārasāmi's disciple Uttama, and our lord Saddhammatejasāmi's disciple Dhammasāra, these fourteen monks, dwelt in the monastery which was built on the west of the site where the *simā* was to be consecrated.

At the time when the *simā* was to be consecrated, His Majesty reflected in this wise: "If at any place where it is desired to consecrate a *simā* an ancient *simā* does not exist at that place, the new *simā* (which) they consecrate comes into existence; but if at that place there exists an ancient *simā*, then by reason of the occurrence of the faults of overlapping and conjunction the new *simā* which is consecrated does not thus come into existence.[3] That being so, on a place where it is desired to consecrate a new (one), it is proper first to perform the act of desecration:[4] (then) the new *simā* which is consecrated will certainly come into existence."[5] Having thus reflected, His Majesty Rāmādhipati]

[1] I have followed the spelling of these proper names as given in the Pāli version.

[2] B has *Raṭapāla*. This disciple's name is not given in the Pāli version.

[3] The word *sṅah* has been taken as equivalent to L.M. *iṅuh*.

[4] That is with a view to putting an end to any possibly existing ancient *simā*.

[5] The Pāli here proceeds as follows: "The king accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the (existing) *simā* in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the *aṭṭhakathā*. 'Monks, an *avippavāsasimā* may thus be desecrated by means of the *ticīvara*.' There are certain conditions to be observed by a monk desecrating a *simā*. The following are the conditions. Standing on a *khaṇḍasimā*, a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, should not be desecrated; and similarly, standing on a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, a *khaṇḍasimā* should not be desecrared. It is only when standing on a *khaṇḍasimā* that another *khaṇḍasimā* may be desecrated; and the same rule applies *mutatis mutandis* to the other class of *simā*. A *simā* is desecrated for two reasons, namely, (i) in order to make a *mahāsimā* of one which is originally a *khuddakasimā*, with a view that its area may be extended; (ii) in order to make a *khuddakasimā* of one which is originally a *mahāsimā*, with a view that sites for monasteries may be granted to others.'

G

reflected [again, in this wise: "The conditions of the act of desecrating a *simā* are exceedingly difficult to fulfil. If (one) knows (that it is) the site of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site] (l. 2) of the existence [of an ancient *mahāsimā*, the ancient] *simā* [being known, the desecration of that ancient *simā* is effected (and) the new *simā* which is to be made can be made.][1] (l. 3) If (one) [does not] know (that it is) [the site of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site of the existence of an ancient *mahasimā*,] the desecration of the ancient *simā* is not effected (and) the new *simā* [cannot be made.[1] If (one) is aware of the site of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the site of an ancient *mahāsimā*, it is right to desecrate (it)] (l. 4) (and) right to make a new *simā*; (but) if (one) is not aware (of it), it is neither right to perform desecration nor yet is it right (l. 5) to make a new *simā*. [Thus is it stated in the Aṭṭhakathā: 'On a site where] it is desired to make a new *simā*, if the fact of the existence of an ancient *simā* is unknown, [it is impossible] to perform the desecration of (such) ancient *simā* so as effectually to desecrate (l. 6) (it) [and it is impossible effectually to make a new *simā*.'][2]

[1] Or, following B, "come into existence."

[2] In place of the foregoing passage the Pāli has: "If, at the place of desecration, the existence of both *khaṇḍasimā* and *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, is known, a *simā* may be desecrated or consecrated. If, however, the existence of a *khaṇḍasimā* is known, but not that of a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, a *simā* may be desecrated or consecrated. If, on the other hand, the existence of a *mahāsimā*, called *avippavāsasimā*, is known, but not that of a *khaṇḍasimā*, it is only by standing on such places as the premises of a *cetiya*, a *bodhi* tree, or an *uposatha* hall, which are undoubtedly outside (the limits of an *avippavāsasimā*), that a *simā* may be desecrated; but by no means can it be consecrated. If, however, a *simā* is consecrated, there will be a junction of *simās*, and a *vihārasimā* will be transformed into an *avihārasimā*. Therefore, the ceremony of desecration should not be performed. If the existence of both kinds of *simās* is unknown, neither desecration nor consecration should be effected. A *simā* is invalidated by means of the *kammavācā*, or through the declension of the religion, or because those, who do not know a *simā*, are incompetent to recite the *kammavācā*. Therefore, desecration should not be effected. Because it is said that it is only when (the different classes of *simās*) are well-known, that desecration or consecration may be effected, monks desiring to desecrate a *simā*, and who are aware of either the existence of an ancient *simā* or its extent, may, by stationing there duly qualified monks, desecrate an ancient *simā* or consecrate a new one. The interpretation appears to be that, if the extent of an ancient *simā* is unknown, that *simā* cannot be desecrated, nor can a new one be consecrated."

"But in the Vimativinodanī (it) is stated thus:[1] 'When (l. 7) it happens that the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) the boundaries of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā*, [(or) the existence of an ancient *mahāsimā* (or) the boundaries of an ancient *mahāsimā*, are not known,] if both within the limits of the *vihārasimā* and outside the limits of the *vihārasimā*, a site of a stone's throw [is entirely marked out into plots, each of the size of a bedstead, and at all the plots] (l. 8) five (or) six monks with the *kammavācā*, having gone (and) stationed themselves in a continuous series, perform (the act of) desecration, [if there should be an ancient *simā*] on the site where (they were) stationed, (l. 9) would [not that ancient *simā* be effectually desecrated?] In the matter of the desecration of this *simā*, (it is) the ability to be stationed upon the site of the ancient *simā* that constitutes [the essential requirement: the fact of knowing of the existence of an ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or)] (l. 10) an ancient *mahāsimā*, (or knowing) the boundaries of such ancient *khaṇḍasimā* (or) ancient *mahāsimā*, is surely not the essential requirement. [In so far as some Theras state (the case)] thus, [the statement of those Theras is] (l. 11) is right.'[2]

[1] The Pāli proceeds: "There are some Theras, who, in the case of such *vihārasimās*, would convene a Chapter of five or six monks, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of the *vihārasimā*, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an *avippavāsasimā* and a *samānasaṁvāsakasimā*. If either a *khaṇḍasimā* or a *mahāsimā* exists on that *vihāra*, the monks, standing, as they do, in the midst of the *simās*, would, from a *mañcaṭṭhāna*, certainly desecrate that *simā*, and the *gāmasimā* would remain. In this matter, it is not essential to know the *simā* or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the *kammavācā* to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a *simā*,' (and to act accordingly). It is stated in the *aṭṭhakathā* that those who are aware of the existence of a *khaṇḍasimā*, but not of that of an *avippavāsasimā*, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and that thus, although the extent of a *mahāsimā* is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining *gāmasimā*, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of *simās* and to perform the *upasampadā* ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry."

[2] The Pāli proceeds: "The interpretation of these Theras, therefore, appear to be correct. With regard, however, to the desecration of a *simā* with an ordinary, but not a great, amount of exertion, by those, to whom the performance of the ceremony is difficult because of their not knowing the existence of an ancient *simā* or its extent, it is said in the *aṭṭhakathā*: 'If both classes of *simā* are not known, the *simā* should not be desecrated or consecrated.' This dictum does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the *simā* to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that *simā* will not be desecrated. If, at a place where a new *simā* is desired to be consecrated, the existence of an ancient *simā*, or its extent, is unknown; if, at selected spots within and without the places suitable for the fixing of the boundary-marks of the new *simā* to be consecrated, allotments of space, each measuring about four or five cubits in length, are marked out in rows or groups; and, if duly qualified monks station themselves in the said continuous rows of the allotments of space, and effect the desecration of the *simā*, how can there be no desecration of the existing ancient *simā* at that place, and how can only the *gāmasimā* be not left?"

"Inasmuch as it is thus stated in the Vimatinodanī, if in consecrating this new *simā* (one) is able to mark out (the site) [entirely] into plots [and desecrate every one of such plots,] (l. 12) would the desecration [of an ancient *simā*,] if one existed, fail to be effected?" Having thus decided, [His Majesty Rāmādhipati had arrangements made for] the ceremony of desecration in the [following] manner:—

[The extent of the land which was] (l. 13) to be made the inside of the *simā* was marked out with lime into quadrangular plots, each of five cubits (square), and outside the land where the *simā* was to be made, around[1] . . . . . (l. 14) Then His Majesty invited our lords the fourteen monks and caused (them) to effect the desecration of a *simā*. At the time of the desecration (ceremony), for each of [the plots, our lords took their seat within the plot] (l. 15) and (read) the *kammavācā* at seven spots, at each spot once. Having recited (it) seven times, [(they) passed on to another plot. In this wise, from the initial plot of] (l. 16) the first [row] up to the final plot of the first row was desecrated and then (they) passed on to the final plot of the second row. [From the end of the second row (they) went on with the desecration till (they) arrived at] (l. 17) the initial plot of the second row.[2] From the initial plot of the second row, after desecrating (it), (they) passed on (and) desecrated the initial plot [of the third row. In this manner, from the initial plot (they)] (l. 18) proceeded in a forward order (and) desecrated each plot up to the end (and) from the end plot (they) came down in reverse order desecrating each plot until [(they) reached the initial plot. When all the plots had been exhausted, the *simā*] (l. 19) was (completely) desecrated. (As for) the desecration of this *simā*, (it was on) Saturday, the seventh (day of the) waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa[3] that (its) desecration was concluded.

1 About half a line is missing here on the stone and also in the MSS. The Pāli supplies the *lacuna*: "On the inside of the places, suitable for fixing the boundary-marks of the new *simā* to be consecrated, allotments of space of five cubits each in length and the same in breadth were marked out, and *allotments of similar dimensions were marked out also* on the outside; and by means of a line drawn with lime or chalk, rectangular spaces in rows were marked out." (I have italicized the missing words.)

2 The Pāli proceeds: "When the number of rectangular spaces had been exhausted, the ceremony of desecrating a *simā* was concluded." It says nothing about a third row of such spaces.

3 Saturday, 23rd November 1476.

[(On) Sunday, the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa the consecration of the *simā* was performed.][1] (l. 20) At the time when the consecration was to be performed, the following were the arrangements made for the consecration:—

The extent of the site, where the *simā* was to be made, having been marked, (at) the corners (facing) the four quarters [four[2] boundary stones were planted. When] (l. 21) these four middle stones [were planted,] it being an advantage to have eight boundary stones with a view to making (the plan) other than a four-sided figure, the middle of each (side) [was made] to bulge somewhat (outwards) [and stones were planted (there also). Bringing] (l. 22) a rope, (they) ran it round from stone to stone,[3] and along the course of the rope a line was drawn on the ground. The line [having been] drawn, [outside the line] (l. 23) in order to make manifest the limit of the site of the *simā*, a trench was made in the ground, of the breadth of one span (and) the depth of one span. When the trench was made in the ground, [all trees, bamboos, grass (and) rubbish which would cause confusion of *simās* to arise,] (l. 24) both outside the boundary-marks and inside the boundary-marks where the new *simā* was to be, (they) cleared away altogether, and (they) made the trench into a wet ditch,[4] [filling it with water. When this had been done, the boundary stones] (l. 25) were adorned with gold and vermilion,[5] and were wrapped up (and) decorated with red (and) white cloth. In order to show

1 Sunday, 24th November 1476. It would seem from the Pāli that this first day was taken up with the demarcation of the site, the actual ceremony of consecration only beginning on the following day. The Pāli passage corresponding with our text has: "On the 8th day, Rāmādhipatirāja, in order to have the ceremony of consecrating a *simā* performed, visited the place in the morning and had the preliminary arrangements carried out in the following manner;—On the outside of the site selected for consecrating the *simā*, and facing the four quarters, four boundary-marks were fixed; in order to bring into prominence the advantage derived from fixing the boundary-marks in a form other than that of a four-sided figure, each of the additional four boundary-marks was placed at the end of a line drawn from the middle of the line joining each of the two corners facing the four quarters." This explains our text, which is somewhat obscurely worded.

2 The MSS. have "eight." It may be that there is a *lacuna* after "four quarters" and that a short passage stating that four stones were planted (at the corners) preceded the statement that eight were planted in all. At any rate the MS. text cannot be right as it stands, and the emendation is supported by the Pāli version.

3 Or "from the face of one stone to the face of the next," the word rendered "face" being literally "chest, breast." Cf. K 4.

4 This rendering is somewhat conjectural as the reading and meaning of the words *garen tanam* (or *kanam*, which would, however, be an unusual spelling for *kanaṁ*) are doubtful. The Pāli has: "The small trench was smeared with mud, and some water was placed in it."

5 Literally, "red drug."

honour to Buddha, (at) every [boundary stone, umbrellas, streamers, tapers,[1] vases] (l. 26) full of decorations of plantain leaf,[2] candles,[3] cloths, ...[4] (and) mats were set outside the boundary-marks.

(This) having been done, (the king) caused our lords to proclaim[5] the boundary-marks. [Our lords proclaimed] all the eight stones [three times[6] until they arrived at the stone] (l. 27) which they had first proclaimed[7] and then our lords entered into the building in the middle of the *sīmā*, took their seat on the *hatthapāsa* and remained (there).

[Then,[8] along the trench of the *gāmakhetta*,] (l. 28) outside the *gāmakhetta*, men on foot, men mounted on elephants, and men mounted on horses took up their stations going all around, flags, [banners (and) pennants were set up (and) arranged, drums, conch-shells, and] (l. 29) clarions were distributed[9] at intervals; in order to prevent other monks,[10] who (might be) walking on the roads, from entering within the limits of the *gāmakhetta*, (l. 30) a secure watch was ordered to be kept; and in case other monks, afraid to enter within [the limits of] the [*gāmakhetta*,] should be remaining in

[1] I have followed the L.M. Dictionary explanation of *dhup sṅau*, "packet of tapers." But the Pāli here has "lamps, incense," and it seems at least possible that our MS. text meant "incense, tapers."

[2] The Pāli has: "water-pots, whose mouths were covered and adorned with white water-lily flowers."

[3] Or "lamps."

[4] The meaning of *plāt* is undetermined. It may go with *yāt*, and in that case be the specific name of some particular kind of cloth.

[5] The meaning of *skay* has been inferred from the Pāli, which says: "The preliminary arrangements connected with the consecration of the *simā* having thus been carried out, the nine Theras and the five young monks were invited, and the eight boundary-marks, commencing with the one in the Eastern quarter, were successively proclaimed."

[6] The MS. text is corrupt here, but the Pāli version justifies the above rendering. It has: "The proclamation was continued till the first boundary-mark, which had previously been proclaimed, was reached. In this manner the boundary-marks were proclaimed three times."

[7] There is nothing in the Pāli to correspond with what follows (to the end of the paragraph), and consequently there is nothing in it to throw light on the word *paṇḍaḥ*. It has been suggested that it means "apart" (cf. L.M. *ṣḍaḥ*) and we should then take it to mean that the monks took their seat a measured distance apart.

[8] The Pāli is somewhat different: "On the following morning, flags and streamers were planted at various places around the *gāmakhetta* belonging to the minister Narasūra; drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded; and the guards, mounted men, and swift messengers, who had been stationed for the purpose of stopping the progress of travelling monks, and of causing other monks residing on that *gāmakhetta* to be speedily excluded from it, were sent out to patrol all round it." As to the date, see l. 19, *supra*, n.

[9] Though the Pāli has "sounded," I do not think *cut ā* can be made to bear that sense.

[10] Cf. B 49 n., D 147, 48, and l. 31, *infra*.

(some) secret place, a strict search was ordered to be made. (This) having been done, the men (l. 31) who ran on foot (and) the men who were mounted on horses (would) cause (them) to run away (and would) follow[1] after (them) (and then) say to the persons who kept watch, "There are no monks[2] within this *gāmakhetta*, (and) there are no other monks who would enter into (l. 32) this *gāmakhetta*. We are keeping[3] a very secure watch." When the men returned saying this, their arrival caused our lords to consecrate the *sīmā*.[4]

When our lords recited (l. 33) the *kammavācā*, in order to secure literal exactness, two (of them) recited (it) each time,[5] (and) when the full seven times had been completed, and (it) was stated that the *sīmā* had been consecrated, drums,[6] xylophones,[7] clarions, (l. 34) trumpets, and conch-shells were ordered to be sounded thrice, (and) thrice were shouts ordered to be raised. Inasmuch as this *sīmā* that had been (thus) consecrated was consecrated by our lords who went to the island of Ceylon and received the *upasampadā* ordination in an *udakukkhepasīmā* arranged (l. 35) on the Kalyāṇī River, (it) was called the Kalyāṇīsīmā; His Majesty gave (it) the name.[8]

After the arrival of these monks from the island of Ceylon and before (l. 36) the consecration of this *sīmā*, some of our lords of the clergy who were leading members (of the Order), owing to their great devotion to the religion (said): "That the *upasampadā* ordination which is observed amongst us should be subject to doubt, (is) not (a) proper (state of things). Let us receive the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of[9] our lords who have

[1] I have taken *buik* to be a variant spelling of *bak*, "to follow, pursue." I am not sure that my version of this whole passage represents the real construction, which may be that the men on patrol "were ordered to run after" (and drive away) any vagrant monks. It depends on the sense assigned to *kuiw*.

[2] I take the *taya* of the text to be merely an error for *yata* (as to which cf. l. 29 n., *supra*).

[3] Or, "we kept."

[4] Literally, "Thus saying the men who returned arrived, who" (or "which") "caused," etc. But the passage might be rendered alternatively, "when the men returning and saying thus arrived, our lords were caused to consecrate the *simā*." This rendering, however, takes no account of the *ma*. The general sense is determined by the Pāli: "It was only when the absence of other monks on that *gāmakhetta* had been reported, that the *kammavācā* relating to the consecration of a *simā* was read seven times with proper intonation, and that the ceremony of consecration was concluded." Throughout this whole passage the Pāli is much the more concise version.

[5] Apparently together, simultaneously. The Pāli omits this detail.

[6] As to *klo'*, cf. F 55 n.

[7] Cf. F 50 n., 55.

[8] The Pāli omits "His . . . . . name."

[9] Literally, "in the presence of."

received[1] the *upasampadā* ordination from the island of Ceylon."[2] Having spoken in this wise, many a time, (they) came (and) petitioned His Majesty Rāmādhipati.[3]

[His Majesty on his part spoke thus to our lords: "In the case of monks who possess faith desiring to receive the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the monks who received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, let them receive it! Let those who have not faith (and) do not desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese remain (as they are)! To those who wish to receive the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese succession I cannot say 'Do not receive (it)!' (and so) forbid (them); (and) to monks who do not desire the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese succession I cannot say 'Receive (it)!' (and) violently use them. Let my lords carefully consider the intention of the Vinaya, which is the will of the exalted Buddha. If the *upasampadā* attaching to my lords appears doubtful to (your) minds, let my lords receive the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese. If the *upasampadā* attaching to my lords is pure (and) is not doubtful in (your) minds, let my lords remain (as you are)." Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhipati reply to the lords of the clergy.

Then His Majesty Rāmādhipati reflected in this wise:—"Some of the clergy who are leading men say (they) have the desire of obtaining the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese. (But there is) a condition in the book of Vinaya stating that both for the *pabbajjā* and the *upasampadā* the (office of) *upajjhāya* is the basis.[4] Now inasmuch as our lords who have returned from Ceylon have not yet completed ten years (since their ordination), (they) are not yet qualified to be *upajjhāya*. That being the case, how can we proceed, so that these monks may obtain the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese succession, to get (some one) who is fit to be their *upajjhāya* and make him their *upajjhāya*, so that they may receive this *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese?" His Majesty, having reflected

[1] Literally, perhaps, "received (and) brought."

[2] The Pāli gives the above speech, slightly expanded, as the address made by the monks to the king, adding at the end of it: "and thus shall our ordination become pure." It says nothing about "many a time."

[3] Here ends Face G.

[4] The Pāli proceeds: "and it is decreed by the Blessed One that such an office should be conferred only on qualified monks, who, by reason of their having been ten years in orders, have acquired the status of a Thera. But these Theras received their *upasampadā* ordination this year only; and not one of them, therefore, is qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*. Whence can we get such an *upajjhāya*?," etc.

thus, commanded that a search (and) enquiry (should) be made. Then our lord Parakkamabāhusāmithera[1] came (and) thus addressed His Majesty: "(There is) a monk named the lord Suvaṇṇasobhaṇa,[1] a worthy monk, one who received the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of Ceylon, a man who is modest, remorseful, an observer of the precepts, a dweller in the forest, with few desires, easily satisfied, eradicating his sins, an observer of the *dhutaṅgas*." (Thus) saying, (he) informed His Majesty.

Then His Majesty gave orders to go (and) invite that monk, (and) when our lord came into the presence of His Majesty]

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thus did His Majesty [enquire (of him): "When my lord went to the island of Ceylon and received the *upasampadā* ordination, in what *simā* did my lord receive it, how numerous was the Chapter (that ordained you), who acted as *upajjhāya*, who acted as] (l. 2) *ācariya*? Since [your reception of the *upasampadā* of the Sinhalese, how many years (have) now (elapsed)?" Thus did His Majesty ask, (and) the Thera on his part replied in this wise to His Majesty: "We received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese] (l. 3) in the *udakukkhepāsimā* [which they arranged in the great Kalambu *jātassara*, the Chapter (numbered) thirty-one,[2] our lord Vanaratana,[3] that great *saṅgharāja*,[4] acted as] (l. 4) *upajjhāya*, our lord Rāhulabhadda,[3] [who is now *saṅgharāja*, acted as *ācariya*. Since I received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, twenty-six years have (elapsed)." Thus did our lord reply] (l. 5) to His Majesty. His Majesty, on hearing [our lord's saying, was exceedingly glad and His Majesty invited our lord (in this wise): "Inasmuch as (there are)] (l. 6) very many [monks, who possess pure faith and desire] to receive the Sinhalese *upasampadā* ordination, [I do desire to make my lord the *upajjhāya* and enable them to receive the *upasampadā* ordination. It is for my lord alone to work for[5] the benefit (and) advancement of] (l. 7) the

[1] I have followed the Pāli version in the spelling of these names.

[2] The Pāli has: "and at the hands of a Chapter composed of innumerable monks."

[3] I follow the Pāli in the spelling of these names.

[4] The Pāli has: "the ex-Mahāsaṅgharāja." This is implied in our MS. text.

[5] The literal meaning of the MS. text, which is probably corrupt (as the two MSS. differ), would seem to be (in B): "My lord alone causes" (or "will cause") "the benefit," etc. It seems possible, however, that *mwai* here represents E.M. *mey* (not *moy*), in which case the sense would be: "Let my lord look" (or, "see") "to the benefit," etc. The A reading is certainly wrong.

religion. [Pray,] my lord, be seated together with (them)!"[1] [Thus saying, His Majesty invited (him). Our lord on his part, saying, "It is indeed a religious act, certainly we will take our seat (and perform it),"][2] (l. 8) gave (his) consent to His Majesty.

At the time when the *sīmā* had been consecrated,[3] our lords the leading monks, who desired to receive the *upasampadā* ordination (l. 9) of the Sinhalese [and] had [spoken to] His [Majesty (to that effect)] previously, approached His Majesty. His Majesty, [together with all the monks, went down to the Kalyāṇīsimā,] (and) (l. 10) His Majesty caused [the monks] who had returned from Ceylon to be invited to enter into the Kalyāṇīsimā. [His Majesty (also) caused] our lord Suvaṇṇa[sobhana, who was to act as *upajjhāya*, to be invited (and) brought into the Kalyāṇīsimā.[4] Then] (l. 11) in this wise did His Majesty on his part speak to the clergy who had returned from Ceylon: "Our lords, all these monks, [are desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of the Sinhalese. May my lords] (l. 12) vouchsafe to confer the *upasampadā* ordination (upon them)!"

Then the clergy from Ceylon answered in this wise: "[Your] Majesty [having exhorted (us) to go (and) receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese, we went (and) received it. As regards] (l. 13) the procedure according to which the clergy of the island of Ceylon conferred the *upasampadā* ordination upon us, O king [and all the clergy, pray listen!

[1] The king's speech is not given in the Pāli, which merely states that he "was extremely delighted, and invited the *thera* to assume the office of *upajjhāya* in respect of the monks desiring to receive the *upasampadā* ordination."

[2] The Pāli has the Thera's speech differently, thus: "Mahārāja, the *theras* of old, in whom human passion was extinct, disregarded their own interest in effecting the purification of the religion in foreign countries. Mahārāja, I will follow in the footsteps of these holy men, and even like them, will purify the religion."

[3] The Pāli proceeds: "the monks, who had faith, and were learned and able, and who, being aware of the impurity of their previous *upasampadā* ordination, were desirous of receiving the form of ordination that had been handed down through a succession of the ordained monks of Ceylon, approached the king and renewed their former request. Having approached the king, they said: 'Mahārāja, now that a *sīmā* has been consecrated in a valid manner, and that a *mahāthera*, who is qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*, has been appointed, we are prepared to receive the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination.' On the morning of Monday, the 9th day of the waxing half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa (= Monday, 25th November 1476), the king visited the Kalyāṇīsimā accompanied by the leading monks. The nine *theras*, together with the five young monks, and Suvaṇṇasobhaṇathera, who was qualified for the office of *upajjhāya*, were invited and seated in the Kalyāṇīsimā."

[4] The Pāli proceeds: "Setting aside the leading monks, who were desirous of receiving the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination, the king approached the *theras* who had visited the island of Ceylon, and having approached them, said to them thus," etc.

When the clergy] (l. 14) of the island of Ceylon were about to confer the *upasampada* ordination upon us, (they said): 'The practice of us, the clergy who dwell in the island (of Ceylon, is this), [When we, the clergy who dwell in the island of Ceylon, confer the *upasampadā* ordination on persons who come from afar, (we) confer (it) after dealing with them in this wise. (You ask), 'How?'.] (l. 15) First (we) [give] (them) white robes and establish them in the condition of laymen; and then when they are established in the condition of laymen, [(we) cause them to make the confession saying, 'I am a layman,' making a confession of their desire.] (l. 16) (This is done for) no other reason (than that) the essence of the reception of the *upasampadā* ordination (is) the separation from the condition of laymen [by first being made a *sāmaṇera* (and then) in the condition of *sāmaṇera* having the] (l. 17) *upasampadā* ordination conferred. [Now] my lords [say] you desire (to receive) the *upasampadā* ordination. [If] your desire [is genuine, (you) will first be established in the condition of laymen and then attain the ecclesiastical state of] (l. 18) *sāmaṇeras*, (so that) we may be able to confer the *upasampadā* ordination (upon you). [Your statement, 'We are laymen,' is an announcement that in making your present profession you (are)] (l. 19) sincere, so that you may obtain the *upasampadā* ordination.

"'In time to come [(it may happen that by reason of your) colleagues, teachers, *upajjhāyas*, (or) disciples finding fault with (you, you) may change (your) minds (and say), 'We will follow (our) original *upasampadā* ordination,] (l. 20) we will not follow this new *upasampadā* ordination!' [(But) we do not wish to let (you) reckon by (your) old seniority. If you are sincere, in] (l. 21) receiving the new *upasampadā* ordination, [we wish (you) to make profession (that you)] will reckon according to the new seniority until the end [of your days.'][1] Thus did the] (l. 22) clergy of the island of Ceylon reply to us; and all of us, who [went to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, said that we were established in the condition of laymen and] (l. 23) had to make a profession as aforesaid. Then our lords gave (us) monastic robes again, (and) when we had become ecclesiastics, made us profess the (three) refuges [(and) the (ten) precepts, and so made us *sāmaṇeras*, (and finally)] (l. 24) our lords conferred the *upasampadā* ordination upon us." Thus (said) our lords who had returned from Ceylon.

[1] The Pāli version of the above passage is in substance similar, though some details differ. But for what follows the Pāli merely has: "It was only when we had conformed ourselves to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon, that they conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on us."

[Then our lords who were the leading monks spoke in this wise:] (l. 25) "All [of us], inasmuch as we have professed our faith, we desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination of the succession of the Sinhalese, [we will act][1] in accordance with the custom [of the Sinhalese." Thus said our lords. The clergy who had returned from] (l. 26) Ceylon and all the other clergy being (thus) in agreement, from Monday, the ninth of the waxing (half) [of Mārgaśīrṣa,[2] during five days, His Majesty Rāmādhipati] (l. 27) remained seated[3] (and) our lords acted in accordance with the custom carried out by the Sinhalese, beginning with [our] lord [the Mahāsāmī Dhammakitti. The lord Thera Suvaṇṇa](l. 28)sobhanamahāthera having been established as the permanent *upajjhāya*, all the Theras who had returned from Ceylon, beginning with Sīrisaṅ[ghabodhisāmī,[4] acted in turn as *ācariyas* in the conferment of the *upa*](l. 29)*sampadā* ordination.

During the day His Majesty Rāmādhipati remained seated[5] (there), (and) [His Majesty continually caused] gifts of boiled rice, water, food, necessaries, betel-leaves (and) [*yāmakā*[6] water to be provided for the clergy.] (l. 30) His Majesty also appointed scribes who should write down (and) keep a register of particulars;[7] [and for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation

[1] The Pāli has; "Then the large number of leading monks said: 'Reverend Sirs, since you yourselves received the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination only after conforming to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon, even in this wise, do we, who are replete with faith, desire to receive it. Therefore, we are prepared to receive the pure form of the *upasampadā* ordination after conforming ourselves to the custom of the *mahātheras* of Ceylon.'"

[2] See l. 8, *supra*, note. The Pāli introduces the date in the next paragraph.

[3] That is, "was present." Not in the Pāli.

[4] The Pāli does not specify who began, but merely says "with the nine Theras who had returned from Ceylon as *ācariyas*, the *kammavācā* being read by two of these Theras in turn."

[5] Cf. l. 27, *supra*.

[6] I follow the form used in l. 38, *infra*. The MS. version here uses the fuller form *yāmakāla*, but I suspect that the scribe is responsible for the alteration. The L.M. form is *yāma* and it seems not unlikely that the scribe wrote *kāla* in the sense of "time" (to go with the *gah* that follows it). The original form is Pāli *yāmakālikaṁ*, explained by Childers as "said to mean drinkables taken by priests after midday." Halliday explains *yāma* as "a sweet drink made with any sourish fruit such as lime, tamarind, etc., and plenty of sugar."

[7] The word *caḍwon* (L.M. *caḍon*) is explained as meaning, literally, "a footstep," that being the method of measuring one's shadow in order to determine the time of day on which some specially important occurrence takes place. This method is apparently used by the monks to settle such questions as relative seniority of ordination in cases where both were ordained on the same day and the matter resolves itself into one of hours or even minutes. Here the scribes were to make an exact record of the proceedings of each ordination in turn accordingly. The Pāli, however, merely says that they "were appointed to note the number of monks that had received the *upasampadā* ordination."

"*sādhu*"] after each conferment [of the *upasampadā* ordination, (l. 31) His Majesty provided [drums].[1] At the time when the sun was going to set, having arranged for leading nobles (and) scribes (to remain in attendance at the ordination), (and) for lamps, His Majesty [went up to the city. When the five days were completed,] (the number of)[2] (l. 32) leading monks who had received the *upasampadā* ordination was two hundred (and) forty-five. Then His Majesty sent word[3] [to all these lords: "This Sunday, (being) the holy day of the full moon of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa,] (l. 33) may our lords who have received the new *upasampadā* ordination, (numbering) two hundred (and) forty-five, and our lords who have returned from Ceylon, [(numbering) fifteen, two hundred (and) sixty in all, be pleased] (l. 34) to perform *uposatha* in the Kalyāṇīsimā! After our lords have performed *uposatha*, let [us present] gifts by way of alms, [let us] (l. 35) present [charitable offerings that are fit to be presented as gifts,] and (so) enable us to arouse feelings of pious satisfaction (in our own) mind!" In this wise did His Majesty send word to the clergy, [and early on the holy day of the full moon of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa His Majesty,] (l. 36) together with a retinue (and) with all the ministers (and) generals,[4] having gone down (to the Kalyāṇīsimā),[5] spread mats for the two hundred (and) sixty clergy [who were to perform *uposatha* in the Kalyāṇīsimā, and His Majesty remained (there).] (l. 37) Then, when the two hundred (and) sixty clergy had arrived, (they) performed *uposatha*. At the conclusion of our lords' performance of the *uposatha*, a [breakfast and fore-noon] meal [(with) cakes, preserved fruit, (and) food of divers] (l. 38) kinds, (together with) *yāmakā*[6] water, were served to our lords. (To) each of the clergy [two sets of] cloths [(and) mats, a box for areca-nuts and a bottle of lime,] areca-nut (l. 39) [slicers,] a napkin, a paper fan,

[1] As to the word *klo'*, cf. F 55 n. The Pāli has "drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded."

[2] I follow the Pāli here, as the MS. text seems to be corrupt. (For *tiṁ tala* I should prefer to read *tīla*). The Pāli specifies the five days as being "from the 9th to the 13th."

[3] The Pāli fixes the date of the king's invitation being given to the monks as "Saturday, the 14th" (which was Saturday, 30th November 1476).

[4] This is the original sense of *senāpati*. But it may well be that at Pegu in the 15th century (as in modern Siam) the word was differently applied and denoted civil officials, such as ministers.

[5] The Pāli (which has the words in parentheses) proceeds: "and, having ordered the provision of seats and of water for washing the feet, awaited the arrival of the newly ordained Theras and the fifteen conductors of the *upasampadā* ordination ceremony."

[6] Cf. l. 29, *supra*, n.

an umbrella, an alms-bowl, a water vessel, (and) a hemmed mat,[1] were given as offerings to our lords.

Then, in compliance with the wish of all the clergy,] (l. 40) the lord Thera Suvaṇṇasobhanamahāthera, who had acted as *upajjhāya*, was given the name of Kalyānītissamahāthera. [From this time forward[2] leading nobles (and) scribes went (and)] (l. 41) kept watch permanently in the *simā*. The disciples of our lords the two hundred (and) forty-five leading monks also went (and) received the ordination; [and other] leading clergy, [who were of good faith (and) desired to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, likewise went (and) received (it).[3] Then His Majesty Rāmādhipati[4] sent word to all the clergy and throughout the whole extent of this Môn country His Majesty caused them to make agreements (and) make appointments in this wise: "What is past, let it be done with! (But) as for other monks in the future, after these, let all clergy who ordain them hereafter see that the candidates

1 There are several doubtful words in the above list of offerings. The Pāli has: "The following articles were then presented to each of the Theras:—two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making *ticīvara* robes; a betel-box with cover, areca-nuts, nut-crackers, etc.; a palmyra fan; an umbrella made of the leaf of the wild date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*); and an alms-bowl with cover and stand." I have rendered *saṇā*, as in F 46, by "mats," L.M. *snā*, but conceivably it may be the specific name of the cloth: cf. J 24, where the MS. reading is *sṅā*, and M 27. I have no authority for "sets" except the Pāli version, unless *tau* stands for it. The word "box" is supported by the Pāli (cf. J 24), but I have no other authority for it. The MS. text has *kḅoṁ*, evidently an error for *kwoṁ*: cf. the reading on the stone (and also the MS. itself) in the parallel passage J 24; and cf. N 8, 13. The rendering "areca-nuts," though supported by the Pāli, is merely conjectural, being based on the assumption that the MS. *palā* (for *phalā*, as in J 24) is here a substitute for the Môn *sat*, generically "fruit," but specifically "areca-nut." The expression "hemmed" (mat), which does not occur in the Pāli version, is not quite certain. Cf. M 29, N 13.

2 The Pāli has: "Thenceforward, the king permanently stationed, in the neighbourhood of the Kalyāṇīsimā, nobles and learned men for the purpose of serving food and furnishing the 'requisites' to the ten Theras, headed by Kalyāṇītissamahāthera, who, together with the five young monks, conducted the *upasampadā* ordination ceremony, as well as to the leading monks who had received their *upasampadā* ordination in the Kalyāṇīsimā, and to the numerous monks who presented themselves for ordination. There were likewise stationed numerous scribes charged with the duty of recording the number of monks ordained; and musicians to sound the drum, conch-shell, and other instruments for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of *sādhu* at the conclusion of each reading of the *kammavācā* relating to the *upasampadā* ordination. The ten Theras who conducted the ordination ceremony, the two hundred and forty-five monks who had received such ordination, and the numerous monks who were their disciples, conferred, day after day, without interruption, the Sinhalese form of the *upasampadā* ordination on other leading monks, who came and expressed a desire to receive it."

3 Here, according to the MS. version, ended Face H.

4 The Pāli has: "Rāmādhipatirāja, of his own accord and with the approbation of the whole Order, despatched the following message to all the monks residing in the Môn country: 'Venerable Ones, there may be men, who, though wishing to receive the *pabbajjā* ordination, are branded criminals,'" etc.

for ordination are satisfactory, and then ordain them. Men who are branded, men who are notorious as thieves (or) robbers,[1] men who are not perfect in their limbs, men maimed (in) foot (or) maimed (in) hand, dwarfed (or) of small stature, (or) having crooked limbs,[2] if people see such a man (they) would imitate, laugh at, (and) mock, not reverence, (him). Do not permit such persons to be ordained! When (any) disciples desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, do not confer it privily: first inform us (so that the case can be) examined in the *simā*, here in Pegu. When definite arrangements have been made, we will present the monastic requisites and will support the ordination. But if (you) do not act thus, but confer the *upasampadā* ordination privily, the mother (and) father of those who receive]

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such *upasampadā* ordination, [as well as (their) relatives, and likewise their lay supporters, will be visited by us with royal penalties.

"Clergy[3] in general, (and) clergy who are your own disciples, (that)] (l. 2) have been practising medicine and making a living by tending people's diseases, [suffer (them) not to do (so)! (Such as) practise astrology (and) make a living by observing people's nativities, suffer (them) not to do (so)! (Such as) make a living by . . . . . [4] (or) by embroidering[5] the borders of women's skirts (or) the borders of robes, (or) by . . . . . [6] (or) making ornamental designs,[7] (or) carving the handles of knives (and)] (l. 3) cleavers, (and) [following] one (or other) of such occupations

1 The Pāli adds: "or escaped prisoners, or offenders against the Government, or old and decrepit, or stricken with severe illness," etc.

2 The Pāli adds: "or are, in short, persons whose presence vitiates the *parisā*."

3 The Pāli gives a long list of various occupations (not always quite the same as those in our text) and reserves to the end the injunction against allowing offenders to live amongst the well behaved monks. It begins: "There are sinful monks who practise medicine; and others, who devote their time to the art of numbers, carpentry, or the manufacture of ivory articles, or who declare the happy or unhappy lot of governors, nobles, and the common people, by examining their horoscopes or by reading the omens and dreams that may have happened to them."

4 The meaning of *stuik* and *bacāṁ* (A *dacāṁ*) has not been determined. 5 Or, "painting."

6 The meaning of *nibā* has not been determined, though it appears from M 11 that it was some kind of material suitable for covering the outside of the *gati* there described. In this place the MS. text inserts *yāt* before it, which looks as if the copyist took *nibā* to be the name of some kind of cloth. The word *lak* can mean "to paint, smear, overlay."

7 The meaning of *gamat* has not been determined; *pkau* literally means "flower."

live as laymen do [all the time—my lords, do not suffer monks who exercise such callings to dwell among you! Monks who acquire material wealth,][1] (l. 4) make a living by [the recitation of] the Dhamma with a loud voice, (or) by . . . . . .[2] (or) acquiring [spindles of] cotton thread,[3] [(or) by going down (into the fields) (and) acquiring paddy (and) rice, (or) going to the edge of the forest (and) getting pepper,[4] do not harbour monks of that sort among you! If monks associate with] (l. 5) laymen (that are) gamesters, dissolute youths, servants of the king, companions of the king, men who spend their lives in drinking (and) playing [dice[5] . . . . . ,—my lords, do not harbour (them) among you!

"If monks are possessed of sincere faith and truly study (religion), (then), my lords, harbour (them)] (l. 6) among (you)! When laymen come to (you), my lords, desiring to become monks, cause [them to learn to write, and when (they) have recited the alphabet, make them learn] (l. 7) the confession of faith in the Three Refuges, and the (ten) precepts.[6] When (they) have become qualified, let my lords permit (them) to become monks.

["*Sāmaṇeras* who have attained the age of twenty (and) are desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination should first be thoroughly instructed in the principles of the four *parisuddhisīlas*, namely] (l. 8) the *pātimokkhasaṁvarasīla*, *indriyasaṁvarasīla*, *ājīvapārisuddhisīla*, and *paccayasannissitasīla*, (l. 9) the *sāmaṇeras* should first be taught [the book of the Pātimokkha from beginning to end together with (its) meaning and interpretation,] the *sāmaṇeras* should first be taught the book of the Khuddasikkā, [the *sāmaṇeras* should first be caused to commit to memory the discourse of

[1] The MS. reading *pakrayā ha me* is corrupt, as is also the corresponding *phatrayāpāw* in l. 19, *infra*. In both places it should probably be amended into *pa kriyā pāw*; but it is not quite certain whether this means "acquire material wealth" or "practise unbecoming professions."

[2] The meaning of *slor labwor*, and also the reading of this last, are doubtful.

[3] The Pāli has: "There are monks who visit cotton fields and preach the Dhamma with long intonation, and trade in the cotton which they happen to receive as offerings."

[4] The meaning of *tuiṅ* here has not been determined, and the reading is probably corrupt. The Pāli has: "There are monks who visit fields of hill-rice, rice, barley, etc., and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the grain which they happen to receive as offerings. There are monks who visit fields of capsicum and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the capsicum which they happen to receive as offerings. There are monks who trade in many other ways."

[5] The word *khat* by itself should mean "cowries"; "dice" is *khat paḥ*. The meaning of *lan li* has not been determined; *lan* means "to go from place to place."

[6] The Pāli proceeds: "and eventually, Venerable Ones, confer the *pabbajjā* ordination on them." Our text uses the word *gam-ī*, "monk," but clearly the noviciate is here meant.

ecclesiastical offences, and the *sāmaṇeras*] should [also be caused to commit to memory the *paccavekkhana* concerning the use of the four requisites.] (l. 10) When the *sāmaṇeras* have become fully qualified in (all) such learning, our lords should inform [us, (and) we (shall) support their *upasampadā* ordination. May all the clergy on their part] (l. 11) carry on [a course of conduct conformable to the Vinaya and Sikkhapāda] of the exalted Buddha and pleasing (to him)! [Do not follow] a course of conduct that is not in conformity with the Vinaya [of the exalted Buddha and is not pleasing (to him), my lords!

"In the past, in this Môn country, all the clergy, by reason of] (l. 12) the existence of various sects, were in a state of confusion, together with impurity (and) corruption, as aforesaid. [From henceforward all the clergy, having professed true faith, have received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese: (therefore) in conformity with the practice] (l. 13) of the clergy, who dwell in the island of Ceylon, in wearing (their) robes and shaving (their) hair, let my lords [follow (them in those matters also)! Let there be a single sect! Let not divers sects arise!"

Having caused a message in these terms to be drawn up,] (l. 14) His Majesty caused [investigation (and) search to be made] throughout the whole extent of this Môn country [regarding monks who were possessed of goods, paddy (and) rice, male slaves, female slaves, cattle (or) buffaloes, (and) His Majesty caused word to be sent (to them in this wise):—

"My lords, give up (and) surrender] (l. 15) (your) goods, [if you] would observe (the conduct of) [monks. If my lords fail to do (so), (then) with (your) goods follow the life of laymen!" Such was the message His Majesty sent round to all the monks.

Some monks surrendered (and) gave up] (l. 16) (their) goods and observed [the (rule of) monks. Some monks did not surrender (their) goods, (but) with (their) goods had to abandon (the Order and enter) the lay state. In the case of monks who had committed grave offences that were of public notoriety,] (l. 17). His Majesty made (them) all live in the lay state. As for some monks who had committed grave offences [that were not of public notoriety, His Majesty expelled monks who were to that extent open to censure and reproach and made them live as laymen,] (l. 18) all (of them). Some monks who had committed serious offences that did not reach the extreme point, [but were unable to put away] such degree of censure and

reproach as there was, [such monks as aforesaid] (l. 19) His Majesty expelled (and) made (them) all live as laymen.[1] Monks who practised medicine, who practised astrology, who made a living by embroidering[2] the borders of skirts (or) the borders of robes, [(or) by . . . . . (or) . . . . . ,[3] acquired material wealth,[4] these monks who lived sinful lives His Majesty made to live in] (l. 20) the lay state, all of them.

Thus did His Majesty Rāmādhipati entirely purge (and) expel the impurity (and) corruption of religion that had arisen, and [caused all the clergy who were in this Môn country to form one single sect.] (l. 21) All the clergy, who dwelt in villages (or) in the forest, who lived within this Môn country, from the (l. 22) year 838 of the Common Era, [the ninth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) a Monday, our lords] came (and) received the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese until the year 841 of the Common Era, without intermission they kept on coming (and) receiving (it).

At that time our lords [the clergy dwelling in the Môn country who received this *upasampadā* ordination amounted] (l. 23) to eight hundred leading monks (and) fourteen thousand two hundred (and) sixty-five young monks.[5] When all these eight hundred leading monks [had] received the (l. 24) *upasampadā* ordination, [His Majesty presented each of them with [two sets of robe cloths[6] for making *ticīvara* robes;] a box[7] for areca-nuts, with betel-leaves (and) a bottle of lime; areca-nut slicers; a napkin; an

[1] The Pāli equivalent of this passage is: "Some of the monks, owing to their being imbued with faith, gave up all such possessions and conformed themselves to such conduct as was in accordance with the precepts; while other Theras did not endeavour to give up all their possessions, and they left the Order. There were some monks who had flagrantly committed *pārājika* offences: these were requested to become laymen. There were others, whose commission of *pārājika* offences had not been proved, but whose reproachable and censurable conduct was difficult to be justified: these were asked to become laymen." Both texts use the term *antimavatthu* for this class of offences.

[2] Or, "painting": cf. l. 2, *supra*, and note.

[3] The meaning of *tuik bacāṁ* and *nībā* is undetermined. As to these words and *lāk*, see l. 2, *supra*, n.

[4] The text is corrupt and the meaning doubtful: cf. l. 3, *supra*, n.

[5] That is, "minor clergy." The Pāli here adds: "and the total number of both classes of monks was fifteen thousand and sixty-five."

[6] The meaning of *tat* and *tau* is not strictly determined. The position of the latter suggests that it is used merely as a numeral auxiliary. The former is evidently an error for *bāp* (cf. F 46, H 38). The Pāli speaks of "cotton cloths of delicate tissue." See the variant reading in H 38.

[7] Cf. H 39, *supra*, n.

umbrella[1]; an alms-bowl[2]; (and) a fan.[3] In the case of the clergy on whom it was fitting [to confer titles, His Majesty in every case conferred titles.] (l. 25) Subsequently His Majesty presented the (monastic) requisites to the *sāmaṇeras* who had studied the Khuddasikkhā (and) the Pāṭimokkhā, and made (them) receive the *upasampadā* ordination, (to the number of) six [hundred and one. The full total of the clergy dwelling within the bounds of] (l. 26) this Môn [country] who received the Ceylon *upasampadā* ordination was fifteen thousand, six hundred (and) sixty-six.

The matter of the purification of the religion having been thus accomplished, [His Majesty Rāmādhipati, because he delighted] exceedingly [in the religion] (l. 27) of the exalted Buddha, (expressed the hope): "Now that the religion which is in this Môn country has been freed from impurity (and) corruption and freed from doubt, may [it be able to endure for five thousand years!"] (l. 28) (Thus) did (he) set his mind (and) do.[4]

In former times there was a king who was possessed of great wealth (and) supreme majesty, who delighted [in the religion of the exalted Buddha exceedingly, by name] (l. 29) Asokadhammarāja.[5] In the island of Ceylon, again, there was a king named Siri-saṅghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu, who also delighted exceedingly in the religion of the exalted Buddha,[6] [(and) a king Vijayabāhu who also delighted in the religion] (l. 30) of the exalted Buddha exceedingly, (and) a king Parakkamabāhu who also delighted exceedingly in the religion of the exalted Buddha. All these kings saw the impurity (and) corruption which [had] arisen [in the religion of the exalted Buddha, and] (l. 31) because (they) desired to enable the religion of the exalted Buddha to endure for a long time free from impurity (and) corruption, (they) purified the religion.

[1] The Pāli adds: "made of the leaves of the wild date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*)."

[2] The Pāli adds: "with a stand and cover."

[3] The Pāli has: "a palmyra fan."

[4] It does not seem quite certain that this is the right rendering. Conceivably the words of the text might mean: "So did he set his heart that it should do." The sentence is really the equivalent of the Pali *manasi nidhāyākāsi*, rendered above by "expressed a hope" in order to introduce the passage.

[5] The Pāli adds that he "became agitated in mind at the sight of the impurities that had arisen" in religion; and continues: "he solicited the assistance of Moggaliputtatissathera and effected the purification of the religion by expelling 60,000 sinful monks from the Order."

[6] The Pāli adds: "Seeing the impurities of the religion, agitation arose in his mind and he expelled numerous sinful monks who held heretical doctrines; he effected purification by sparing the single orthodox sect, whose members were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra."

In time past [the Lord] (l. 32) Mahāthera Ānanda, changing (from one) state of being (to another), became a king named Usinnara, holding sway in the city of Benares. At that time the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa (l. 33) had [declined,] but though that king saw that (it) was impure (and) corrupt, that king did not take action by diligently securing the purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa; (l. 34) that king remained (indifferent?).[1] At that time our Bodhisattva was King Indra. Though in the enjoyment of celestial bliss in the heavenly city of Tāvatiṁsa, (he) forsook the delights of celestial bliss because (l. 35) (he) desired to effect the purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha Kassapa, (and) came down to this world of men. Assuming the guise of a hunter, (he) caused the *deva* Mātali to take the shape of a black wild dog,[2] (l. 36) and, leading this wild dog,[2] (he) came down (and) terrified King Ussinara. Then King Ussinara gave a pledge for the purification of the religion, and King Indra instructed King Ussinara, (l. 37) and King Indra ascended again to the heavenly city of Tāvatiṁsa.

Thus[3] did the kings of old, beginning with King Asokadhammarāja exert themselves in the purification of the religion; (and) our (l. 38) Bodhisattva, who (at that time) was Indra, although in enjoyment of celestial bliss in the heavenly city of Tāvatiṁsa, (also) exerted himself in the purification of the religion. Therefore[4] His Majesty Rāmādhipati, in his turn, (l. 39) also observing (and) following after the practice of the pious ones afore mentioned, thus did the deeds that he did in effecting the purification of the religion. Inasmuch as (that) is so, in time to come, in the city of (l. 40) Haṁsawatī, may all the kings that are possessed of faith who shall arise into being hereafter, on seeing the impurity (and) corruption of religion that may arise, also diligently exert themselves so as to effect the purification of the religion! (l. 41) Our lords the Arhats too, beginning with Moggali-

[1] This is a conjectural rendering based on the Pāli, as the reading of the stone is doubtful and that of the MS. is corrupt.

[2] Or "wolf." But the Pāli has "dog." The Môn expression rendered "wild dog" applies in particular to the jackal.

[3] This passage, down to "Therefore" (not inclusive), has no equivalent in the Pāli.

[4] The Pāli proceeds: "King Rāmādhipati, the Lord of the Môn country, following respectfully in the footsteps of the virtuous, purified the religion with a view that it might last till the end of 5,000 years. For having purified the religion in the manner described above, I, Rāmādhipati, have acquired merit, which is inexhaustible as Nirvāṇa, the state of purity and quiescence."

puttatissamahāthera[1] (and) Majjhantikathera, though they were men who had performed their (last) deeds (and) had therefore attained to the enjoyment of *phalasamāpattisukha*[1] (and) (l. 42) (were able) to remain (thus) permanently, (yet) because (they) desired to further the advancement of the religion, (they) turned their backs upon the bliss of *phalasamāpattisukha*,[2] (and) in the cause of (l. 43) the advancement of the religion, (they) exerted themselves. Inasmuch as (that) is so, may our lords, all the virtuous monks, who are possessed of faith in the religion of (l. 44) the exalted Buddha, (and) who[3] shall come in future time, may our lords also exert themselves in the purification of the religion (and) in the advancement of the religion![4]

[Two[5] thousand (and) twenty years after the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sakyamuni, achieved *parinirvāṇa*, having determined to effect a purification of the religion of the exalted Buddha, as regards the persons who were possessed of faith (and) desirous of obtaining the pure state of the *upasampadā* ordination, His Majesty Rāmādhipati urged 22 Theras to go (and) receive (and) bring the *upasampadā* orders from the island of Ceylon, (and) determined that people should be able to obtain the *upasampadā* ordination from the clergy who had gone (and) received it from the island of Ceylon; (and) in order that those who received the *upasampadā* ordination might be able to perform (ecclesiastical) ceremonies such as the *uposatha* (and) *pavāraṇā*,]

[1] Not mentioned in the Pāli.

[2] Literally, "the happiness of the fruition of attainment," *i.e.*, of spiritual peace.

[3] The "who" refers to the monks (of Haṁsavatīpura, as the Pāli adds).

[4] Here ends Face J, which is the last face of the main inscription. The Pāli version adds the following, which has no equivalent in the Môn text: "If this is done, the beings who are immersed in the whirlpool of the three forms of existence, will be enabled to cross (to the other shore), or to free themselves from the conditions of sin and suffering, or to attain the pure and excellent and supreme Buddhahood, which is embellished with the attributes of the wise and is the fruition of supreme exertion." In this passage there is a difference between the MS. version of the Pāli text and the actual reading on the stone, the former being *adhibodhi-budhalaḷitam laḷitaṁ* and the latter *amate vibudha laḷite laḷituṁ*.

[5] Here begins the first of the appendices to the principal inscription, as preserved in the MS. text.

K

[seeing that the ancient *simās*, which had been consecrated[1] in times past, were not (valid) *simās*, His Majesty Rāmādhipati urged] (l. 2) the clergy who had received the [Sinhalese] ordination [to consecrate these *simās*. (In the case of) all the *simās* which were (to be) consecrated, (where) there was (already) a *gāmakhetta*, (in) the new *simā*] (l. 3) together with other *gāmakhettas* surrounding it, connections of branches of trees and the like,[2] [both on the ground and in the air, were cleared away, the ground was trenched, (and) within the *gāma* that was to be the site[3] of the new *simā*,] (l. 4) a *gāmakhetta* was established within the ambit[4] of the boundary stones where the *baddhasimā* was to be. [Then with respect to the *gāmakhettas* outside also, the existing connections of branches of trees and the like were cleared away, (and) the ground was trenched, to indicate] (l. 5) the limits of the *simā*. At the time of the desecration (ceremony), [both] (on) the land that was within the ambit[4] of the boundary marks [and that which was outside (them), plots of 5 cubits in length (and) 5 cubits in width (were marked out) on the ground with lime and] (l. 6) each plot was desecrated, going evenly over them all. At the time of the consecration, [(on) the *gamakhettā* that was to be the site[5] of the new *simā*, they trenched the ground (and) caused persons to be placed around (it and) patrol (it);] (l. 7) and so (they) established (the new *simā*).

Among all the *simās* the Kalyāṇisimā (was) the one that [was made first. (It was in) the year (838)[6] of the Common Era, (on) the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Sunday,[7] that the clergy who had returned from Ceylon consecrated] (l. 8) the Kalyāṇī *simā*. On the twelfth of the waning (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Friday,[8] (at) the time of dawn, [our lords who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the *simā* of the Thousand Buddhas. In the afternoon our lords] (l. 9) who had returned from Ceylon consecrated two *simās* in the Mahārāma. [On the thirteenth of the waning (half)] of the

1 Taking the *smik* of the MSS. to be an error for *smit*.
2 Cf. B 25, 50, C 49, and (for this passage generally) G 8 *seqq*.
3 Taking the *dakau* of the MSS. to be an error for *datau*.
4 Cf. G 22 as to the word *cruih*, literally "chest."
5 Reading *datau* for the *dakau* of the MSS., as in l. 3, *supra*.
6 Omitted in the MSS.
7 Sunday, 24th November 1476. But see G 19 n.
8 Friday, 13th December 1476.

month of Mārgaśīrṣa, [the day (being) Saturday,[1] the clergy who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the Bhā Mru[2] *simā*. On the thirteenth of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna, ...] (l. 10) . . . . . .[3] our lords who had returned from Ceylon consecrated the Muh[4] Mla Skar *simā*. [On the fifth of the waxing (half) of the month of Caitra, the day (being) Wednesday,[5] our lords who had returned from Ceylon, together with our lords the clergy of Pegu who had received] (l. 11) the Sinhalese (form of the) *upasampadā* ordination consecrated *simās* at the four quarters of the foot of the Mah Tau pagoda.[6]

[Beginning with the year 838 of the Common Era, His Majesty Rāmādhipati-paramamahādhammarājādhirāja urged our lords who had returned from] (l. 12) Ceylon (and) urged our lords the teachers of the Order who had received the Sinhalese (form of) ordination,[7] [together with the various Chapters,[8] to consecrate *simās* (in) every town (and) every district of the Môn country. At the time of the consecrations] (l. 13) His Majesty caused some great scholar to attend also in every case.[9]

The *simās* [that our lords consecrated were the Kyāk Kuiw[10] *simā*, the Ma Taṁ[11] *simā*, the Ma Roṅ Lhok[12] *simā*, the Calhuiṅ Ciṅ[13] *simā*, the

1 Saturday, 14th December 1476.
2 "Monastery of the Stockade."
3 The reading is doubtful on the stone and corrupt in the MSS. It may perhaps mean to indicate the time of day or else "when they first went out." The date appears to be Wednesday, 19th March 1477.
4 The reading is doubtful. The word *muh* means "nose, point, cape, fringe"; *skar* (L.M. *skaw*) may mean "mat, sugar, glue."
5 Wednesday, 19th March 1477.
6 The biggest pagoda at Pegu.
7 The phrase here used is *duṅ payaṅ Siṅghuir*, which might also mean "who received the Ceylon monks."
8 Presumably the various local groups (*saṅghas*).
9 The phrase might mean that the king caused every great scholar to attend.
10 This may mean "Buddha gives." But the word *kuiw* may also be merely the conjunction "and" linking the name of this *simā* to that of the next one. The matter is complicated by a difference of reading between the two MSS. in what immediately follows.
11 The word *ma* (on the stone *mba*) literally means "father" and is part of the name of some of the *simās*, while some others are called *mbo'*, "mother." It is not clear what distinction, if any, these two terms may be supposed to import, but the second one commonly refers to the principal part of anything, or something that is large or full-grown. The word *taṁ* means "beginning, principal." MS. B here has a variant reading which would seem to mean that "it was the Buddha *simā* that was consecrated first," or as the principal one, but this is probably corrupt.
12 B has *rok*, "to repay"; *lhok* is unexplained.
13 If *calhuiṅ* is for *caluiṅ*, this would mean "elephant tethering-post." The alternative *caluik* means "to shake."

Gāmalaṅ *simā*,] (l. 14) the *simā* of the Mahābuddharūpa,[1] the Pāṅ Abeṅ[2] *simā*, the Kari[3] *simā*, the [Taṁ Phā][4] *simā*, the Kyāk Ma Taṁ Jow[5] *simā*, the Maṅ Mrā[6] *simā*, the Ñuai Ñāai[7] *simā*, the Muh Kla But[8] *simā*, the Samā Gasū[9] *simā*, the Jip Brāai *simā*, the Muh Ya Tala[10] *simā*,] (l. 15) the Mah Bapuṅ[11] *simā*, the Ka' Kluiw[12] *simā*, [the Jalāai Thaw[13] *simā*, the Laṅ Paḍoṅ[14] *simā*, the Jrai Sapoai[15] *simā*, the Amāt Sut[16] *simā*, the *simā* of Prince U Kwew, the Hān Gāṁ[17] *simā*, the Praṅ Sā[18] *simā*, the Ma Sra Ma Leṅ[19] *simā*, the Jip Dwoṅ *simā*, the Run Wuin[20] *sīmā*,] (l. 17) the Baraḥ *simā*, the Mba[21] [Muin] *simā*, [the Kamā Amāt[22] *simā*, the Oṅ Bra Sri[23] *simā*, the Kon Blāai[24] *simā*, the Pāṅ Tarau Ḅā[25] *simā*, the Paṁ Låṅ[26] *simā*, the Maṅ Mrā[27] *simā*, (l. 18) the Tarwot[28] *simā*, the Mba Ñåṅ[29] *simā*, the Pnāṅ[30] [Dabok] *simā*, [the Wihā Taw[31] *simā*, the Ma Bat[32] *simā*, the Min

[1] Cf. F 49.

[2] *Pāṅ*, "mouth." The next word is a doubtful reading; the MS. *apuiw* suggests an original *apew*, both unexplained.

[3] "Jungle Guide." Cf. E 44.

[4] As to *taṁ*, see note on last line; *phā* may mean "mountain-jack" or "side."

[5] *Taṁ jow* (for which A has *ptaṁ jwow*) may perhaps mean "head of the creek."

[6] *Maṅ*, "to wait for, to watch"; *mrā*, "to prosper, to gain."

[7] "Divers prawns."

[8] Cf. l. 10, *supra*, n. (but B has *muk*, "face"); *kla* means "tiger," and *but*, "to grind."

[9] If *gasū* can be taken to stand for *kasū*, the name would mean something like "expert in writing (painting, etc.)."

[10] *Ya* is the "wax of the dammer-bee"; *tala* means "lord."

[11] *Bapuṅ* (also *bapeṅ*) is the name of a tree, *Erythrina indica*.

[12] Perhaps "Dog's Neck." But in J 36 "dog" is *cluiw* (not *kluiw*); and *ka'* may mean "an isolated piece of ground."

[13] "Golden Bud."

[14] *Laṅ* apparently means "to melt."

[15] "The Banyan Tree of the Nest."

[16] *Amāt* is "minister" and *Sut* may be a proper name (but it also means "silk" and "sutra." On the stone l. 16 is entirely lost; it must have begun about here.

[17] *Hān*, "company"; *gāṁ*, "to step."

[18] *Praṅ*, "to send; bank, slope"; *sā*, "to spread; to be light; borax; company, following."

[19] Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.; *sra*, "to be sore"; *leṅ*, "to carry on the hip; to nourish; to be destroyed."

[20] *Run*, "to be intractable"; *wuin*, "joists."

[21] Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

[22] "The Minister's Tank."

[23] This may be the proper name of a person.

[24] "Son," usually applied to a young man.

[25] "Junction of Two Roads."

[26] *Låṅ*, "to put, to wager."

[27] Cf. l. 15, *supra*, n.

[28] Or, perhaps, *wā rwot* (*wā*, "an open plain").

[29] Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n. It is difficult to see how the usual meaning of *ñåṅ*, "as," can be appropriate here.

[30] "Candle" (or "lamp"). For *dabok*, B has *da blok*.

[31] *Wihā*, "monastery"; *taw*, "handle, stalk, side."

[32] *Bat* means "adhesiveness; likeness."

Taloṁ[1] *simā*, the Brau Galā[2] *simā*, the Leṅ[3] Slop *simā*, the Seṅ Jā[4] *simā*,] (l. 19) the Mba Sa[5] *simā*, the Gåṅ Lon[6] *simā*, the Taguiw Tla[7] *simā*, the [Ñaḥ Slaṅ Taluai][8] *simā*, [the Wā Ḍåk[9] *simā*, the Ma Ñā *simā*, the Tayu Taswok[10] *simā*, the Bhaliṁ Abaḥ *simā*, the Ma Bāṅ *simā*, the] (l. 20) Pāṅ Pan[11] [*simā*,] the Cagan[12] *simā*, the Bha[13] Baket[14] *simā*, the Mba [Asū][15] *simā*, the Mba Luit[16] *simā*, [the Sneṅ Juk[17] *simā*, the Khāṅ Mrah[18] *simā*, the Sraṅ Wā[19] *simā*, the Nāai Sāai[20] *simā*, the Kyāk[21] Kwew *simā*, the] (l. 21) Kaḍāk[22] [*simā*,] the Mba Lau Bān[23] *simā*, the Arhan[24] *simā*, the Apoṅ *simā*, the Trit[25] Mba Saṁ *simā*, the [Daṅ] *simā*, [the Kyāk Thaw[26] *simā*, the Kyāk Tåṅ Ḍuṅ[27] *simā*, the Mo'[28] Aduiw *simā*, the Wā Swā[29] *simā*, the Bahā Jnok[30] *simā*,] (l. 22) the Thåṅ Kwah[31] *simā*, the Mbo'[32] Yage' *simā*, the [Bhu] Mba Grām[33] *simā*, the Gatuim[34] *simā*, the [Aḍaṁ] *simā*, [the

[1] Or Talo'; *min*, "to gather in the arms."

[2] "Indian Woman." But *brau* is also the name of the cocoanut palm and its fruit.

[3] Cf. l. 15, *supra*, n.; *slop* may mean "to enter."

[4] *Seṅ*, "to be withered; to be true"; *jā*, "fishing net, lattice."

[5] Possibly Saṁ, but the MSS. have *sa*.

[6] Perhaps "Most Valiant."

[7] Perhaps cf. L.M. *gaguiw*, *daguiw*, "stump" (also "thunder") or *tagaw*, "ginger"; and possibly *tla* (for *tala*, "lord," etc.) or *kla*, "tiger." The MSS. have *kla'*, "garden," or *klaṁ*, "hundred."

[8] *Ñaḥ*, "person"; *slaṅ*, "to be dazed" (variant *khlaṅ*, "to glow, to shine"); *taluai*, "the Otaheite gooseberry."

[9] *Wā*, "plain" (or, perhaps, "paper kite").

[10] "Hairy Maggot."

[11] "Crossroads" (where four roads meet).

[12] Perhaps Carān or Caban.

[13] Or A.

[14] "Red."

[15] Asura, a fallen angel or Titan.

[16] MSS. *Thuik*.

[17] *Sneṅ*, "wing"; *juk*, "cord" (variant *jut*, "bone").

[18] *Mrah*, "to spread abroad; to praise; to be merry."

[19] *Sraṅ*, "dry land, shore bank"; *wā*, "plain."

[20] *Nāai*, "lord, master"; *sāai*, "bee."

[21] *Kyāk*, "Buddha, pagoda, worshipful object."

[22] "Crow."

[23] "Adhering Arrow."

[24] "Arhat" (if the reading is right; but the *h* is doubtful).

[25] MSS. *Krik*.

[26] "Golden Buddha" (or pagoda, etc.).

[27] *Tåṅ*, "to pull" (variant *taṁ*, "beginning, capital," etc.); *ḍuṅ*, "city, country, kingdom."

[28] Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

[29] "Plain of Waterlilies."

[30] "Great Monastery."

[31] *Thåṅ*, "to set upright; a jail"; for *kwah* the MSS. have *knuh*, "turtle," which may possibly be right.

[32] Cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.

[33] *Bhu* is a doubtful reading; for *mba*, cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.; *grām*, "to put up a barrier" (also, in combination, "to be waste, to be desolate").

[34] "To beat."

Mbo' Khot[1] *simā*, the Kyāk Ma Talew *simā*, the Jrai Mwai[2] *simā*, the Kyāk Prah[3] *simā*,] (l. 23) the Aḍwon *simā*, the Ajan *simā*, the Jray Rāt[4] *simā*, the Mba Cau[5] *simā*, the Kyāk Rhū[6] *simā*, the Pāṅ Apuh[7] *simā*, the [Lalom][8] *simā*, [the Pā[9] Babeṅ *simā*, the Maṅ Glon[10] *simā*, the Kyāk Tamlon *simā*, the] (l. 24) Kuiw Clik[11] [*simā*,] the Danī[12] *simā*, the Saruim[13] *simā*, the Sat Daḍoṅ[14] *simā*, the Mba [Gl]āy[15] *simā*, the Jray Mba Pū[16] *simā*, the Pagṅā[17] *simā*, the [Tan Sran][18] *simā*, [the Ma Seṁ[19] *simā*, the Rammapūra[20] *simā*, the Tamuh[21] Tabuai *simā*,] (l. 25) the Pāṅ Sanḍan[22] *simā*, the Ban Tu[23] *simā*.

At Bhimapūra, the *simā* of the leading monks of Pegu, the *simā* of the leading monks of Ceylon, [the Alha Sarāai[24] *simā*, the Buit Kamā[25] *simā*, the Jiṅ Jāṁ[26] *simā*, the Lagan Phen[27] *simā*,] (l. 26) the Ḅuip[28] *simā*, the Duiw

[1] A measure of four dronas.
[2] "One Banyan Tree."
[3] "To be quick; to fall."
[4] Or *rāk*, "a cabin." (*Fray* is "banyan tree").
[5] 'Grandchild; to return" (but the reading is not certain).
[6] Possibly for *sū*, "to measure."
[7] Cf. l. 14, *supra*, n.
[8] Perhaps L.M. *lalaṁ*, "peace, rest."
[9] "To be in company with; a species of dove."
[10] *Maṅ*, "to wait for, to watch over; red deer"; *glon*, "to pass through; a crest, tuft."
[11] "Give pigs."
[12] Perhaps L.M. *dnī*, *gnī*, "cushion, pillow; the Queen Lagerstroemia," or *dnī*, "a husband's sister."
[13] "Mud" (or "to help").
[14] Perhaps L.M. *khaḍoṅ*, "brinjal" (*sat*, "fruit").
[15] Doubtful reading (L.M. *glāai* means "to seek").
[16] *Pū* may mean "dove" or "to wind around with cord or cloth."
[17] For Paṅgā, probably L.M. *paṅā*, "the wild nutmeg."
[18] *Tan*, "to be stable; to be cheap; an interval"; *sran*, "silver, money."
[19] "Siamese, Shan."
[20] This is plainly a place-name, but not being preceded by the word for "in" or "at" it leaves us doubtful whether the particular *simā* was situated at this place or merely named after it. It is not stated where the numerous *simās* specified in ll. 13–25 were located, but it may be presumed that they were in the neighbourhood of Pegu, the capital of the kingdom. From l. 25 onwards other towns are expressly mentioned.
[21] "Broom."
[22] Cf. l. 14, *supra*, n. But the true reading here may be *wāṅ*, "a species of mint."
[23] *Ban* may mean "to embrace," and *tu*, "a snail" (but the latter is a doubtful reading).
[24] *Sarāai*, "soldier; wild beast."
[25] *Buit*, "diamond; Veda; to throw; to swoop"; *kamā*, "tank."
[26] *Jiṅ*, "to sew."
[27] The first word may be L.M. *laggan*, "love."
[28] "Teal Duck."

Danī[1] *simā*, the Twān Dhatek[2] *simā*, the Row Sā[3] *simā*, the Jray Tayā[4] *simā*, the Cluiṅ *simā*,[5] the Gataḥ Pan[6] *simā*, [the Kyāk Rāai Man[7] *simā*, the Tamrot *simā*, the Waṅ Tuin[8] *simā*, the] (l. 27) Tarhim[9] [*simā*,] the Kareh[10] *simā*, the Tar Kalaḥ[11] *simā*, the Mbo' U Ḍwot[12] *simā*, the Mbo' Rāt *simā*, the Twān Blāy[13] *simā*, the [Moh Ḍuṅ][14] *simā*, [the Phaḍoṅ[15] *simā*, the Ma Ya Bṅa[16] *simā*, the Jinai *simā*, the Pāṅ] (l. 28) Kruṅ Phåṅ Naṅ[17] *simā*, the Dalaṁ Tasāy[18] *simā*, the Gatuim Phaṁ[19] *simā*, the Jray Psā[20] *simā*, the Tikā[21] *simā*, the Kho *simā*, the Draṅ Thår[22] *simā*, the [Ma Maṅ Sā][23] *simā*, [the *simā*[24] to the West of the town of Muh Bī, the Mahā Maṅ] (l. 29) Rāy Siṅga'[25] *simā*, the Paṅ Lāy[26] *simā*, the Dun Jala[27] *simā*, the Wān Ñāy[28] *simā*, the Truk Kanlaw[29] *simā*, the Mah Ta Jnu *simā*, the [Asek] *simā*, [the Galā Ḍuṅ[30] *simā*, the Muh Ñāt[31] *simā*, the Gayāṅ] (l. 30) Taḍoṅ[32] *simā*, the Basah *simā*.

[1] *Duiw*, "hill"; and cf. l. 24, *supra*, n.
[2] *Twān*, "village." *Dhatek* may be L.M. *gatek*, "saw, club, mallet." It appears that there are two villages thus named.
[3] "Light Basket" (L.M. *rau*, "a kind of basket made of open work; a football made of rattan wicker-work").
[4] Possibly Thayā.
[5] Perhaps L.M. *caluiṅ*, "to put on; the post to which an elephant is tied" (cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.). But the reading is in doubt. The variant *khluiṅ* means "pond, lake; to go beyond."
[6] *Gataḥ*, "to turn round or over; to turn back; to burst; thunder"; *pan*, "four; to shoot."
[7] "Môn mustard plant (or radish)."
[8] *Waṅ*, "to cease; enclosure; pool"; *tuin*, "to ascend, to increase."
[9] Perhaps Karhim. [10] Perhaps Tareh. [11] "Whip, goad."
[12] *Ḍwot* is L.M. *ḍot*, "small." For *mbo'* cf. l. 13, *supra*, n. [13] "Young Men's Village."
[14] "Fringe of the Town" (unless *moh* in the MS. represents an original *mbo'*).
[15] "To be weary." [16] *Ya*, "wax of the dammer-bee"; *bṅa*, "ricefield."
[17] *Pāṅ kruṅ*, "mouth of stream (or creek)." The rest is a doubtful reading, and might be read *phaṁ neṅ* or *phaṁ janaṅ*. *Phåṅ* means "a raft" or "a beam fixed along the side of a boat"; *phaṁ*, "a drum"; *naṅ*, "to bring"; *neṅ*, "a fin."
[18] Perhaps Kasāy. Either way the meaning may be "fringe, border."
[19] "Beat Drum." [20] "Banyan Tree of the Market."
[21] "Commentary" (on the Buddhist Scriptures). [22] "Golden Horn (or Peak)."
[23] As to *maṅ*, cf. l. 23, *supra*, n.; *sā*, "to spread; to be light; borax; a following, a follower."
[24] Or "*simās*," for it is not clear whether this may not be intended to localize the names that follow.
[25] *Mahā*, "great." It seems not impossible that *maṅ* here may represent *maṅgala*, "blessing" (but cf. l. 23, *supra*, n.). *Rāy* may mean "mustard, radish" (cf. l. 26, *supra*, n.).
[26] *Paṅ*; "to lift up"; L.M. *lāai*, "to become loose, to be dissolved; line, streak; tiger grass."
[27] "Thorny bamboo." [28] *Wāṇ*, "dressed laterite"; L.M. *ṅāai*, "various; here and there."
[29] Or Kruk Kanluiw (as the MS. text seems to imply). The first word means "Chinese; mango."
[30] *Galā*, "Indian"; *ḍuṅ*, "city, country."
[31] *Muh*, "noise, point, end of cape"; *ñāt*, "to see."
[32] Taḍoṅ may be identical with the Daḍoṅ of l. 24, *supra*.

At Syriam, the Twān Smīṅ Cun Suin *simā*,[1] the Drāt[2] *simā*, the Håṅ[3] *simā*, the Parhåk [Gatā][4] *simā*, [the Tapuin Pi Bañā[5] *simā*, the Balāai Cah[6] *simā*, the Pāṅ] (l. 31) Gaï[7] *simā*, the Jray Cah[8] *simā*, the Kyāk Taluy[9] *simā*, the Rāy[10] Khaṅ *simā*, the *simā* of the Minister Vijayasīha, the Lagwor Glu[11] *simā*, the Mba Samiṅ[12] *simā*, [the Ma Dyoṅ[13] *simā*, the Jrai Lhoṅ[14] *simā*, the] (l. 32) Tamat Thana[15] [*simā*,] the Håṅ[16] Talun *simā*, the Croṅ[17] *simā*, the Gaḍuy[18] *simā*, the Bandan[19] *simā*, the Saggakām[20] *simā*, the Lat[21] *simā*, the Mbuiṅ Añī *simā*, the Saguim[22] *simā*, the [Dhammadu] *simā*, [the Kamā Ma Soai[23] *simā*, the] (l. 33) Sro' Khyuit[24] [*simā*,] the Mah Lwān[25] *simā*, the Mah Chu Kwet[26] *simā*.

At Rangoon, the Mah Damru[27] *simā*, the Mah Dun[28] *simā*, the Rak[29] *simā*, the Duiw Canlan[30] *simā*, the Pubbā[rām][31] *simā*, [the Kyāk Ma Sāṁ Kyow[32] *simā*,] (l. 34) the Duiw Panah[33] *simā*, the Goh Dhammārām[34] *simā*, the Tak Naṅ[35] *simā*, the Lambāt[36] *simā*, the Apa Gay *simā*, the Kyăk Gnak[1] *simā*, the Nelu Laṅ *simā*, the Dåṅ Lu[in][2] *simā*, [the Pāṅ[3] Taboṅ *simā*, the] (l. 35) Twān Akhwon[4] [*simā*,] the Balā *simā*, the Daroṅ Sā *simā*, the Maṅga *simā*, the Kruṅ[5] Cra *simā*, the Cambuiṅ[6] *simā*, the Duiw[7] Khaweṅ *simā*.

At Yat Khret[8] Mah Smīṅ, the [Badow Glaṁ][9] *simā*, [the Jrai] (l. 36) Sum[10] [*simā*,] the Tar Skem[11] *simā*, the Pān[12] *simā*, the Tko'[13] Iñi *simā*, the Jray Nāguir[14] *simā*, the Ḍapuin Brau[15] *simā*.

At Tar,[16] the Kyāk Rājādhirāt *simā*, the Kyāk Thon *simā*, the [Wihā Smiṅ Thar][17] *simā*, (l. 37) the Kyāk Gatuiw[18] *simā*, the Damra' *simā*, the Amāt Jray[19] *simā*.

At Jray, the Kamluiṅ Tla[20] *simā*, the Jip Say *simā*, the Tar Sanåṅ[21] *simā*.

At Klon Palāy, the *simā* of the King[22] [of Ceylon,] (l. 38) also [the *simā*] in the King[22] of Ceylon's creek, the Kyāk Mahecaraṁ[23] *simā*.

At Laṅkā Kruṅ[24] Tāwaṇṇa,[25] the Kruṅ[26] Brāt[27] *simā*, the Kruṅ[26] Kawa[28] *simā*, the Kruṅ Kamer *simā*.

At Sa[m]r[iṁ,[29] the] (l. 39) Tā Canåṅ[30] [*simā*,] the Gniṅ[31] Lān[32] Twān Smīṅ Sudasuim[33] *simā*, the Adin Adåṅ *simā*, the Baleṅ[34] *simā*, the Kyāk Brau[35] *simā*.

[1] "Village of Prince Cun (variant Khun) Suin." [2] "To scatter, to sow."
[3] "To save." But possibly the true reading is Tåṅ (cf. l. 21, *supra*, n.) or Thåṅ (cf. l. 22, *supra*, n.).
[4] *Gatā*, "the under part of anything." [5] "The Three Monks of the Prince" (?).
[6] "Ten springs (or fountains)."
[7] *Pāṅ*, "mouth"; *gaï*, "mortar, pounder; cucumber."
[8] "Ten Banyan Trees." [9] "Otaheite Gooseberry."
[10] Cf. Rāai (l. 26, *supra*, and note). Perhaps Khaṅ should be Khåṅ.
[11] "Dark Grotto (or Cave, or Ravine)." [12] *Samiṅ* may mean "turban."
[13] Possibly for *dayuiṅ*, "post." [14] *Jrai*, "banyan tree"; *lhoṅ*, "to sail."
[15] Perhaps "Touch the Lute." (But *thana*, L.M. *thaṇa*, may also mean "wall plate").
[16] Cf. l. 30, *supra*, n. [17] Perhaps "Built." [18] Possibly Gaḍay.
[19] A doubtful reading: L.M. *baḍan*, "kernel of nut." The variant *baran* of the MSS. means "spotted."
[20] Perhaps "Heavenly Delight." [21] "Fresh."
[22] Perhaps "Warm" or "Warmth."
[23] *Kamā*, "tank." [24] "Dead Rice (in the fields)."
[25] *Mah* is the same as *muh* (cf. l. 10, *supra*, n.); *lwān* may possibly be connected with L.M. *kawān*, "Martaban camphor wood" (but can hardly be the same word). Cf. also L 13-14.
[26] Probably L.M. *chu kwit*, "wood apple."
[27] Perhaps L.M. *damru*, "a sound"; but the reading is not quite certain.
[28] "Bamboo Cape," or "Fringe of Bamboos."
[29] Or Rat (which may mean "floor beam; precious gem; to reap").
[30] Perhaps "Sandalwood Hill." [31] "Ancient (or Eastern) Park (or Monastery)."
[32] *Sāṁ*, "eunuch"; *kyow*, "to peep." [33] "Jackfruit Hill."
[34] "Cave of one who delights in the Law" (or "of the Park (or Monastery) of the Law").
[35] *Tak*, "to strike"; *naṅ*, "to bring" (the variant *nuṅ* means "water pot."
[36] L.M. *lamāt*, "one of a religious order inferior to the monks (a person who separates himself from family life and pledges himself to keep the eight precepts)." This identification is not quite certain: cf. the form *lumḅāc* in I E 15, which throws some doubt on it, perhaps. But medieval Môn spelling is very irregular and a confusion between *b* and *b* (after *m*) seems possible.

[1] *Gnak* means "to sink deep in the mire." But the reading is doubtful.
[2] *Dåṅ*, "to jump"; *luin*, "to tread upon." [3] "Mouth."
[4] *Akhwon*, "tax, revenue." As to *twān*, cf. l. 26, *supra*, n.
[5] *Kruṅ*, "stream, creek." [6] Perhaps Cambiṅ. [7] "Hill."
[8] This place-name is doubtful: see the text. [9] *Glaṁ*, "chamber."
[10] "Ficus Indica." [11] *Tar*, "stalk, handle"; *skem*, "to grasp."
[12] *Pān*, "to ask leave respectfully; (in certain combinations) an expert in art or craft."
[13] "Island."
[14] "Banyan Tree of the Town" (but the reading is doubtful).
[15] "Nun." [16] This place-name is doubtful: see the text.
[17] "Monastery of the Golden Prince." [18] "Seat; board."
[19] "Minister of the Banyan Tree."
[20] *Kamluiṅ*, "well"; *tla*, "lord, master" (but this word may perhaps be read *kla*, "tiger," or *klaṁ*, "hundred")
[21] Perhaps L.M. *snåṅ*, "star."
[22] Or "Prince." [23] Or "Pahecaraṁ."
[24] "Stream, Creek." [25] Perhaps Thāwaṇṇa, or Kāwaṇṇa.
[26] Possibly Kraṅ. [27] "Plantain, banana."
[28] "Bat; short prop." [29] Or Samrī.
[30] *Tā*, "palmyra palm; a measure of length (= 7 cubits); to beckon to stop"; *canåṅ*, "burning" (but the reading is doubtful). [31] "Side."
[32] This is a doubtful reading, but the MS. variant *yān*, "vehicle," seems out of place here.
[33] "Village of Prince Sudasuiṁ." [34] "To go astray."
[35] Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

At Damkāk, the Amāt Ok[1] *simā*, the Sapā[2] *simā*, the Mba (l. 40) Buddhawā[3] *simā*, the Lateṅ[4] *simā*.

At Dala, the Kyāk Gni[5] *simā*, the Kuttī[6] Kwon Prāk[7] *simā*, the Kabāṅ *simā*, the Mba Duiṅ[8] *simā*, the Phyeṅ[9] *simā*, the Twān Brāk[10] *simā*, the Jaṅaṁ *simā*, the Braṅ Brau[11] *simā*, the (l. 41) Taba Pre *simā*, the Sarway[12] *simā*, the Apha Paṅ *simā*, the Aḅat *simā*, the Gayāṅ[13] Tāk[14] *simā*, the Amāt[15] Taṁ Mrek[16] *simā*, the Laṅan[17] *simā*, the Ḅak Sreṅ[18] *simā*, the Daṇḍay[19] *simā*.[20]

[At Luiṅ,[21] the Pāṅ[22] Luiṅ[21] *simā*, the Pāṅ[22] Mapha[23] *simā*.

At Dhanu Plu,[24] two *simās*[25]: at Moriya, the Amāt Phāk[26] *simā*; in the place where His Majesty dwells, one *simā*,[27] the Kyāk Smiṅ]

L

Mat [Pi[28] *simā*, two in all.[29]

At Klon, one *simā*, the[30] Ramlāai Kyāk *simā*, the Smiṅ Ñī Daw Ḍā[31]

1 *Amāt*, "minister"; *ok* may be a proper name (or possibly L.M. *āk*, "parent").
2 *Sapā*, "the skate (fish); to be dim-sighted; (and in combination) arm, breast."
3 "Wednesday."
4 "Sinew, muscle."
5 "Rat; mouse."
6 Probably Pāli *kuṭī*, "hut, cell."
7 Perhaps L.M. *prāk*, "spotted, variegated."
8 "Heron, stork."
9 "To turn aside."
10 "Village of the Water-Dipper."
11 Or Bra.
12 Or Saray.
13 "Wood-oil Tree."
14 Or Tak.
15 Cf. l. 39, *supra*, n.
16 *Mrek*, "red pepper." As to *taṁ*, cf. l. 13, *supra*, n.
17 Perhaps cf. L.M. *lñu lñan*, "lonely."
18 Perhaps L.M. *bak*, "to pass over" (but it may be *ḅāk*, "to hoe; to spin (as a top); to peck," or *ḅat*, "to measure; to be delicate." *Sreṅ* means "to wither; a swinging cradle."
19 Or Danday, or Danay.
20 Here ends Face K.
21 Or Luiṅ (which may mean "bulb" but is here a place-name).
22 Cf. K 14 n.
23 Or Mapa.
24 Or Daṇḍa Phlū.
25 Presumably the two next following are meant.
26 Presumably this last is a proper name: cf. l. 40, *supra*, n.
27 The MSS. have *smiṅ mwai*, "one prince," which I have taken to be an error for *siṁ mwai*.
28 "Prince with Three Eyes."
29 I have taken this as referring back to the two *simās* mentioned after Dhanu Plu.
30 The word *mwai* seems to be unnecessarily repeated here, and it is not clear why the preceding words *siṁ mwai* occur at all, as the *simās* mentioned do in fact total up to six. But perhaps for Ramlāai we should read Ramlāk ("the *simā* overlooking the pagoda").
31 *Ñī*, "to be even, to agree"; *daw*, "to shut"; *ḍā*, "to be shallow."

simā, the Kyāk Tala Lok[1] *sima*,] (l. 2) the Kyāk Ḅay[2] Twan [*simā*],[3] the [Ḅāk Leṅ][4] *simā*, [the Smiṅ Lok Waṅ[5] *simā*, total six.

At Bassein, the Kyāk[6] *simā*, the Kyāk Gā[7] *simā*,[8] the Duiw Ñi[9] Kāṅ *simā*, the Kut Lyeṅ Nāṅ[10] *simā*,] (l. 3) the Great Khwāy *simā*, the Small Khwāy *simā*, [the Kyāk Tma'[11] *simā*, the Kamā Ḅuip[12] *simā*, the Kyāk Kalay[13] *simā*, the Muh Dhau Chān Lha[14] *simā*, the Muh Dhau Gniṅ Samuiṅ[15] *simā*,] (l. 4) the Great Catta[16] Ḅuiṅ[17] *simā*, the Small Catta[16] Ḅuiṅ[17] *simā*, [the Tamyā Sā[18] *simā*, the Ka Praṅ Drāai[19] *simā*, the Maṅ Gaṅ Konāguiṁ[20] *simā*, the Maṅ Ceh Da Khwaṅ[21] *simā*,[22] the Pāṅ Jakwam] (l. 5) Sā[23] *simā*, the Kruṅ Mān[24] *simā*, the Hāṅ[25] Twon[26] *simā*, the Kyāk [Gatoṁ] *simā*, [the

1 Perhaps "Lord of the World."
2 Perhaps L.M. *ḅai*, "a leguminous plant (pea, bean, etc.)"; the variant readings *mah*, *muh*, mean "nose, cape, fringe."
3 *Twan*, "straight"; the variant *tḅan* means "dried preserves."
4 As to *ḅāk*, cf. K 41 n.; *leṅ* means "to perish, dissolution." The variant readings are *ḅāṅ*, "to warm oneself; to give birth"; *laṅ*, "to melt."
5 *Lok* and *waṅ* may be proper names, or possibly L.M. *luik*, "world"; *waṅ*, "to cease (of rain); enclosure, fence; pool."
6 "Buddha," etc. The variant *kyā* means "wind."
7 *Gā*, "a clog put upon the necks of criminals; a lineal measure."
8 The MS. reading is *smiṅ*, which I have assumed to be an error for *siṁ*, translating accordingly. Otherwise this and the preceding *simā* would be combined into one and the total number of *simās* at Bassein would be 24, and not 25 as stated at the end of l. 5, *infra*.
9 *Duiw*, "hill"; *ñi*, "a little (in quantity)."
10 *Kut*, "to cut off"; *nāṅ*, "a bamboo frame over a cooking place" (the variant *nāk* means a Nāga).
11 "Stone, rock, mountain."
12 "Teal Duck Tank."
13 The variant *klai* means "a root resembling a yam."
14 *Chān*, "to love"; *lha*, "a leaf."
15 *Gniṅ*, "shadow; jungle; the loins, the waist."
16 Or Cakka.
17 *Ḅuiṅ*, "a pickle condiment; a large species of deer."
18 *Tamyā*, "urine"; as to *sā*, cf. K 16 n.
19 *Ka*, "fish; short prop"; *praṅ*, "to send; bank, slope"; *drāai*, "the porcine deer."
20 As to *maṅ*, cf. K 23 n.; *gaṅ*, "to be caught (of falling objects); an ape; the sea"; Konāguiṁ is the Buddha Koṇāgamana.
21 As to *maṅ*, cf. K 23 n.; *ceh*, "to descend."
22 As in l. 2, *supra*, I have taken *smiṅ* to be an error for *siṁ* here also.
23 *Pāṅ*, "mouth"; as to *sā*, cf. K 16 n.
24 Perhaps "Potter's Creek" (but the MSS. have the variant *han*, which (in combination) means "rubbish."
25 "To save" (but the word may perhaps be *haṅ*, "stocks (for boat-building); granary," or *pāṅ*, "mouth."
26 Possibly for *kwon*, L.M. *kon*, "child."

Bāhāsā[1] *simā*, the Kawah Glau[2] *simā*, the Ganaṅ Ḍuṅ[3] *simā*, the Jammunā[4] *simā*, 25.]

(l. 6) At Mram,[5] the Jamhaṁ *simā*, the Camå' *simā*, the Pāṅ Glåk[6] *simā*, the [Jrai Talāai][7] *simā*, [the Lān *simā*, the] (l. 7) . . . . . [8] [*simā*,] the [Japuiw] *simā*, [the Baleṅ[9] *simā*, the Kyāk Kanhiṅ[10] *simā*; created by laymen subsequently :][11] . . . . . ,[12] the Danī[13] Pajau[14] *simā*, the Kyāk Bī[15] Tagā *simā*, the Smīṅ [Teja][16] *simā*, [7.

At] (l. 8) Koliya, the [Joṅ Kyāk][17] Smiṅ Lokatrā[18] *simā*, the Joṅ Kyāk[17] [Mah Sga]r *simā*, the Dap Chu[19] *simā*, the Tar[20] Maṅ[21] *simā*.

At Candapūrī, the [Joṅ Kyāk][17] (l. 9) Mbo' . . . .[22] Mbak *simā*, the Mba Abat[23] *simā*, the *simā* of Prince Visukamma,[24] the Mba Mbuiy[25] Thāw *simā*, the [Ji]p Biw *simā*, the Dakā Bhut[26] *simā*, the Cau Kamñān *simā*,

[1] Probably for L.M. *bhāsā*, "a system of religion; language; a mode of practice."
[2] *Glau*, "ox, cow." [3] *Ḍuṅ*, "town, country."
[4] Or Jamūnā. Perhaps this represents the name of the Jumna River (which is, however, Yamunā in Sanskrit and Pāli).
[5] This is all that is clear on the stone, but the name may be Mrim, or perhaps Samrim (the MSS. have Samriṁ). In K 38 there is mention of a place with a somewhat similar (or the same) name.
[6] *Pāṅ*, "mouth," and perhaps *khalåk*, "valley, bay" (*glåk*, "to take out with the hand," does not seem appropriate).
[7] "Drooping Banyan Tree."
[8] It is not certain whether there should be here a place-name or the name of a *simā*. The reading on the stone is fragmentary and rather doubtful, but what there is of it cannot well be reconciled with the MS. text.
[9] "To go astray." [10] "Bell."
[11] This reads rather like an interpolation. Anyway, the total 7 given in the next line does not square with the items mentioned, and there is something on the stone here which does not tally with the MS. text.
[12] For the unintelligible passage here, see the text.
[13] Cf. K 24 n. [14] Perhaps cf. L.M. *pūjau*, *bjau*, "to offer."
[15] "Small Bottle," or "Bengal Quince." [16] "King of Majesty (or Splendour)."
[17] "Foot of Buddha (or pagoda, etc.)."
[18] The reading is doubtful. It might be Lok Trā (perhaps a proper name of a prince, *smiṅ*). The MS. reading is Lok Phrāai.
[19] "Wooden Fence."
[20] Or possibly Tan, as to which cf. K 24 n. *Tar*, L.M. *taw*, "stalk, handle; side."
[21] Cf. K 23 n. But L.M. *taw mhaṅ* means "penholder."
[22] There seems to be an illegible letter here.
[23] Perhaps Abak. The MS. text seems to have got the name of this, or the preceding, *simā* twice over, with variations.
[24] Visvakarman, the celestial architect.
[25] *Mbuiy* may mean "lady." The next word is doubtfully read but may be the name of Baññā Thau, the mother-in-law and immediate predecessor of Dhammacetī.
[26] "Temple Founder"; *dakā*, "lay (benefactor)"; *bhut*, "temple containing images."

the Garok Ga[puiw][1] *simā*, the [Mak] (l. 10) . . kana[2] *simā*, the Lamba Phaṁ[3] *simā*, the Tar Kwan[4] *simā*, the Mba Lau[5] *simā*, the Twān Bar[6] Mah *simā*.

At Satoṅ,[7] the Joṅ Kyāk[8] Sawa *simā*, the Pāṅ[9] Sawa *simā*, the Caḍok[10] *simā*, the [Juiṅ] (l. 11) Kyāk[8] T . . . . .[11] *simā*, the Low[12] Kyāk [Asaḥ] *simā*, the Twān Sagrā[13] Naṅaḥ *simā*, the Joṅ Kyāk[8] Celāsa *simā*, the Twān Mbuiy Dewī[14] *simā*, the Twān Adan Ḍwot[15] *simā*, the [Kyāk Gahassa][16] (l. 12) Tow[17] *simā*, the Kyāk Bantajī *simā*, the Kyāk Sura Nan *simā*, the Kyāk Lin Lṅaṅ[18] *simā*, the Pāṅ Ablū *simā*, the Pareṅ Gak[19] *simā*, the Kyāk Gapāt[20] *simā*, the Bī[21] [Khatā] *simā*, (l. 13) the Asām[22] Calaṅ *simā*, the Crep *simā*, the Danlay Smiṅ[23] *simā*, the *simā*[24] of the town of Tuik Galā,[25] the [Twān Sa]bra Samāṅ *simā*,[26] the Twān Smīṅ Bruim[27] *simā*, the Maṅ Camma[28] *simā*, the Jak Ri[29] *simā*, the *simā*[24] of the town of Lw[ān], (l. 14)

[1] *Garok*, "hollow between hills, pass"; *gapuiw*, "lime, chalk."
[2] The first letter in this line looks more like *i* than anything else.
[3] "Hunter of the Drum" (unless the second word is his name).
[4] Or possibly Kun (which means "hill"). As to *tar*, cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.; *kwan* might be a variant spelling for *kwon*, "child," or *twān*, "village," or else some unidentified word.
[5] "Arrow" or possibly "Lao," the name of a Tai race in Northern Siam.
[6] Or Bari.
[7] Presumably Sittang. [8] Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n. [9] "Mouth."
[10] Possibly L.M. *khaḍok*, "the four-toothed porcupine." It is just possible that that is also the actual reading.
[11] The MS. variant Tā cannot fill the whole of the blurred space here.
[12] Doubtful reading. The MSS. have *juiṅ*, which presupposes an original *joṅ*, but I cannot see it. Asaḥ was the name of an early Môn king.
[13] *Twān*, "village"; *sagrā*, "sugar."
[14] Cf. l. 9, *supra*, n. Dewī (Sanskrit and Pāli *devī*, "goddess, queen") may be used as a proper name here.
[15] A possible reading is Bhadan. Ḍwot means "small."
[16] This MS. reading does not appear to be consistent with the corresponding (but indecipherable) marks on the stone.
[17] "Cotton." But the reading is doubtful. If the word is *toṅ*, it may mean "castor-oil plant; a circumstance" or may be the L.M. *tuiṅ*, "a measure of distance (two and a third miles); post; a kind of basket."
[18] Very doubtful reading. See the text for a possible variant.
[19] Very doubtful: see the text.
[20] Or Gahat. [21] Cf. l. 17, *supra*, n.
[22] Perhaps L.M. *asām* (or *arhāṁ*), "enclosure in which a Buddhist temple stands." The next word may conceivably be read *calāṅ*, "pinnacle."
[23] *Smīṅ*, "king, prince, governor." [24] Or "*simās*."
[25] Cf. A 7, 14.
[26] The stone wrongly has *smim* (for *sim*) here. *Twān* means "village."
[27] "King Brahma's Village." [28] Or Caṁ Mha; or the *h* might be read as a *b*.
[29] *Jak*, "to drag"; *ri*, "pestle; axle." The MS. variant *juk* means "cord."

the Pāṅ Ja[rā]m Lwān[1] *simā*, the Mbo' Buiṅ[2] *simā*, the Mrik Tasum *simā*, [the Kyāk Goh Craṅ Kruṅ] Ahet[3] [*simā*], the Mah Sreṅ[4] *simā*, the Lagan[5] Phen *simā*, the Tå'[6] Ga[7] *simā*.

At [Yaṅ] (l. 15) Jim,[8] the Gawampati [Sadhuiṁ *simā*],[9] the Joṅ Kyāk[10] Blaṅ Nāk[11] *simā*.

At Moulmein, the Pāṅ Taraṅ Sablu[12] *simā*, the *simā* of the leading monks of Ceylon, the Gayāṅ Tamhåk[13] *simā*, 3, the *simā*[14] [at Grāṅ, the Smiṅ] (l. 16) Siṅghanikāy[15] [*simā*,] 2.

At Carot, the Joṅ Kyāk Gam-ī[16] *simā*, the Klo' Drow[17] *simā*, the Mraṅ Juiṅ[18] *simā*, 3.

At Jrā, the Cadim[19] Samāṅ *simā*, the Twān Caladhi[20] *simā*, [2.

At Martaban, the Tala[21] Naṅ Men *simā*,] (l. 17) the Celá Sadhuim[22] *simā*, the Thān Smīṅ Gra Slaṅ[23] *simā*, the Tka' Careṅ[24] *simā*, the Ñī Dåṅ Cān Saruṅ[25] *simā*, the Great Tabaṅ[26] *simā*, the Krāy[27] Ba [Sren Sa Plaṅ][28] *simā*, [the Cau Hān Ruiṁ[29] Damya[30] *simā*, the Rāai[31] Jā]m [*simā*,] (l. 18)

[1] "Mouth of the granary of Lwān."
[2] Perhaps L.M. *buiṅ*, "elephant grass; to surround."
[3] Pagoda of the Cave of the Bank of the Ahet Stream."
[4] Cf. K 41 n.
[5] Perhaps L.M. *laggan*, "love." Cf. K 25.
[6] Or Kå'.
[7] Or Gaṁ.
[8] Or Ñim.
[9] "The *simā* of Gawampati of Thatôn."
[10] Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.
[11] *Nāk*, "Nāga."
[12] "Mouth of the Betel-leaf Gate."
[13] Or possibly Tamṅåk, in which case the two words would mean "Crooked Wood-oil Tree."
[14] Or "*sīmās*."
[15] "Prince of the Ceylon sect," or "Royal *simā* of the Ceylon sect."
[16] Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.; *gam-ī* means "monk."
[17] *Klo'*, "garden" (or the possible reading *tko'*, "island"). *Drow* may be read *Droṅ*. Both these variants are supported by the MS. text.
[18] *Juiṅ*, "foot" (but our text usually spells *joṅ*).
[19] Or Cadip; or the Ca may be Cau.
[20] The final vowel may be *ā*; and it is possible that the *dh* may be meant for a *g*.
[21] "Lord, master."
[22] Thatôn.
[23] *Thān*, "place"; *smīṅ*, "king, prince." The rest may be proper names, but *slaṅ* means "to be dazed." The variant reading *sluṅ* means "high, exalted."
[24] Or Cagaṅ. *Tka'* means "island." The MS. reading *cāṅ* means "fowl."
[25] *Ñī*, "even, to agree"; *dåṅ*, "to leap"; *cān* may be connected with L.M. *gacān*, "to put forth effort"; *saruṅ*, "to step over" (but the possible reading *saraṅ* means "deed").
[26] Or Tabåṅ.
[27] Or Trāy.
[28] *Plaṅ* may mean "to melt," but also "couch, throne."
[29] *Cau*, "grandchild; to return"; *hāṅ*, "company"; *ruiṁ*, "to help."
[30] Or Dapya, which seems improbable.
[31] "Mustard plant; radish."

the Kyāk Mrah[1] *simā*, the Dana [Wāai][2] *simā*, the Saṅgha Jådappa[3] *simā*, the Mah[4] Anāw *simā*, the Truiṅ *simā*, 4; the Trer *simā*, the [Muh[4] Hot] *simā*,[5] [the Karuṁ[6] *simā*, the Jayagiri[7] *simā*, the Ple *simā*, the Plā[8] Lāt *simā*, the Sū[9] *simā*.][10]

[Two[11] thousand and twenty years having elapsed after the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sakyamuni, achieved *parinirvāṇa*, in the year 838 of the Common Era, on the eighth of the waxing (half) of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, the day (being) Sunday, the Kalyāṇīsimā was consecrated[12]; and in due order the clergy who were desirous of receiving the *upasampadā* ordination of the Sinhalese went (and) received (it) successively. At that time His Majesty Rāmādhipati-sīparamamahārājādhirāt reflected in this wise:

"Inasmuch as these our lords who crossed over to the island of Ceylon received the *upasampadā* ordination on the Kalyāṇī (river), the *simā* that]

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[our lords consecrated has likewise been styled the Kalyāṇīsimā] and given [(that) name; (so,) in front of this Kalyāṇīsimā, it is fitting that we should build a *cetiya* like unto the Kalyāṇī-cetiyas[13] of the island of Ceylon and] (l. 2) call it the Kalyāṇī-cetiya and [give it (that) name. We will (also)

[1] "Famed, approved, praised."
[2] *Wāai*, "manure."
[3] *Saṅgha*, "monastic community." The next word is unexplained and rather doubtful. The MSS. get over the difficulty by reading *saṅgharājā*, etc. This would refer to some head of the Order. But I cannot see it on the stone, though the final stroke of the *gh* is curved so as to resemble *r* somewhat.
[4] "Nose; cape; fringe."
[5] Here ends our rubbing of Face L.
[6] Variant *Ka' Ruai*.
[7] "Victory Hill."
[8] "A large kind of horse-fly."
[9] "To measure."
[10] Here ends the first of the appendices.
[11] Here begins the second appendix in the MS. text.
[12] Sunday, 24th November 1476. Cf. G 19 n.
It seems doubtful whether this should be plural. The MS. text of this passage, as shown by a comparison with the stone fragment that follows, is not free from corruption.

have a Bodhi tree planted and call it the Kalyāṇī Bodhi and give it (that) name. If we can thus arrange (matters),] (l. 3) all the clergy [who come to perform their functions (and) ceremonies in this *simā* will be able to venerate (and) adore this *cetiya*; and all the clergy who are possessed] (l. 4) of faith will be able to venerate (and) adore [this[1] Bodhi (tree).]"

(l. 5) His Majesty Rāmādhipati having reflected [in this wise, in the year 839 of the Common Era, beginning with the month of Bhādrapada,][2] His Majesty Rāmādhipati ordered [a minister named Krāai Kamāṅ,[3] who was chief among] (l. 6) the children of His Highness[4] Bāñā Rām, [to have a site prepared for the establishment of] the *cetiya*, (and) [Rā]ja Mindhāt, who was chief among [the children of His Highness[4] Bañā U, (and) Lak Woai, who] (l. 7) was chief among the children of His Highness[4] [Bañā Barow,] to have a site prepared for planting the Bodhi (tree).

(l. 8) Having [in due course] prepared the site where the Bodhi (tree) was to be planted and having constructed the *tlaṅ*[5] where the Bodhi (tree) was to be planted, they [plastered (it with) cement (and)] decorated (it). The site where the *cetiya* was to be built [they] likewise [in due course built up.] (l. 9) When the time arrived for setting up the relic chamber, (they) constructed the relic chamber and [plastered] (it with) cement, hewed (and) carved (it), applied gold (and) silver, (and) decorated (it). [Having] thus [made (it), upon the site of the *cetiya*,] (l. 10) in the middle (they) made a great building in tiers. Around it, for the clergy together with the laity, men and women, [to be, (they) made steps] (l. 11) going all around (it). The outside of the *gati*[6] (they) covered all over with *nibā*[7]; throughout the inside of the *gati*[6] (they) hung white cloth. [Having] thus prepared

1 The MS. text here inserts "*cetiya* (and)," which seems otiose but may nevertheless be right.

2 The sixth month of the lunar year, which in this particular year ran from Saturday, 9th August, to Sunday, 7th September, 1477.

3 Or Gamāṅ.

4 The same term is used as that which I have elsewhere rendered by "His Majesty." Apparently it could be used of other princes (unless these were all deceased kings).

5 This word usually means "side," which does not seem very much in point here. The MS. copyists seem to have thought so too and substituted a word meaning "altar," which is inconsistent with the reading on the stone.

6 This word (which has a variety of meanings connected with the idea of "going") seems to denote here some kind of gangway or passage. Perhaps it was a kind of grand stand for the accommodation of the public at the ceremony that was to take place.

7 Precise meaning unknown; it may be some kind of cloth. This seems to have been the copyist's view as he inserts *yāt* before it. Cf. J 2 n.

(it), [in the middle of the place] (l. 12) where the holy relic was to be set, (they) constructed a two-fold[1] chamber, and decorated the chamber with fitting workmanship as seemed good (to them). (With) jasmine flowers which they fashioned with cotton,[2] [(they) decorated (it); (with)] (l. 13) copper[3] [flowers] (they) also decorated (it); yak's tail fans (they) likewise hung [up as ornaments]. Outside the two-fold[1] chamber, all the pillars [were wrapped in cloth (and thus)] (l. 14) adorned; and in the former fashion[4] (with) jasmine flowers which they fashioned with cotton[5] (they) decorated (them) all round, hanging (the flowers) around in many rows. (l. 15) Around the chamber (were) watering pots, one row; hanging lamps[6] (and) lamps[6] set around,[7] one row; (and) tapers,[8] one row; thus (did they) adorn (it) all.

(At) the place where (l. 16) (they) were to plant the Bodhi (tree), (they) constructed a pavilion (and) hung (it)[9] inside (and) outside, (and) hung up [strings[10] of yak's tail fans,] (by way of) adorning it. (At) the place where His Majesty Rāmādhipati (l. 17) together with the ministers (and) chiefs of the army, (and) all the retinue were to be, in order to hold the festival [of the dressing][11] of the relic of the exalted Buddha, (they) constructed [a great] pavilion.

1 I imagine the chamber had a double layer of walls, inner and outer.

2 There are two words here as to which there is some doubt, and which recur in l. 14, *infra*. The first one seems to be *bat*, of which the only recorded meanings are "adhesiveness" and "likeness." I have taken it to mean "imitated." The other word is a doubtful reading. I have taken it to be *twow*, L.M. *tow*, "cotton." But if it is to be read *kwow*, it might possibly be L.M. *kaw*, "glue," and the phrase might mean "stuck on with glue." It has also been suggested that it may be L.M. *kwuiw*, in the sense of "chisel," though its usual meaning is "spade" or some such digging implement.

3 The reading is almost certain and before it there is a trace of the word *pkau*, "flower." The latter is supported by the MSS., which however omit the word for "copper."

4 Presumably this means with the same scheme of decoration as described in l. 12, *supra*; but it might perhaps mean in antique fashion.

5 Cf. l. 12, *supra*, n.

6 The word also means "candles, tapers."

7 Doubtful reading and meaning: possibly we might take it for a variant of L.M. *dalāṅ*, and translate "altar candles."

8 This word also means "presents for the monks, arranged in the form of a cone or pyramid."

9 Presumably with cloth, as in l. 11, *supra*.

10 Reading *juk*: the first letter seems to be *j* on the stone, and the MS. *muk* supplies the rest of the word.

11 This does not seem a very appropriate meaning, but is the only one recorded for the *salom* of the MS. text. One would have expected some word meaning "to enshrine," and the word may be an error for *salaw*.

(l. 18) (When they had) thus constructed (the necessary buildings), (then) on Wednesday, the day preceding the holy day,[1] the relic,[2] image, [and the Bodhi (tree) that was to be planted,] were placed (and) arranged for all the [Wañ Jataṅ ?] [3] princes, (l. 19) ministers (and) chiefs of the army, according to their order of walking in procession (in) conveying the relic, image, (and) Bodhi (tree); (and) the chiefs of the army were informed. (l. 20) Early in the morning of Thursday,[4] His Majesty Rāmādhipati [together with all his retinue] set out (and) came down[5] and occupied the pavilion (l. 21) which had been built. His Majesty having thus come down,[5] all the sons of His Majesty (and) all [the daughters of His Majesty,] together with all the Wañ (l. 22) Jataṅ[6] princes, ministers, (and) generals,[7] with the glory (and) splendour of a great festival,[8] [came down[5] (and) conveyed] the relic together with the image (and) the Bodhi ficus.

[(At) the time] (l. 23) of the arrival of the relic, image, (and) Bodhi (tree), the relic (and) image were set up [at the place (where)] the relic of the exalted Buddha [was to be put;] (and) the Bodhi (tree) (l. 24) was placed [in] the chamber where the Bodhi (tree) was to be set. When (they) [had] thus placed the relic (and) the Bodhi tree, there was a festival, including[9] dancing girls, Indian[10] dancers, (l. 25) men making a display with shields (and) daggers, men doing sword play,[11] men fencing[12] (with) staves, wielding[13] . . . . . , (who) gave a display. (When they) had been made

[1] One of the four holy days of the lunar month. It appears from l. 26, *infra*, that the particular holy day of which this was the eve was the full-moon day, which latter fell on a Thursday. As no month is mentioned, one cannot be quite certain of the date; but the first month that fulfils the conditions is Mārgaśīrṣa, and probably this Wednesday was Wednesday, 19th November 1477.

[2] Cf. § 78.

[3] Here in the MS. text are two words which probably ought to be read *waṅ jataṅ* (or *jataw*) and presumably denote some rank or office; cf. ll. 21-22, *infra*. I have taken these two words as qualifying *smiṅ*.

[4] Probably Thursday, 20th November 1477. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

[5] *I.e.* left the town and went to the place where all these preparations had been made.

[6] Doubtful reading. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

[7] Cf. l. 19, *supra*, and H 36 n.

[8] Cf. F 46 n. The meaning of *klaḥ* is "distinct." It presumably merely qualifies *jnok*.

[9] Literally, "which began with."

[10] L.M. *galā*, primarily the people of the part of Bengal known as Gaur (Sanskrit *Gauḍa*, Pāli *Goḷa*, cf. A 8 n.), but nowadays defined as "a native of any country west of Burma." The Burmese equivalent *kulā*: seems to be derived from the Môn form of the word.

[11] The meaning is doubtful. It seems possible that the first word, doubtfully read *sare*, is derived from the Burmese word for "soldier" (cf. L.M. *sarāai pnān*, "soldier"); the second one means "to move lengthwise, to throw (as a spear)." The two together may be descriptive of some kind of military display or evolution.

[12] Literally, "striking."

[13] The meaning depends on what follows and there is here a *lacuna*. If the MS. text can be trusted we must substitute "wrestling" for "wielding," but unfortunately it is clear that this text omits part of the original, and it may have introduced extraneous matter.

to give a display, (and) the sun had declined, His Majesty having arranged (for men) (l. 26) to guard the relic, His Majesty returned home.[1]

(On) the first of the waning (half of the month), the day (being) Friday, at that time,[2] His Majesty came down[3] (and) arrived at the place of the pavilion[4] again. Having invited (l. 27) the fifty teachers of the Order, (he) provided (them) with food (and) gave[5] (them) such gifts as (were) fitting to be given as charitable offerings: (to each one) two cloth mats,[6] red pepper, (and) areca-nuts.[7] His (l. 28) Majesty, having given (these as) gifts, caused the festival, which included[8] dancing girls, to proceed. In the afternoon, His Majesty Rāmādhipati, together with (his) family (and) kinsfolk (and) (l. 29) all (his) retinue, went up to the relic chamber. Then (having) set up a stand[9] (and) cushion hemmed [with gold,][10] and having set a white umbrella over it, (they)[11] installed the relic (and) image (l. 30) upon the stand.[9] The "ablution of a thousand streams" was performed over the relic; the eight Brahmans, holding right-voluted[12] conch-shells adorned with gold, adorned with silver, (l. 31) and adorned with gems, as though pouring the ablution on a king receiving the royal anointment,[13] similarly poured ablution in the ceremony of "a thousand streams," and performed the royal anointment[13] on the relic (and) (l. 32) image.

When this had been done, eight teachers of the Order had to recite the solemn verse [being] the mental ejaculation called *anekajāti saṁsāraṁ* and

[1] Literally, "went up." Cf. the use of the correlative *cuih*, "to come down," in ll. 20, 21, 26.

[2] These words are doubtful, but the alternative "early in the morning" given in the MS. text seems to be inconsistent with the few traces of letters visible on the stone. The date was probably Friday, 21st November 1477. Cf. l. 18, *supra*, n.

[3] Cf. l. 21, *supra*, n.

[4] The one mentioned in ll. 17, 20, *supra*.

[5] It is not clear why this word should be in the form *skuiw* (which usually gives a future or potential shade of meaning) instead of the ordinary *kuiw*. It may be simply an error of the draftsman or the engraver; the MS. text has altered it to *kuiw*.

[6] Or "cloths (and) mats," or "robes (and) mats." Cf. F 46, H 38, J 24, N (in the conclusion, after l. 28).

[7] The objects mentioned are probably to be regarded as the grammatical objects of the verb "having given" in the following line, but in order to keep as far as possible to the original order, I have split up the phrase

[8] Cf. l. 24, *supra*, n.

[9] Or "couch, seat, board."

[10] Cf. H 39 n., N 13. Perhaps it was a hemmed mat of cloth of gold.

[11] No subject is mentioned. It may conceivably have been the king himself, the person last mentioned.

[12] Cf. IX A 41 n. The term there is Pāli, while here the same thing is expressed in Môn words.

[13] Sanskrit *abhiṣeka*, literally "sprinkling." It might be better to render it by "royal lustration," but the ceremony corresponds with the anointment practised at the coronation of European kings.

the solemn verse being the verbal[1] (l. 33) ejaculation called *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā*.[2] Having had (these) recited, (the king)[3] caused the drums to be beaten (and) shouts to be raised (by the assembled multitude). When this had been done, at the time when Pisces was *lagna*[4] (l. 34) (they)[5] installed the relic (and) image in the relic chamber. Having installed the relic, all around the relic (and) image, statues of the two Chief Disciples[6] (and) the (l. 35) eighty Great Disciples, statues of thirteen female Arhats who had attained pre-eminence, statues of eleven male devotees who had attained pre-eminence, statues of ten female devotees who had attained pre-eminence, a statue of the mother of the exalted (l. 36) Buddha, a statue of the father of the exalted Buddha, in all one hundred (and) eighteen statues, which were cast in brass and overlaid with gold, were arranged all around. (l. 37) Having ceremonially burnt[7] candles, (they) ceremonially scattered[8] . . . . . [9] perfumes; and when (that) had been (done), (they) closed the mouth of the doorway[10] with a very big flat stone, which (they) overlaid (with) bricks. Having overlaid (it with) (l. 38) bricks, (they) roofed (it with) a five-fold vault. As for the Bodhi (tree), (they) planted (it) at the time when Pisces (was) *lagna*[11]; (they) put (it) down in the hole and (l. 39) planted (it).

Then (they) set up umbrellas (and) streamers,[12] burnt candles, poured libations with . . . . . .[13] perfumed water, (and) set small pagodas around.[14]

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1 Very doubtful reading; the MS. text omits it altogether.

2 These two Pāli phrases are the beginnings of solemn utterances attributed to Buddha himself immediately after his attainment of supreme wisdom. (Cf. *Dhammapada*, XI (*Jarāvagga*), and Commentary; *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Mahāvagga*, I, 1.)

3 Though there is no subject expressed, the verb *kuiw*, "caused," implies one, and presumably it would be the king, as he promoted the whole affair.

4 That is, tangential with the eastern horizon. Cf. IX A 12 tr. n.

5 Cf. l. 29, *supra*, n.

6 Sāriputta and Mogallāna.

7 Or, literally, "burnt (and) offered."

8 Or "scattered (and) offered."

9 The meaning of *jar* (or *majar*) is undetermined. It might possibly be "liquid," but this would be inappropriate, because superfluous, in the context of l. 39, *infra*.

10 The entrance to the relic chamber. I take this to have been at the top, not at the side, and that the flat stone was laid on the top of it, and over it a five-layered vaulting of brickwork.

11 Cf. l. 33, *supra*, n.

12 The foregoing nouns may be in the singular.

13 Cf. l. 37, *supra*, n.

14 L.M. *tamrot beṅ* are small pagodas built on the base of a large one. Here ends Face M, concluding the second appendix.

[(From)[1] the year 839 to the year 841[2] of the Common Era, His Majesty Rāmādhipati sent word to the dwelling-places[3] of *sāmaṇeras* desirous of the *upasampadā* ordination, (as follows): "In accordance with the ordinance[4] which we communicated to our lords as to the proper course of instruction, let (our) lords promote (such) studies and report to us: (then) we will cause the *sāmaneras* to receive the *upasampadā* ordination in the Kalyāṇī(simā)." Thus saying, His Majesty Rāmādhipati sent word.

When the year 841 of the Common Era arrived, the *sāmaṇeras* having studied in accordance with what it was proper that they should study, including[5] the Khuddhasikkhā (and) the Pāṭimokkhā, the whole company[6] came (and) informed His Majesty Rāmādhipati. Then His Majesty caused the *sāmaṇeras* to be called together (and) made (them) recite; (and) when His Majesty had heard the *sāmaṇeras* recite, there being six hundred (and) one[7] who were able to recite correctly, (he) caused six halls to be built within the Kalyāṇīsimā (as) lodgings suitable for the six hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* to lodge in, (and) had (them) hung (with) awnings. For the 50[8] leading monks who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the six hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras*, (he) had lodgings built and curtains hung, while within the Kalyāṇīsimā (he) had curtains set all around (and) mats spread throughout, and around the Kalyāṇīsimā, for all the people who were to be there (he) had pavilions[9] built, cloth hung, curtains set all around, (and) mats spread throughout.

In the pavilion where His Majesty was to stay together with his retinue to celebrate the festival of the 601 *sāmaṇeras* who were to receive the

1 Here begins the third appendix in the MS. text.

2 1477–78 to 1479–80 A.D.

3 Literally, "places."

4 Cf. the passage between our Faces H and J, J 1, 5–10.

5 Literally, "beginning with."

6 The reading *satta* seems to be corrupt. In the E.M. inscriptions it occurs (V 43, 44) in the sense of "creatures, sentient beings," but in M.M. this would be archaic, probably, and it does not seem to fit the context very well. It would be possible to read *sat=ta'*, but that gives a similar sense. I have assumed that it stands for *sattha* (Pāli *sattho*, "troop") which I have not, however, found recorded as a Môn word.

7 Cf. J 25, of which this whole appendix is in effect an expansion (§ 79).

8 MS. A wrongly has 5.

9 I do not know the meaning of *dasāṁ*. It seems not impossible that this is an error for *asāṁ*, which word appears to owe its origin to a confusion between Sanskrit *āśrama*, "hermitage," and *ārāma*, "pleasure garden, park," Pāli *ārāmo*, especially (in the latter language) as a place for religious gatherings, and even a monastery. Cf. L 13.

upasampadā ordination, (he) had curtains (and) awnings hung (and) mats spread. Having made these preparations, (he) caused the 50 leading monks who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination on the 601 *sāmaṇeras*, to be invited: the number of these monks who had come back from Ceylon was 17, (namely) the leading monk Saddhamma, 1; Dhammakitti, 1; the leading monk Tilokagaru, 1; the leading monk Parakkamabāhu, 1; Maṅgalathera, 1; the leading monk Buddhaghosā, 1; the leading monk Guṇaraṭaṇadhara, 1; the leading monk Neraṭaṇalaṅkāra, 1; the leading monk Taratanamāli, 1; the leading monk Saddhammateja, 1; Dhammarāmasami, 1; Mahādevathera, 1; Culābhayatissathera, 1; Ñāṇapaṇḍitamahāthera, 1; Vijayabāhupañcaparivenamahāthera, 1; Sirilaṅkāguṇavutti, 1; Sirilaṅkābuddhathera[1]: total of those who returned from Ceylon, 17. Then our lords the leading clergy of Pegu: the leading monk Udummara[2]; the leading monk Srirāmarājaguru; the leading monk Buddhadivākara[3]; the leading monk Raṭaṇagiri; the leading monk Saddhammarājāguru; the leading monk Saddhammadhara; the leading monk Suvaṇṇapaduma; the leading monk Tipitakadhara[4]; the leading monk Anumadassī; the leading monk Dhammarājika; the leading monk Sāmantapāsādika; the leading monk Saddhammavijaya; total 15[5] of our lords of Pegu. Then again the forest]

N

dwellers[6]: the Saṅgharāja[7] [Sammaṇa; the leading monk Lamuñjusa[8]; Vinayapajjota; the leading monk Saddhammavijayaseṇapati; the leading monk Passaṁ; the leading monk Sivali; the leading monk] (l. 2) La[9]; the leading monk Saddhammapajjota; the leading monk [Sīlapajjota; the leading

[1] The MS. text has *°buddhalo*, which I take to be a copyist's error for *°buddhathe*. For variant (and in some cases more correct) forms of some of these names, cf. F 5-13, 34-41, and the section between F and G.

[2] Or Dudummara.

[3] Or Buddhaditakara.

[4] Here MS. B inserts "the leading monk Ra," which can hardly be his whole name, unless it is a Môn name (not Pāli like the others).

[5] There are actually only 12 names (besides the one given in the last note), so the copyists have evidently dropped some.

[6] Monks leading a secluded life in the forest. Cf. J 21.

[7] Chief of the Order in a country, or some part of it. Cf. H 3, 4 (MS. text and tr.).

[8] Or Lamuñjasa.

[9] This name is also a suspiciously short one.

monk Saddhammavilāsa; the Mahāthera Uttamhā; the leading monk Saddhammasirī; the leading monk Dhammadassī; the leading] (l. 3) monk Piyadassī; the leading monk Sāsanapajjota; the leading monk [Aṅgulimhā; the leading monk Guṇasāgara: . . . . . ,[1] total eighteen.

Having thus invited] (l. 4) fifty teachers of the Order, on Wednesday, which was the day preceding the full-moon (day) of Phālguna,[2] [(the king) entrusted all the *sāmaṇeras* to the charge of leading nobles[3] including ministers (and)] (l. 5) generals,[4] (and) caused (them) all to change (their) status.[5] One hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Bra Saṁ Ḍeṅ[6] [to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Sāṁ Trāy[7] to prepare;] (l. 6) one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Waṅ[8] Cakkawāde to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince [Waṅ[8] Cau Nūrasiṅ[9] to prepare; one hundred *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Cau Mhārhāt][10] (l. 7) to prepare; one hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* (he) entrusted to Prince Waṅ[8] Āy Gām Bin to prepare.

The requisites [to be given to the 601 *sāmaṇeras* (namely) six] (l. 8) hundred (and) one sets [of monastic robes,] six hundred (and) one almsbowls, six hundred (and) one umbrellas, six hundred (and) one staves, [601 paper] fans, [601 hemmed mats,][11] (l. 9) six hundred (and) one boxes for areca-nuts[12] together with bottles of lime, areca-nut slicers, knives, spoons, (and) napkins, (were) counted out (and) given to these leading nobles [who were preparing (the *sāmaṇeras*).

His Majesty having made these arrangements,] (l. 10) (on) the holy day of the full moon of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Thursday,[13] early in the morning, His Majesty [came down and went to stay to the

[1] I do not know the sense of *buin* (variant *buit*) *lgan*. Unless it represents the name of an individual monk, there is one name missing in this third list.

[2] Wednesday, 23rd February 1480.

[3] Cf. H 31.

[4] Cf. H 36.

[5] That is, into the full monastic condition.

[6] There is some doubt as to the reading of this name (cf. the texts) but the probability seems to be that it was *Ḍeṅ*, which one copyist first misread *Ḍej* and another further transformed into *Ḍet*.

[7] In ll. 17-26, *infra*, the form appears to be *Krāy*.

[8] This seems to be a title. Cf. M 21-22.

[9] There is some doubt as to the true reading of this name: cf. ll. 18, 19, *infra*, and the note on the text.

[10] This evidently represents *Mahārāt* (= *Mahārāja*). MS. B has *Mhāraj*, but that cannot have been the reading on the stone, where the final letter is *t* not *j*.

[11] Or "cushions."

[12] On this, and the whole passage, cf. H 38-39, *supra*, n.

[13] Thursday, 24th February 1480.

northward of the Kalyāṇī] (l. 11) monastery, invited the fifty teachers of the Order to enter into their lodgings, [gave them alms-food, and arranged a grand festival with] (l. 12) men sporting (and) competing.

Then the leading nobles, who had arranged the *sāmaṇeras*, set out from [Pegu. When they set out, Prince Bra Sāṅ Dej[1] led the way. The order] (l. 13) of their marching[2] (was thus): men carrying the hemmed mats[3] led the way; after the mats (came) men carrying the umbrellas, [alms-bowls, (and) staves; after them, men bearing the areca-nut boxes[4]; after] (l. 14) them, men carrying the monastic robes. Then came a hundred elephants with a hundred *sāmaṇeras* mounted on them. Among the hundred, [men wearing caps[5] led the way, after them (came) men] (l. 15) wearing *kluiṅ*,[6] (and) after the *kluiṅ*[6] (came) men wearing gilt hats. All these hundred *sāmaṇeras* also wore [plain] peaked turbans. [Musical instruments, including[7] the *bāt, sreai* (and)] (l. 16) *basā*,[8] were severally disposed at intervals in the procession.

The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Sāṁ Trāy[9] [came next; the order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were)] (l. 17) variegated in colour.[10] The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Sāṁ Krāy[9] having passed by, the hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince [Cakkawāde came along in their turn. The order of (their) going] (l. 18) (was) similar; (their) turbans were peaked likewise. The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Cakkawāde having passed by, [the hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Cau Nūrasiṅ[11] came along] (l. 19) in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were) variegated in colour.[10] The hundred *sāmaṇeras*

1 As to the correct form of this name, cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

2 The text has *gata*, "in front," here, apparently; but the MSS. may be right in reading it as *gah*, and I have left it untranslated.

3 Cf. l. 8, *supra*, n.

4 Cf. H. 38–39, *supra*, n.

5 L.M. *khapeai* is defined as a "fez," and was therefore a somewhat tall cap.

6 The meaning of *kluiṅ* has not been determined, but presumably it was some kind of head gear. The copyists of the MSS. have arbitrarily altered it into *kḍuiṅ*, "umbrellas."

7 Literally, "beginning with."

8 *Bāt* (Sanskrit *vādya*) is any musical instrument and the word may be used here merely as a generic of the next two; *sreai* is a wind instrument, the "ken" or Lao organ, a kind of Pan pipes, and *basā* either goes with it adding nothing to it, or is some other undetermined kind of musical instrument.

9 The correct form seems to be *Krāy*, as in ll. 17, 26.

10 Doubtful meaning, based on the sense of L.M. *dawān*.

11 Cf. note on l. 19 of the text.

arranged by Cau Nwarasiṅ[1] [having] passed by,[2] [the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] arranged by [Cau Mhārāt][3] (l. 20) came along in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; (their) turbans (were) also variegated in colour.[4] The hundred *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Cau [Mhārāt having passed by,] (l. 21) the hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* arranged by Prince Āy Gām Bin came along in their turn. The order of (their) going (was) similar; [(their) turbans (were) also variegated in colour.[4] Thus] (l. 22) did the six hundred (and) one *sāmaṇeras* change their status[5] (and) the leading nobles who accepted the charge of those *sāmaṇeras* [went (and) arranged (them) in the lodgings of those 601 *sāmaṇeras*,] (l. 23) (and) caused (them) to be provided with food.

Then, when the fifty teachers of the Order had partaken of the day's boiled rice,[6] His Majesty [invited (them) to enter into] (l. 24) the *simā*; and His Majesty, together with (his) retinue, also entered into the consecrated *simā*.[7] Then the hundred *sāmaṇeras* [arranged by Prince Bra Sāṅ Det][8] (l. 25) were called up in (their) order and were made monks. Having become monks, (they) were sent off to lodge again in their several lodgings, [(and) the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] arranged [by Prince Sām] (l. 26) Krāy were called up in successive order and made monks. In this way, [in accordance with the order of their going in procession, (they)] (l. 27) were invited to come up and our lords were all made monks. When they had become monks, (they) were sent to lodge in their several lodgings. Thus [was it arranged. Among the hundred *sāmaṇeras*] (l. 28) who were under the charge of Prince Bra Saṁ Deṅ, in regular order two by two were called up and our lords (the ordaining monks) were caused to confer [the *upasampadā*[9]

1 Cf. note on l. 19 of the text.

2 The MS. omits the preceding clause and its text is corrupt here, as it is in the middle of l. 18, *supra*, where the text of the stone serves as a check on it. But from the general similarity of all these descriptions it is easy to restore the true reading.

3 Cf. l. 6, *supra*, n.

4 Cf. l. 17, *supra*, n.

5 Cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

6 That is, the day's meal, taken just before mid-day, as distinguished from breakfast.

7 I am not sure that this is the meaning, as it involves an abnormal order of the words. But "into the consecration of the *simā*" does not make good sense: the business in hand was not the consecration of the *simā*, which had already been done, but the ordination of these novices into fully ordained monks.

8 Cf. l. 5, *supra*, n.

9 The first letter of this word is the last thing legible on the estampage from the stone, and the end of Face N must have been a few words further on. What follows is preserved only in the MSS. and must have been inscribed on the reverse of the same stone, the top part of which is now lost.

ordination (upon them). At the time of the conferring of the *upasampadā* ordination, (there was) one *upajjhāya*, a person who recited the *kammavācā*, (and for) each *sāmaṇera* (there were) two monks, holding the *kammavācā*, to confer (on him) the *upasampadā* ordination.

When the day closed, His Majesty, having arranged (for the presence of) leading nobles, scribes, drums, (and) lights,[1] returned home. Our lords, who were to confer the *upasampadā* ordination, did so from the afternoon of the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Thursday,[2] until the fourth of the waning (half) of Phālguna, the day (being) Monday[3]; it was noontide when they had finished.

When the 601 *sāmaṇeras* had thus been made to receive the *upasampadā* ordination, four teachers of the Order were invited to preach the doctrine of the Pātimokkha to the persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination. There were offered to the four teachers of the Order, who preached the Pātimokkha to the persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination, to each of them four cloth mats, two barrels[4] of areca-nuts, (and) two viss of red pepper.

On the fifth of the waning (half) of the month of Phālguna, the day (being) Tuesday,[5] early in the morning, His Majesty Rāmādhipati came down and all the 50 teachers of the Order together with the six hundred (and) one persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination were entertained[6] with viands of divers kind and food of various sorts, each of the teachers of the Order (being given also) two cloth mats, one hemmed mat, two viss of black pepper, four viss of Indian pepper, a thousand *basī* fruits,[7] a box for areca-nuts and betel,[8] together with a bottle of lime, areca-nut slicers, (and) a napkin, the aforesaid pious gifts being presented as offerings by His Majesty. To the 601 persons who had received the new *upasampadā* ordination, besides the "eight requisites" which had already been bestowed, were also given two viss each of Indian pepper (and) four hundred *basī*

1 Cf. H 30–31 and n.
2 Thursday, 24th February 1480.
3 Monday, 28th February 1480.
4 Or "tubes." Or else some high numeral (100 or 1000) has been omitted by the copyists and the word *kḍuiṅ* is used in the sense of "umbrella," which seems less likely here.
5 Tuesday, 29th February 1480.
6 Literally, "pour out," but I suspect *taruip*, "to feed," was the original reading.
7 Perhaps some sort of areca-nuts.
8 Cf. H 38–39, *supra*, n.

fruits.[1] Having thus been presented with gifts, the 50 teachers of the Order were dismissed home. When the 50 teachers of the Order had been thus dismissed home, all the 601 persons who had received the *upasampadā* ordination, according to . . . . . ,[2] were made to depart in due order, and His Majesty having regarded them with gladness caused them to return to their dwelling-places.

Such deeds as these did His Majesty Rāmādhipati do, because he took great delight in religion; desiring that those who received the *upasampadā* ordination should be firm (and) steadfast, did (he) do such deeds as these. Hereafter, also, for the term of life of His Majesty Rāmādhipati, (for) every *sāmaṇera* who shall desire to receive the *upasampadā* ordination His Majesty Rāmādhipati will make preparation in like manner to have the *upasampadā* ordination conferred. Inasmuch as that is so, may the princes who are replete with faith and with wisdom, who shall wield the sovereignty of the city of Håṅsāwati hereafter, also impart strength to religion! According as we arranged this, (so may they) follow after!][3]

Postscript as to the dates in the preceding translation.

83. Excepting the anomalous case noted at F 38, the verifiable dates in the inscriptions of the Kalyāṇīsīmā, when collated together, fall into a consistent scheme or series running from January 1476 to the end of February 1480. When rendered into dates of the Julian (or Old Style) calendar by the methods explained in Irwin's *The Burmese Calendar* (London, 1901), this scheme involves the following elements:—

(i) The first day of the waxing half of the month of Caitra (*i.e.* the first day of the *lunar* year) fell in the years 1476–79 on the following dates: (*a*) Saturday, 24th February 1476, (*b*) Saturday, 15th March 1477, (*c*) Wednesday, 4th March 1478, (*d*) Sunday, 21st February 1479.[4]

1 Perhaps some sort of areca-nuts.
2 I do not understand *ḍuiṅ gah bapeṅ*.
3 End of the seventh stone of the Môn text, as stated in the MSS., and of the last of the appendices.
4 As the Burmese calendar reckons the commencement of the year (with a view to giving the year its serial number) purely by *solar* reckoning, the initial dates of Caitra, together with a variable number of other dates in that month and sometimes even in the next month, fall into the close of the preceding year of the Common Era; in these cases they fell in the years 837 to 840. Hence Sunday, the ninth of the waxing half of Caitra, 837 (E 45), fell on Sunday, 3rd March 1476; and Wednesday, the fifth of the waxing half of Caitra, 838 (K 10), fell on Wednesday, 19th March 1477.

(ii) The year 838 was reckoned as a *wa-gyi-tat* year, *i.e.* not only was the month of Āṣāḍha intercalated (as appears from a comparison of the dates in E 48, 53, and subsequent dates of the same year) but Jyeṣṭha was given an extra day, making it a month of 30 days, instead of its normal 29.

(iii) The year 841 was reckoned as a *wa-nge-tat* year, *i.e.* Āṣāḍha was intercalated but Jyeṣṭha had only 29 days.

The intervening years were, of course, ordinary years, without any intercalation at all. Now it is to be observed that the above elements of the calendar exemplify both under (ii) and (iii) distinct breaches of the rule stated in para. 64, p. 13, of Irwin's work. But in para. 65 of the same page he notes that the actual practice of the calendars frequently differed from that rule in the period 1738–1900 A.D.; and it is evident from our record that the same was the case in the last quarter of the 15th century.

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VOLUME IV PART 1

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF BURMA

EDITED BY

U MYA

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

Section II—The Mediaeval Môn Records

Nos. XIII—XVIII

BY

C. O. BLAGDEN

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

No. XIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE AJAPĀLA PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

84*. This record is engraved on two faces (presumably of the same stone), the parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed being on Face A 4 ft. in height by 3 ft. 9 in. in breadth and on Face B 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and the interlinear space is about 1 in. Though a good deal weathered, as are many of the other stone inscriptions of Lower Burma, this one is still for the most part legible.

85. Like the two following inscriptions, it is connected with a sacred building erected in commemoration of episodes in the life of Buddha shortly before or after his attainment of supreme enlightenment.

In this case the events are those which occurred under an Indian fig-tree (or banyan, *Ficus Indica*) known as the Ajapāla, or goatherds', fig-tree, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bodhi tree under which the supreme enlightenment was attained. Before going to sit under the Bodhi tree, the Bodhisattva rested under the Ajapāla fig-tree, where he received from the maiden Sujātā an offering of rice cooked in milk (A 1—22). The next seven weeks, beginning with the one during which he became a Buddha under the Bodhi tree, are especially celebrated. After his attainment of Buddhahood he spent another week gazing steadfastly at the Bodhi tree and satisfied the devas of his Buddhahood by performing a miracle; during the third week he walked up and down a "cloistered walk" which they prepared for him. These incidents are commemorated in the next record, No. XIV. The fourth week was spent in a "house of

* Numbering of the paragraphs in this part is continued from Part II of Volume III.

gems", also prepared by the devas and mentioned on Face A of the present record, l. 24, from which he then returned to the Ajapāla fig-tree to spend the fifth week (A 23-4). During this week he was visited by a Brahman, to whose question as to what really constituted a Brahman he replied by laying stress on ethical qualifications, not on caste and birth (A 25-6). Another event in this week was the recognition by the evil spirit Māra of his failure in his conflict with Buddha and the fruitless efforts of Māra's three daughters, the personifications of the passions, to tempt the enlightened one (A 26-35). The sixth week was spent under a Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*), where a Nāga king, also named Mucalinda, sheltered him from the rain with his hood ; and the seventh under a Rājāyatana tree (believed to be *Buchanania latifolia*) where he was visited by two travelling merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, to whom he gave eight hairs from his head, which according to the traditions of Burma are now enshrined in the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon. This episode, as well as much of the preceding, is related on Face A of No. XV, but unfortunately that part of the record is in a very damaged condition. After these seven celebrated weeks, Buddha returned again to the Ajapāla fig-tree and there reflected as to whether he should preach the Law, and, if so, to whom. This is related in our present record, and when he had decided the matter in his mind he left the Ajapāla fig-tree to go to the region of Benares (B 1—21).

86. The last four lines of our record tell of the building of the Ajapāla pagoda at Pegu in imitation of the one that had been erected long before on the site of the Ajapāla fig-tree. It is unfortunate that a good deal is missing in the text here. In the last line there is a date, but the year number is not quite certain. If the text as here printed represents the true reading of the year, the date fell into the summer of 1480 A.D. As however both the year and the week-day are in doubt, it is not possible to check it.

87. For the episodes in the life of Buddha that have been briefly noted in § 85, reference can be made to various translations from Buddhist works, among which the following have been consulted :—

T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, Vol. I, London, 1880 (especially the revised edition by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, n. d.) based on the Nidānakathā.

The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, Oxford, 1881.

E. H. Brewster, The Life of Gotama the Buddha, London, 1926.

The Saṁyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, Book IV, Mārasaṁyuttaṁ, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in The Book of Kindred Sayings, London, 1917 (Part I, Sāgatha-Vagga, p. 153-9).

P. Bigandet, The Life or Legend of Gaudama, Vol. I, 3rd ed., London, 1880.

In my notes I have given mainly references from the last named work as it is particularly connected with Burma.

88. It should perhaps be mentioned here that at the Upakasamāga (or Bhikkhunīma) pagoda, Pegu, there is a fragmentary inscription of which lines 1 to 7 contain a much abridged version corresponding roughly to parts of lines 2, 3, 6—10, 20 and 21 of Face B of our record. A comparison of the two has been of some assistance in the reading of doubtful words in both.

Text.[1]

A

1. II II Bodhisa[t pui]y lu[kau t]u[rau cnā]m pa dukka[rac]ariy[ā] pḍa[y Uruweḷa tuy] II [het ma cwin br]apui[n[2] m]a(j)jhimapaṭipat[3] ma daḥ raḥ gah II dhar

2. pa[ñ]ā [sat]i [samādh]i ga[h j]no[k mar ā tuy] II [pḍay] prayām [batarn] (14)[4] [bra]må[k kitu][5] ba[sāk gah go]' ñā[t s]wap [l]apo' ja[m]nok

[1] Above the continuous text and separated from it by an empty space of two to three inches, there is a replica of ll. 1 and 2 of the text as far as the word *swaṗ* (which in the replica is near the beginning of its third line). It has the variant reading *dukkaracariyāt* (l. 1) and probably *katu* (l. 2). Much of it is illegible.

[2] Cf. I A 52, XII D 39, J 17, 18. In the last two places the reading should be *baṗuin*.

[3] The complex letter occurring here probably represents only *jh*, not *jjh*.

[4] There is no room for the words, so it is assumed that the "*fourteen*" is expressed in numeral figures. As to the date, see the note on the text.

[5] Possibly *katu*.

3. masun prakā [tuy II tr]adah [ma sgo' dah kyāk] (cmat)[1] [ga]h ph[yuih lar cuit ra II pḍay tṅay] sī [brapeṅ] (gah) [yaḥ laṅū] ga[h kl]on lḥuit k[u] j[r]aku

4. [t]uy II prā[p ā] ja[reṅ jray s]um[2] Aja[p]āla [tuy II] . . . . (tuy) . . . . (weṅ) . . . [3] [piṇḍapāt g]ah II . . . . . (tuy II) [gata ket bwai . . n][4] duih bramå[k daṇḍ]āy

5. [ke]t tnaṁ [j]ray tu[y] II [B]odhisa[t dmå]ṅ [t]au ra [II pḍay prayām gah II Sujātā t]u[y ma] c(u)i[n dah tau kwon] (samṅeh)[5] [Senānī gah] khā [ma dah] samat lwuit [te]-

6. [' gah] II [ā pḍay t]naṁ [jray sum] Ajapā[la tuy II khā ey ḍik ma go' gayoṅ tuy ma] no[m jāti] . . . . . [II pḍay paṭisandhi ey] ku[i]p [t]lā ga[h] II kwon [tr]uh

7. mwa[y II ey go' mā II braman ḍāk] ta[h heṅ ey sbali] (tla) [ey ñi gaḥ tuy II pa lar paṭṭhanā] . . . . . (tuy) [II atuiṅ paṭṭhanā ḍeh ma pa gah] ḍok peṅ uiw [t]uy II he-

8. [t] ma [sbal]i dewa[t]au [jray sum Ajapāla gah II] bra[m]an [ḍāk tah gah ḍeh tw]åm phyu[i]n lar [ra II ḍik brau Puṇṇā tuy ma] cu[in dah t]au [mbo]' ta[h ḍeh gah] II [ḍ]e[h] ca[kā tu]-

9. y [k]u[iw tit ā] ṅaḥ [t]aḥ da[måṅ ma sbali dewa]tau [ra II khā gah Puṇṇā tit ā tuy II] ñ[āt ket Bodhisat ma gata ket bwoy duih[6] bramåk] ma dan[ḍ]ā[y dmåṅ tnaṁ jra]-

10. [y] s[u]m II nū [jraku lyaḥ ma dre]p t[it ā gah] II [uit kuiw janok] tnaṁ [chu ma] da[h s]ā[k thar uit gah ḍeh ñāt ket tuy II na jraku heṅ dewatau ma sdu]ṅ [bali]

[1] Fairly probable reading.
[2] Or *summ*.
[3] The preceding looks like *sgaweṅ wiṅ* (or *wīw*). If the first word is meant for *sgaṅeṅ* it would mean "to wander", *i.e.*, collecting alms.
[4] Looks like *ban* or *pan*.
[5] The reading is nearly certain.
[6] Looks like *duiy*.

11. [bakar p]ui[y rw]o[ṅ sdah II ḍeh k]ṣap [tuy ḍeh] cau [ā II atuiṅ[1] tr]ada[h] ḍe[h ma ñāt gah ḍeh huim ku Sujātā ra] II kh[ā gah] Sujā[ta sḍik ml(u)ik mi]p cui[t pū]-

12. ma[h san t]u[y II th]aḷ th[or ma nwom] bnat [ṅuh mwoy lak kasāp gah II cut brapeṅ braman[2] uit suim tuy II na thaḷ] th[or m]wa[y] (rā) [c-āṅ grop braman[2] gah t]uy na

13. [yā]t ma g[wu c-]aḷ gah [gwī tuy II na kriyā thar uit suim gah gñi gñāt ket t]u[y II thaḷ thor suim braman gah II kḍip gah yuiw ke]t [t]u[y II na a]n[u]bho[w ma j]n[o]-

14. [k] tlaḷ ga[h] II [k]w[om k]u [ḍik brau Puṇṇā gah tit ā ra II khā gah nū jamṅay heṅ na ly]aḷ [jrak]ū Bodhisat ma krajo' [dmåṅ tau gah II] u[it k]u[i][3] jan[ok tnaṁ chu ma dah sā]-

15. [k] thor gah [ḍeh ñ]ā[t ket t]u[y II samtim dewatau jray sum heṅ lar] c[uit tuy II suim kuiw ma kuiw braman[4] heṅ jo' jo]' [ā t]u[y II [thaḷ] tho[r ma cut]

16. p[r]aman gah phy[uih n]u latū [kḍip tu]y [II yāt kambu ma gwī] p[raman gaḷ sah kle' tuy II thaḷ thor ma grop gah pok k]l[e' tuy II na paḍ]āk [thor] . . . . . [r] . . . . .

17. la[r] na ḍāk mramar gah ḍeh] ra[p ket t]uy II [prāp] ā [jareṅ Bodhisat tuy ḍeh dmåṅ tau II pḍay kāla gah II prabeṅ Ghaṭīkāra Mahābruim ma kuiw] (d).

18. (n) . [n[5] ā] ra II B[odhisat] (ha) [ñāt] pra[beṅ gah t]uy II [tay stum gah r]a(laḷ) [tuy d]uṅ [k]e[t ḍ]ā[k ra II khā gah Su]j[ātā prāp ā tuy II thaḷ thor tuy] (ma pe)-

19. (ṅ t)au na prama[n] ḍ[āk tah g]ah II draḅu[t c]u[t] la[tū gatā tay Bo]risat[6] ra II [kh]ā ga[h rau wo' ḍeh] (gaḷ II yo') [tila] ey dewa[tau paṭṭhanā tuy ma ey rāda]-

[1] Looks like *atuiw*.
[2] Perhaps *praman*.
[3] For *kuiw*.
[4] Perhaps *praman*.
[5] Possibly *danan* or *dandan*. Cf. VIII A 3.
[6] For *Bodhisat*.

20. [nā mik taṁ] j[oṅ tila ey gah II ḍok peṅ ku ey tuy] ra [II] rau pa[ṭṭhan]ā cui[t] ey ḍi[k ma] ḍ[ok peṅ] (gah) [heṅ II paṭṭhan]ā cui[t tīla ey ler kuiw ḍok]

21. [peṅ ñi gaḥ tuy II thaḥ thor t]uy [ma nwom ṅ]uh [mway lak] ka[s]ā[p gah] . . [k ku br] . . (y) [t]u[y II Sujātā twāk c]au [ā ra II khā gah Bodhisat twāk cui]-

22. [h ā] pḍay [craṅ kru]ṅ Nerañjarā tu[y II pḍay cni]h Su[patiṭṭha gah pa pa]r[ibho]k [praman gah ra] II II pḍa[y] thān ja[r]e[ṅ bodhi gah II lukau ḅā coh d]ac[ām tṅa]-

23. [y pan saṯṯāha gah II k]yā[k] t[r]ay dm[å]ṅ [t]u[y heṅ II p[ḍay tṅay] ca[h] pi [bramåk k]i[t]u [jih] gah [II y]aḥ [l]aṅ[ū h]e[ṅ ky]ā[k tray daloh[1] ktuiw ā] II

24. [nū ratan]aghara [tuy II ā dmåṅ tau] (a)sma[r tnaṁ [jray s]uṁ[m] Aja[pāla tuy] lu[k]au da[pah tṅay] ga[h II bic]ā[raṇ]ā ket [dhar c]as[uiṅ ket] dra[sok phalasamāpat]

25. [tuy] k[yāk tr]ay d[maṁ][2] tau [II] II [pḍay kāla gah] ba[mnaḥ m]wa[y ma himu] (Huṅhukajāti[3] gah) [prāp] tluṅ [smā]n sram[ān ku ky]āk [tr]ay [t]u[y II kyāk tray le]-

26. [r sah kui]w [sramā]n [ku ḍeh ra] II [II] p[ḍ]ai [k]ā[l]a k[yak[4] tray ma dmåṅ pḍai phār Ajap]ā[la] ga[h kuim] II s[miṅ Mā] pr[āp ā tl]u[ṅ=jareṅ[5] ky]āk [tray t]u[y] (II) . . . . . .[6] tuy ma ui]-

27. [t] cu[it ma phy]u[i]h sa[nniṭhān] tradah k[yāk tray ma] dah ky[āk cmat II tradah p]u[gg]u[i]w [ma c-aḥ cmat gah ḍeh] h[uim tuy II ḍeh] b[uiw ā nor jray Ajapāla II bwoy duih]

[1] For *daloḥ*?
[2] For *dmåṅ*.
[3] For *Huhuṅkajāti*.
[4] For *kyāk*.
[5] The *ṅ* of *tluṅ* appears to be superscript over the *j* of *jareṅ*.
[6] The missing word looks something like *lahuim*, "speech", but it seems difficult to fit this sense into the passage.

28. b[ramåk] (gah) [twāk ā tuy II pḍay dor t]arau [jnok ḍeh kajo'[1] tuy II carit cah tar]au ga[h] ḍe[h] cari[t ket tuy ḍeh dawiṅ] (deṅ) [dmaṁ[2] tau II kh]ā [gah]

29. [tradok cuit ḍeh that lwon san tuy II tan tuy ma ḍeh] . . . . [ḍ] . . . [lor] p[ḍ]ai kana(t)[3] [ḍe]h [k]u[im ler l]a(luy) [c(u)it kuim] (ḍeh) [ha tim ra II khā]

30. [Mā ma laluy cuit gah II smiṅ] I[n go]' [lapah ket tuy II smiṅ In (h)uim ku Pañcasī]kha [iṅah gaḥ II khā gah kw(ā)n br]au Mā [pi tuy ma himu] (II) [Taṇhā II A]ra[tī]

31. [II Rāgā II gah ñāt ket s]m[iṅ mba ḍeh tuy ma deṅ] d[m]å[ṅ tau gah II cuih tluṅ] . . . . . .[4] [ku m]ba ḍ[e]h [t]u[y II prāp] ā [jareṅ kyāk tray] . . . (ra) [II] rup

32. [brau samat lwut p]i [klaṁ mwai wā] II [r]up brau lwut ma ha go]' [kwān pi klaṁ mwoy wā II rup brau ma go' kwā]n mwa[y pi klaṁ m]w[oy w]ā [II rup] b[rau ma go' kwān ḅā pi klaṁ mwo]y

33. [wā II rup brau ma dah taḍay ñaḥ pi klaṁ mwoy wā II rup brau ma jnok ñi pi klaṁ mw]oy [wā II rau wo' turau he]ṅ [b]rau pi pi [klaṁ ḍeh to'] (nimit bdah)[5] [tuy II ḍeh]

34. [to' prāp ā jare(ṅ=)kyāk[6] tray] (tuy ḍeh to)[7] hui[m juim] (tau) [ku kyāk tray ḍeh to' ha go' akhwoṅ ḍeh to' tuy] (ḍeh to') [kaleṅ cau]

35. [jareṅ mba ḍeh to' ra II II]

[1] Between *kajo'* and *tuy* there is either an original flaw in the stone or some small word (such as) has been effaced.

[2] For *dmaṅ*.

[3] Conceivably *kanak*.

[4] There are two words here that have not been identified. Each seems to begin and end with or *t*.

[5] These two words seem almost certain readings, though the second one might be *bat*.

[6] It is very doubtful whether there is any superscript *ṅ* here at all.

[7] Conjectural restoration.

B

1. [II II] kh[ā] ti[l]a p[uiy kyāk tray] . . . . . [chu Rājāyatana dapah tṅay t]u[y gah II tit tluṅ no(r=)Rājāyatana tuy kaleṅ]

2. p[l]an [ā] pḍa[y thān jray su(ṁ)m Ajapāla II] (casuiṅ ket)[1] [phala-samāpati kyāk tray dmåṅ[2] tau ra II pḍay kāla tuy ma dmåṅ pḍay thān gah]

3. [g]asa[p cuit] mwam[3] ma cåṅ that ktuiw dah ku kyāk tray ra II dh[ar tuy ma ey kuli go' graṅ ke]t[2] (wo')[4] [gah II sjoh ler sjoh san II II]

4. s[j(u)iṅ na ñaḥ s]ñā[t san] II s[j]ui[ṅ na ñaḥ s]gra[ṅ ket san II] (ṅiy tḍiṁ)[5] [san II at]u[i]ṅ dhar ma [ey go' graṅ ket] (wo')[4] [ey ma twah ku ñaḥ c-āṅ] II [ñaḥ ha graṅ] t[i]-

5. [m] ra sdah [m]ā II [lam-]oṅ la[m]-a[t] j[r]a[k]u [ey heṅ ma sdaḥ uiw so]' II atu[i]ṅ [dh]ar ma [ey go]' gra[ṅ ket wo' gah] II [ey (h)eṅ][6] spa ke[w srajuiṅ t]aḍui-

6. [ṅ II s-a]y [puray spujau sakā t]uy II [sdmåṅ ket ra II ku ñaḥ c-ā]ṅ [ta ey ha mik tw]ah ra gaḥ tuy II [c]u[it mw]ay [m]way t[uy] ma spa (an[7] kabut) [pḍay ma stwah] dhar [ku]

7. ña[ḥ gah] k[tu]iw [dah] ku kyāk tra[y ra II kh]ā ga(sah)[8] [Sahampati Mahā]brui[m tim ke]t [gasap] cui[t kyāk tram[9] t]uy II grakwom bruim grakwom dewa[t]au ma

[1] The reading is not quite certain, but cf. A 24.
[2] Between *dmå* and *ṅ* there is an original flaw which also separates *e* from *k t* in the next line.
[3] For *mway*.
[4] In ll. 3, 4, it is possible to read *te'* instead of *wo'* but in l. 5 the reading *wo'* is certain.
[5] Though the letters seem fairly clear the actual reading is doubtful because the words have not been definitely identified.
[6] The word *heṅ* might perhaps be read *theṅ*.
[7] It might be possible to read *arā*.
[8] Presumably for *gah*, and translated accordingly.
[9] Presumably for *tray*.

8. [t]au tau p[ḍay cah lṅim] cak[k]awā [gah trawī] ba[wuiṅ ket tuy II pā]p[1] ā ja[reṅ kyāk] tray ra [II] khā ga[h k]båṅ mway duih pan[ḍaḥ ti] yok ket samim[2] ta-

9. [y] li[ṅo]r [kyāk] tram[1] tu[y II het tuy ma] (sgo')[3] [kuiw twah dhaw ku sat gamlui]ṅ ga[h II] āt[4] wuiw ku k[y]āk tray ra II [ky]āk tra[y t]un ler

10. [k]uiw wui[w ku S]ahampa[ti Mahābruim tuy heṅ II] . . . . . [tṅa]y ga[h II pḍay thān tr]awī w[ū] Ma[hā]bodh[i g]ah guim[5] II kyāk tray gaṅge[ṅ p]i[ṇ]ḍa[p]ā[t]

11. tuy II d[måṅ t]au pḍa[y th]ā[n gah] ra II [pḍay payām sagā] (tṅay) [cah pan bram]åk [kitu a(sā)t gah II gasap rau wok][6] k[t]ui[w] dah ku [k]yāk tray ra II isi Ā[ḷ]āra

12. [K]ālā[ma] gah II [ma salah ta]ḅaḥ [k]u[iw dhaw] (lo) . . . . [samāpat[7] dapåh] (ku ey dah)[8] u[iw] da ci II [upak]ā jnok [ku ey san II ku i]si Ā[ḷ]āra Kālā-

13. [ma] heṅ [ey ma g]ap gw[or stwah dh]ar [twā[9] ra rau gah] (kṣap tuy) [II khā gah] (tradah isi)[10] [Āḷāra] . . . .[11] p[ḍay dapah tṅay ma lwon t]u[y ma khy(u)it ā II] ma ā

14. k[t]uiw dah] p[ḍay aki]cca[ñāyatan]abhu[m[12] gah tim] (ket) [tuy II isi] Ā[ḷāra] (Kālāma) [ha mway ra ci II is]i U[d]akā kwon [Rām] tu[n ler II het tuy ma]

[1] For *prāp*.
[2] For *samip*.
[3] This seems the most likely reading. At first I was inclined to read *p-or ma*.
[4] There is no *virāma* visible on the *t*.
[5] For *kuim*.
[6] For *wo'*.
[7] This looks like *lokiyasamāpat*, which seems improbable as *lokkutarasamāpat* would be more ble.
[8] Restored, but supported to some extent by traces of letters.
[9] I take this to be an error for *tlā*.
[10] Almost certain.
[11] Possibly *wo'*.
[12] For *ākiñcaññā°*, in Pali spelling.

15. [ḍeh salah taḅaḥ kuiw dhar] newa[sañānāsañāyatanasamāpat dah ui[1] da ci II] (jnok tau) [upakā] ku [ey] . . . .[2] [ku isi Udaka heṅ ey ma ga]-

16. [p gwor stwah dhar tlā[3] ra gaḥ tuy II gasap cuit kyāk tray ktuiw dah tun II] (khā gah) [tradah isi] Udaka ma khyuit [traḍay] ba[taṁ gah ma ā ktuiw] (dah)

17. [pḍay newasañānāsañāyatana]bhum [gah] (tim) [ket tuy II isi] (Udaka ha) [mway ra ci II tipuin paccawar[4] to'] ma klo[n ḅ]ui[t] . . [ku ey] (khā)

18. [ma pa dukkaracāriyāt gah l]er II [u]pakā jnok ku ey sa]n da[h] ui[w da ci II ku tipuin paccaw]ar [to' heṅ] ey ma [gap gw]or s[twah dhar tlā[5] rwo]-

19. [ṅ] . . . . . [' ci II] tipui[n paccawor] (to' tau)[6] [pḍay thān tuy ḍeh] to[7] [ma] dmåg[8] ro [g]aḥ tu[y II kyāk tray kṣap bicāraṇā] (mwa)-

20. (y tuy)[9] [II tradah tila puin paccawor to'] (ma pa datau)[10] [pḍay ḍuṅ Bārāṇasī pḍ]ay gr[ip Isipa[t]ana ga[h tim ket] tuy [II ey s-ā] (ḍuṅ Bārā)-

21. (ṇasī ñi) [g]aḥ [tuy] II [pḍ]ay [ṫnay sī] brape[ṅ kitu asāt gah heṅ II kyāk tray tit] ā [nor] (smār[11] tnaṁ) [jray su(ṁ)m] Aja[p]ā[la ra II] (II) . . . . . .

22. [jray sum A]japā[la tuy] ma cui[n dah tau] (thān) [paribhok kyāk tray gah smiṅ ma nwom ku puin tamlā] (ma sjuṅ) [sḍuik pḍay sāsanā] (ma pa) [taṁ ku]

[1] For *uiw*.

[2] Looks like *kuit* and is perhaps for *kuim*.

[3] Or *klā*.

[4] For *pañcawar* (Sanskrit *pañcavargya*). The Pali form is *pañcavaggiya*.

[5] Or *klā*.

[6] Very doubtful, especially the second word, which might perhaps be read *mu rau*.

[7] For *to'*. It is, however, conceivable that the letter read *ma* is really the final which would turn *to* into *to'*.

[8] For *dmāṅ*.

[9] Cf. VIII A 11.

[10] This seems to be the actual reading; but the Upakasamāga inscription, l. 6, has *ma tau tau*, and the context is not quite identical.

[11] This supposed reading would be an error for *smar*; but both words are doubtful.

23. (smiṅ) [Asokadhammarāt ta gah II dak lo]r [cetī mway Japālaceti-(ya)[1] tuy ma tluṅ tau pujau sakā II II pḍay thān puiy Rāmañadesa] . . . . . .

24. . . . . [l(e)r II ptup] (ca)[2] [kuiw Ajapālace[3] te'[4] gaḥ tuy atuiṅ duih tlaṅ] (ca) . . . . . (thān) [te' heṅ II tila ñaḥ tila ciṅ batāṅ] . . . . . .

25. . . . . ma [himu Mahārāja] . . . . (tuai)[5] [II pḍai sakkarāt 84(2) kitu asāt masun crawek] (tṅay) . . . . . [lak min] (gah) [II] (ma kuiw kanaṅ lor)[6] [Ajapālacetī] (wo') . . . . . .

Translation.

A.

Our Bodhisattva, having for six years practised asceticism in Uruveḷa,[7] ;ause of[8] following the proper middle way, the principles of (2) wisdom, ;ntion and meditation had grown great (in him). In the night of the ·th ?)[9] of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha he beheld five ;at (3) dreams and made up his mind that he was to achieve (true ?) ıddhahood. On the full moon festival day, early in the morning, after ;nding to himself,[10] (4) he approached the Ajapāla fig-tree (and having ?) . . . . . alms,[11] (having ?) . . . . . ., facing towards . . . the ;tern quarter (and) resting (5) under the fig-tree, our Bodhisattva nained (there).

At that time Sujātā, who was the daughter of the (rich man ?) Senānī,[12] ıile she was still a maiden, (6) having gone to the Ajapāla fig-tree, had

[1] For *Ajapāla°*.
[2] Doubtful.
[3] For *Ajapālacetī*.
[4] This might be *wo'*.
[5] Very doubtful.
[6] Mostly a conjectural restoration, but the traces of letters still legible make it probable.
[7] Cf. Bigandet, I 72-6. Uruveḷa was a forest country.
[8] The original seems ambiguous : either "in order to follow" or "because he followed" (in the latter se giving the reason why he attained the higher faculties mentioned immediately afterwards). But for ; first sense one would expect *scwin* (cf. ll. 7, 8 *infra*).
[9] This, though illegible, must be the right reading. Cf. Bigandet, I 79—81.
[10] Or "to his person." Bigandet, I 81, has "washed his hands and face, put on his dress."
[11] See the note on the text.
[12] This was the name both of Sujātā's father and of the village where they lived (Buddhist Birth .ories, p. 184). But Bigandet, I 77, has it, spelt in the Burmese fashion, under the form "Thena."

said, "When I have got a husband of (suitable ?) family, (and if) in my first confinement I get (7) a male child, I will offer rice cooked in milk[1] to my (lord ?)," (thus she) prayed . . . . . The prayer[2] she had made having been fulfilled, in order (8) to make an offering to the deva of the Ajapāla fig-tree, she boiled milk rice (and) sent Puṇṇā,[3] a female slave whom she employed, who had been her foster-mother, (9) to go out and clear the place (where she) was to make the offering to the deva. Then Puṇṇā, having gone out, saw the Bhodhisattva, who was facing towards the eastern quarter and resting under the fig-(10)tree. She saw that a radiance was issuing from his body and that the whole mass of the tree was of a golden colour. "Surely the deva in his own person is going to accept our (11) offering, it seems," she reflected, and returned home; and, in accordance with what she had seen, she spoke to Sujātā.

Then Sujātā was very glad and happy (in her) heart. (12) She filled a golden dish of the value of ten thousand *kasāp*[4] quite full with the rice milk, covered the rice milk with another golden dish and (13) wrapped them in a clean white cloth, decked herself with all her golden ornaments,[5] and carrying on her head the golden dishes with the rice milk, in great splendour (14) of beauty, she went out together with the female slave Puṇṇā. Then from afar, with the radiance of the body of the Bodhisattva who was sitting (there), she saw the whole mass of the tree was of (15) a golden colour and thinking (that she) was beholding the deva of the fig-tree, she went, bowing low, to give (him) the rice milk. The golden dish wherein she had put (16) the rice milk she took down from her head, unwrapped the white cloth wherewith (she had) wrapped the (dish of) rice milk, took off the golden dish which covered (it), (and) from[6] a golden water vessel . . . . . (17) with scented water . . . . . she approached the presence of the Bodhisattva and (there) she remained.

[1] This is in accordance with Buddhist Birth Stories, l.c., and Bigandet, I 79, 80, though in neither case are we told exactly how the rice came in.

[2] Literally "in accordance with the prayer."

[3] Bigandet, I 80, calls her "Sounama".

[4] Sanskrit *kārṣāpaṇa*, Pali *kahāpaṇa*, a small coin of varying value, according as it is of gold, silver or copper, but apparently usually the latter. Bigandet (I 82) has "100,000 pieces of silver."

[5] Bigandet, l.c., has "she forthwith put on her finest dress."

[6] Or "with." Owing to the lacuna in this line it is not clear how the words *rap ket* in the next one should be translated; they may mean "hold" or "use". Bigandet, l.c., has "offered him in a gold basin scented water to wash his hands."

At that moment the almsbowl, that the Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra[1] had presented, (18) (disappeared ?)[2] and the Bodhisattva, not seeing that almsbowl, (stretched out his ?)[2] right hand and took the water. Then Sujātā approached and set the golden dish that was (full ?) (19) of rice milk on the palm of the Bodhisattva's hand. Then she spake thus: "O my lord deva, the prayer that I prayed (20) at my lord's feet has been fulfilled for me; as the prayer of my heart was fulfilled, so also may the prayer of my lord's heart be (21) fulfilled !," (she) said; and, having (offered ?)[3] the golden dish which was of the value of ten thousand *kasāp*, Sujātā walked home.

Then the Bodhisattva walked down (22) to the bank of the river Nerañjarā and at the bathing place (named) Supatiṭṭha he partook of the rice milk. On the ground in front of the Bodhi (tree) for twenty-eight days, (23) four weeks, the exalted Buddha remained; and on the thirteenth day of the waxing (half) of the month of Jyeṣṭha, early in the morning the exalted Buddha went away (24) from the house of gems[4] and went to stay under the Ajapāla fig-tree; for seven days, meditating on the Law and enjoying the bliss of the attainment of fruition,[5] (25) the exalted Buddha remained (there). At that time a Brahman named Huhuṅkajātī approached (and) asked a question of the exalted Buddha; and the exalted Buddha (26) gave him the answer to his question.[6]

Also during the time that the exalted Buddha was staying by the side of the Ajapāla (tree),[7] King Māra approached the presence of the exalted Buddha, and . . . . . (being at) his wits' (27) end, he concluded that

[1] The name means "potter". According to Bigandet, l.c., the almsbowl that disappeared was of earthenware.

[2] I follow Bigandet in regard to these two words, but the second one is supported to some extent by the text.

[3] Bigandet, l.c., has "making then the offering of the gold cup, worth 100,000 pieces of silver, with the same disinterestedness as if she had given over only the dry leaf of a tree, she withdrew and returned to her home with a heart overflowing with joy."

[4] This was the fourth of the seven weeks that began when the Bodhisattva took his seat under the Bodhi tree. Cf. Bigandet, I 100.

[5] That is, of the attainment of the several kinds of spiritual insight that a Buddha has. Cf. Bigandet, I 102.

[6] In Bigandet (I 104-6) this incident is mentioned after the appearance of Māra and his daughters, and the Brahman is called Mingalika. The Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka (I 2) has *huhuṅkajātiko*, interpreted as "of a haughty disposition", not as the man's name; Buddhaghosa adds that he was *diṭṭhamaṅgalika* (F. Max Müller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 79).

[7] With the remainder of Face A of this inscription Bigandet I 102-4 can be compared.

the exalted Buddha was a true Buddha, "a pure, true man", he said. He looked away from the Ajapāla fig-tree (and) having walked towards (28) the eastern quarter, sat down in the middle of the high road, (where) he drew sixteen lines (and then) remained anxious and dazed. At that time (29) his distress of mind was very great, ... (having remained ?)[1] . . . . . , in (the end ?)[1] he lost consciousness, he knew no more. When (30) Māra had lost consciousness, King Indra lifted him up and King Indra informed Pañcasīkha of this.[2]

At that moment the three daughters of Māra, named Taṇhā, Aratī and (31) Rāgā, seeing their royal father was in a dazed state, came down (and), having . . . . . .[3] to their father, approached the presence of the exalted Buddha . . . . . Forms of (32) young maidens, three hundred at one time, forms of girls that had not borne a child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne one child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne two children, three hundred at one (33) time, forms of women of middling age, three hundred at one time, (and) forms of somewhat older[4] women, three hundred at one time, in these six ways, (as) three hundred women at a time, did they create,[5] and, (34) approaching the presence of the exalted Buddha, addressed the exalted Buddha. (But) they had no chance (of success) and (35) they returned to their father.

B

After our lord the exalted Buddha (had remained under ?)[6] the Rājāyatana tree for seven days,[7] (he) came away from the Rājāyatana tree and returned (2) again to the place of the Ajapāla fig tree, (where) the exalted Buddha remained (enjoying ?)[6] the fruition of attainment.[8] During the time when he was staying at that place (3) a very anxious thought

[1] There is some doubt as to the meaning here owing to the lacuna and the reading *kanal* is not quite certain.

[2] Presumably this is what is meant, though the reading is not quite certain. Pañcasīkha was a deva.

[3] Some expression like "given help" (or "comfort") would be appropriate here. The two illegible words in the text have not been identified.

[4] Literally, "big" or "bigger".

[5] The translation assumes that in the reading of the text, which is doubtful, *nimil* is used as a verb, in the sense of "to form, to create" and *bdah* means the same thing. If instead of *bdah* we read *bat* "likeness", there is no substantial difference in the sense but the construction seems rather strained.

[6] Conjecturally restored.

[7] This was the seventh of the seven great weeks. Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 107.

[8] Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 111-5, for what follows, down to B 21 *infra*.

occurred to the exalted Buddha: "This Law, which I have succeeded in getting to understand is deep, very deep, (4) very hard for men to perceive, very hard for men to understand, very . . . . . .[1] If I preach to other people in accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding they will not understand (it) (5) and I myself[2] shall surely be tired out. In accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding, I will . . . . . .[3] (6) worship (and) make offerings and I will continually keep (it). To other people I do not want to preach (it)," (he) said. (Thus), one by one, thoughts, of how to exert himself but little[4] in preaching the Law to (7) others, occurred to the exalted Buddha.

Then the Mahābrahma Sahampati, having become aware of the thoughts of the exalted Buddha, assembled a retinue of the company of Brahmas and the company of devas who (8) dwell in a hundred thousand universes and approached the presence of the exalted Buddha. Then, bending one knee to the ground and lifting up his joined hands, (9) (he) revered the exalted Buddha and asked as a boon from the exalted Buddha that he would preach the Law to all beings.[5] The exalted Buddha, on his part, (10) granted the boon to the Mahābrahma Sahampati. . . . . that day,[6] on the land around the Mahābodhi tree the exalted Buddha wandered for alms, (11) and then remained on that land.

At the hour of midnight, (on) the fourteenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Āṣāḍha, this thought occurred to the exalted Buddha: "Inasmuch as the hermit Āḷāra (12) Kālāma, who taught (and) expounded (to me?) the law of the seven stages of . . . . . attainment,[7] was of very great service to me, to the hermit Āḷāra Kālāma (13) it is fitting that I should preach the Law first," thus he (resolved?). Then, having become aware of the fact that the hermit Āḷāra . . . . had died seven

[1] Reading doubtful and meaning undetermined.

[2] Or "my body".

[3] The meaning of the rest of the line is doubtful. As it stands it might be "make clear (and) delight (in)" or "set my heart on", but this leaves *taḍuiṅ*, which has not been identified, untranslated. Perhaps we should read *pa keṅ* "practise". Cf. I D 19. If we read *theṅ* (instead of *heṅ*) the meaning would be "I think I will", etc., but this seems less probable.

[4] The reading not being quite certain, there is some doubt as to the meaning.

[5] The literal sense appears to be "in order that he might get (him) to preach the Law to all sentient beings (the Mahābrahma Sahampati) asked the exalted Buddha for a boon", i.e. he asked the favour, that Buddha would preach the Law.

[6] Owing to the lacuna it is not clear whether it should be "day" or "days".

[7] That is the first seven of the ecstatic states enumerated under the head of *samāpatti*.

days before and gone (14) into existence in the region of "nothingness";[1] (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Āḷāra Kālāma is no more, (and) seeing that the hermit Udaka, son of Rāma, (15) taught (and) expounded the law of the attainment of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness"[2] (and) was of (great) service to me, . . . to the hermit Udaka it is fitting (16) that I should preach the Law first." (Thus) saying, (this) resolve of the exalted Buddha arose (in his mind). (Then ?) having become aware of the fact that the hermit Udaka had died in the middle of that night and gone into existence (17) in the region of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness,"[3] (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Udaka is no more, and the five monks, who ministered . . . to me (when ?) (18) (I was) practising asceticism, were of very great service to me, to (these) five monks it is fitting that I should preach the Law first." (19) . . . . . "In what place do the five monks dwell ?" (he) said ; and the exalted Buddha reflected . . (20) Having become aware of the fact that the five monks had made their dwelling-place in the country of Benares in the forest of Isipatana, "I will go (to the country of Benares ?)," (21) (he) said ; and on the festival day of the full moon of Āṣādha, the exalted Buddha went away from (beneath ?) the Ajapāla fig-tree . . . . . .

(The place of ?) (22) the Ajapāla fig-tree having been a place of sustenance of[4] the exalted Buddha, the kings of old who were possessed of piety, who took delight in the religion, beginning with (23) King Asokadhammarāja, having built a caitya, the Ajapālacaitya, came (there and) worshipped (and) made offerings. In our country of Rāmañña-desa . . . . . (24) . . . (also ?), saying "Imitate yonder Ajapālacaitya," in accordance with the orientation of (the) sides . . . . . (of) that (place ?), His Majesty, the Lord of the White Elephant . . . . . .[5] (25) . . . . . who was named Mahārāja . . . . , in the year 842[6] of the Common Era, the fifth of the waning (half) of the month Āṣādha, (a . . . day ?), Pisces being *lagna*,[7] (built ?)[8] this Ajapālacaitya . . . . . .

[1] The third of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions. This assumes an emendation of the reading in the text, *q.v.*

[2] The eighth stage of *samāpatti*.

[3] The fourth of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions.

[4] Or simply, "a place used by".

[5] It seems as if some expression like "gave orders to" were needed here. Cf. XIV 12.

[6] The last numeral is not quite certain, nor is the week-day.

[7] That is, tangential to the eastern horizon.

[8] Very doubtful, see the note on the text.

No. XIV.

An Inscription of the Shwegugyi Pagoda, Pegu.

Descriptive Account.

89. This is a mere fragment containing only the last 13 lines of a record, and most of them in an imperfect condition. It measures 1 ft. 8 in. in height by 2 ft. in breadth. The letters and the interlinear space are of the same dimensions as in No. XIII.

90. So far as it is preserved, this record is concerned with the events which happened in the second and third of the seven weeks that began when Buddha took his seat under the Bodhi tree. For these, reference may be made to the account contained in Bigandet, I, pp. 99-100. Put shortly, after leaving his majestic seat under the tree of enlightenment, Buddha stood gazing at it steadfastly without winking an eye, and in deep meditation, which caused the devas to think that he regretted having left it and that he had not yet attained Buddhahood.[1] At the end of those seven days, in order to remove their doubts, he raised himself miraculously into the air and performed miracles which convinced them that he was really a Buddha (cf. ll. 1-6 of the inscription). Having come down to earth again he proceeded to spend the following week, the third of the great seven weeks, still in deep meditation, walking up and down the "cloistered walk" or ambulatory which the devas had prepared for him, and it is especially this that the inscription is intended to commemorate (cf. ll. 8-13).

Text.

1. . . . . (kyāk tray) [gah II lukau dapah tṅai] (nda)[2] [mat ma ha go']
2. . . . [laḅay] (gah)[3] [II het] . . . . . [ṅ] . . . . . [kyāk]

[1] The *Niddnakathā* has a slightly different version, viz. that the doubts in the minds of the devas arose while Buddha was still under the Bodhi tree, from which they inferred that "there must be something more Siddhattha has to do, for he still lingers seated there." (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 200). Presumably this is an older version than the one in our record and in Bigandet.

[2] This is shaped as if it were *nḍa* (as also in XII C 49, D 28, 36, 38, 47, 50) and should perhaps be so transliterated. I think, however, that it is identical with the modern particle *da* (pronounced *tə*) though it may be merely a damaged *ra* here. The subscript *d* in (*sa*)*ndeh*, ll. 3, 4, is also of much the same shape.

[3] The reading is doubtful. The initial letter, which is blurred, looks like a *dh*.

3. (tray)[1] . . . . . (sa)nd[e]h
de[w]atau gam[l]uiṅ t[o]' [ktuiw dah]

4. . . . . (sa)nd(e)h
[de]wa[tau to' gah] . . . . . .

5. . . . . tu(y) II ta[ḅ]aḥ
kuiw pāṭ[ihā kuiw] (dewa)tau ga-

6. (mluiṅ)[2] . . . . . [' tuy]
II kyāk [tray cuih] tl[u]ṅ

7. . . . . [ṅka] (ra kuim) [ma
datau g]ah II [bramåk] ā paluit[t II no(r)]

8. [p]aluit [ā] bramå[k] II [lukau d]a[p]ah tṅai [kyāk] tray
ca[ṅ]kraṁ [t]au ra II pḍa[y thān caṅkraṁ]

9. ga[h] smiṅ tamlā [m]a sadhā ma pa taṁ ku smiṅ
A[s]oka[dhammarāt] ga[h II caṅkraṁ k]wom

10. [ku] c[e]tī ḅā [r]a-i[t] caṅkraṁ gah II [k]u[iw] kanaṁ laṁ[3] cuiw
ku lamah nw[å]m tau II p[ḍ]ay thān puiy

11. [Rāmañ]ad[e]sa wo' [g]ah II [ptu]p ca [ku th]ān [te'] tuy II [tui]ṅ
duih [t]laṅ [b]na[t] p[r]aḅat

12. . . . . (') . . [ṅ][4] II [tila ñaḥ tila c]iṅ [bat]ā[ṅ II p-āw]
k[w]on [truh] m[way ma h]im[u Ba]-

13. (ñā)[5] . . . . [II ma k(a)ndaṁ][6] (law) [cetī ḅā kwam ku
ratanacaṅkraṁ wo' II II]

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] Conjecturally restored. It may have been *gah*, not *gamluiṅ*.
[3] This can also be transliterated *lå*, a modern spelling for *la'* (pronounced *lo'*), which occurs in our records as *lo'*, with the sense of "a long time". I can make nothing of either *laṁ* or *lå* and suspect that *law* was intended, as in I, 13 where it is the probable reading.
[4] One may conjecture *thān te' heṅ* (cf. XIII B 24).
[5] The reading is doubtful. If correct, it means "prince".
[6] The *d* is written as *ḍ*. The vowel of the first syllable may possibly be *i*.

Translation.

. . . . . the exalted Buddha, during the seven days (when he) could[1] not (2) . . . blink (with) his eyes; because . . . . . the exalted (3) Buddha . . . . . doubts arose in the minds of the devas (4) . . . . . the doubts of the devas . . . . (5) . . . . . and the exalted Buddha showed forth miracles to the devas, (6) . . . . . and the exalted Buddha came down (7) . . . . . .[2] (from) the east going to the west, from (8) the west going to the east, during seven days the exalted Buddha kept walking to and fro.[3]

In the place where he had walked (9) the kings of old who had faith, beginning with Asokadhammarāja, caused to be built an ambulatory together (10) with two caityas at the ends of the ambulatory; (they) stand even until now.

In this our country (11) of Rāmaññadesa, in imitation of that place, in accordance with the orientation of the sides and the dimensions (12) (of that place?), His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, ordered a son (of his) who was named (Bañā?) (13) . . . . . to erect two caityas together with this precious ambulatory.

[1] This is the literal rendering but the sense is "did".

[2] In the absence of a context it is not possible to make sure of the sense of *ma datau gah*. It may mean "where (he) was". If we may conjecture that *ṅka* is a remnant of *bodhipallaṅka*, the seat under the Bodhi tree (as the superscript *ṅ* in l. 2 may also be), the words could mean "where (he) had stayed." The ambulatory ran from the Bodhi seat to the place where he had stood gazing at it (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 201.)

[3] With the first part of this inscription compare XV 5-9.

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

Descriptive Account.

91. This inscription is engraved on two faces of a stone slab. On the obverse one (Face A) the space originally occupied by lettering appears to have been 5 ft. 3 in. (or more) in height by 4 ft. in breadth. On the reverse (Face B) it is 5 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. The letters are about ½ in. high, letter *t* is about ⅝ in. long and the interlinear space is about ⅛ in. but becomes less in the lower part of the obverse. This face must have contained at least 56 lines, but it is in such a bad state that no consecutive transcript or translation can be made of it as it stands. Enough of it has been preserved to make it plain that, after a reference to his meeting the early Buddha Dīpaṅkara in a former life, it deals briefly with the events in Gautama Buddha's career during the momentous seven weeks and especially, at greater length, with the story of the brothers Tapussa and Bhallika and their meeting with him, mentioned in § 85. The reverse, though a good deal weathered and otherwise damaged, especially in the first twelve lines, is in a much better condition. But there also there are many gaps, which interrupt the continuity of the narrative and obscure its meaning.

92. After repeated and intermittent study, spread over a number of years, it appeared to me that I had done all that I could do in the way of deciphering and interpreting this record. But in October 1932 Professor Pe Maung Tin was good enough to send me an extract, with translation, of a Pali text entitled Nalāṭadhātuvaṁsa, which at that moment I could not deal with as my time was fully taken up with other duties. In the following summer he drew my attention to further evidence capable of throwing light on the Môn Shwedagon inscription and eventually sent a duplicate copy of the Pali extract and translation, a translation of the long Burmese inscription of the same pagoda, and also his own transcript and translation of the Môn inscription. The Burmese record runs on much the same lines as the obverse of the Môn one, while the Pali extract illustrates the first few lines of the reverse. As he proposed to publish all this

material, we both considered that it would be better to collaborate, rather than work apart. For all this assistance I am much indebted, for without it I should not have been able to produce the present text and translation, which, though still inevitably far from perfect, are much better than my former drafts. Where I have either adopted Professor Pe Maung Tin's readings or modified them, the fact is indicated by his initials in the notes on the text. In some cases I did not venture to adopt them because the words were not legible in the ink-impressions which I had.

93. In view of Professor Pe Maung Tin's intention to publish all the relevant material above mentioned and having regard to the condition of the obverse face of the Môn record, it does not seem necessary to say much more about its presumable contents in this place. Besides the sources mentioned in § 87 reference may be made to the brief account of Tapussa and Bhallika in the Slapat Rājawaṅ (edited and translated by Father W. Schmidt in *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Band CLI (1906) pp. 63 seqq. and 77-8, and again by R. Halliday in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1923) Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 40-3), and a summary mention in G. H. Hough, Translation of an inscription on the great bell of Rangoon (in Asiatic Researches (1828) Vol. XVI, pp. 273, 282-3). Bigandet's account (in his work mentioned in § 87, Vol. I, pp. 108—10) is somewhat more detailed.

94. The story told on the reverse differs from these narratives by bringing in the Ceylon king and the two monks who play a prominent part in it. But from the historical point of view the second half of this face is the more interesting one and may be compared with a number of passages in the above-mentioned historical work which tell of the repairs and improvements made at the Shwedagon pagoda by successive Môn sovereigns.

The inscription itself is not dated, but as the concluding lines give a detailed account of what was done in this respect by King Dhammaceti's royal mother-in-law and by Dhammaceti himself, it may reasonably be surmised that the record was made in his time. There is, however, one date, in l. 26 of Face B, connected with the celebrated Môn King Rāmarājādhirāt, who reigned in the first half of the 15th century.

Text.

A

1. . . . . [gah pa paṇidhā]n[1] [pḍay] [taṁ joṅ kyāk][1] [tray] [Dīpaṅkuiw tuy][1] . . . . .[2]
2. . . . . (bapeṅ bwoy rameṅ)[1] [tuy II] (II dhar bodhisambhār)[1] [ma ā cuip] . . . . . (ma lwon) . . . . .
3. . . . . (pḍay smar tnaṁ jray bodhi)[1] . . . . (ku pradhān jnaḥ gah)[1] [krajo' dmåṅ tuy II buiw pnān] [dewaputta Mā][1] . . (ḥ sjuiṅ ra) . . . . .
4. . . . . [ma twah] (bgaḥ)[3] [sabbañutañān ma gñi tau na] (trawah)[4] [ma twah] (bgaḥ)[3] [grakwom gun ma] (sak) . . . . .
5. . . . . (tradah)[1] [kyāk] (ra II go' tradah)[1] [kyāk tuy II] (pḍay jareṅ bodhipallaṅ)[1] [gah II] [casuiṅ wimuttisukha][1] [tuy II] (na thawhāy mwoy)[5] lu[kau dapah tṅay II] (ka)[6] . . . . . .
6. . . . . [kyāk tray ha go' ktuiw] (nū pallaṅ)[1] . . . . . [ma lep pa kuiw tradah kyāk gah] (snom)[1] [ni]m ra gaḥ [tu]y [II sandeh[7] ktuiw dah] . . . . .
7. . . . . (ma randuk ku dacām tṅay) . . . . . (kyāk tray) . . [tuy het ma] [pleṅ kle' sandeh[7] dewatau][1] ta ga[h] II ka[lāṅ tuin bwoy lamh]a(y) . . . . .
8. . . . . (pleṅ kle')[1] [sandeh[7] dewatau] (ta' gah tuy II nū pallaṅ)[1] . . . . . [II cuih dah dmåṅ t]u[y II lukau dapah] tṅay [na m]a(t) . . . . .

[1] P.M.T.

[2] The dots at the beginning and end of the first sixteen lines merely indicate that something is missing without precise reference to its amount. Elsewhere on this face a dot indicates a missing *akshara* (not two, as in other parts of these inscriptions), approximately.

[3] Looks like *ggaḥ*.

[4] Perhaps an error for *tradah*.

[5] Based on P.M.T. but very doubtful. The last word looks like *mwoy*. Cf. XVII 8, 9.

[6] This may be for *kājo'* or *kaleṅ*. The vowel of the second syllable is either *e* or *o*.

[7] Cf. XIV. 3, 4. The *d* has the form of *ḍ*.

9. . . . . [pallaṅ][1] [ku jray bodhi] (ra II)[1] . . . . . [pḍay caṅkram] . . . . . [ku paluit gah II] lukau [dapah] (tṅay)[2] . . . . .

10. . . . . [bwoy paluit caṅkram] (gah)[1] . . . . . (gah) [II kyāk tray wicāranā] . . . . .

11. . . . . (pan) [sattāha][1] tuy . . . . . (pḍay) . . . . . (jareṅ bodhi) . . . . . (tnaṁ jray sum)[1] [Ajapāla] ra II [pḍ]ay tnaṁ (j)r(ay) . . . . .

12. . . . . (dah) . . . . . [Mucalin][3] ma tau bwoy dui(h)] . . . . .

13. . . . . (tuy) [dmåṅ tau ra] II ga[ta nū gah] . . . . .

14. . . . . [tuy casuiṅ ket] [winuttisukha][4] [tuy dmåṅ tau ra II] . . . . . [go' dah tradah] (kyāk) . . .

15. . . . . [ra II] . . . . . (kyāk tray[1] ha go') [klon ḅuit ku jraku] (II ha) . . . . . [āhāra] heṅ ra II na jhā[nā] . . . . .[4]

16. . . . . (dmåṅ tau) [ra II pḍay ra-uit tṅay] . . . . . (pamik ca) . . . . . (kyāk tray)[1] . . (pḍay kā) [gah smiṅ In] . . . . .

17. (t tuy) . . . . . (tuy) [gah II] (rau ma kuiw ku) [kyāk tray] . . . . . (kyāk tray) . . . . (tuy II) . . . . . [kwom ku] . . .

18. . . . . [smiṅ In] (tun ra) [II kyāk tray] . . . . . (ku) [Taphussa II Bhallika II] . . . . .

[1] P.M.T.
[2] Conjecturally restored.
[3] Possibly *Mucalind*. There appears to be a *virāma* here. But the name should be [illegible]
[4] P.M.T. reads *jhānasukha*.

19. . . . . [Asītañjananāguir][1] . . . . . (mahāsamut (tuy II)[1] . . . .

20. . . . . (nisray)[2] ⌊tau ku craṅ kruṅ⌋ . . . . . .

21. (bwoy t) . . . . . (ket) [smar kyā] (ḍeh) . . . . . (pḍay) . . . . . .

22. . . . II . . . . . (II kwon ey . . . .

23. . . . . .

24. . . . . (jak tau kwi kuim) . . . . . .

25. . . . . (tuy II) . . . . (jraku) . . . . . .

26. . . . . (gah II) . . . . . (tnaṁ chu Rā)[3] . . . . . .

27. . . . . . (gah II ey) . . . . (rwoṅ II) . . . . . [dān piṇḍāpat] . . . .

28. . . . . . (ḍeh ta' gah) . . . . . .

29. . . . . . (ḍāk) . . . (tuy II kusuiw) . . . . . .

30. . II . . . . . (mwoy) . . . . . [kyāk tray] . . . .

31. (cu) . . . . . . [ku kyāk tray] . . . . . .

[1] P.M.T.
[2] Very doubtful.
[3] If rightly read this is presumably the first syllable of *Rājāyatana*.

32. . . . . [magga[1] II pnor ñaḥ] (ma ā cuip)[1] . . . . . [l] . . . [n] . . . . .

33. . . . . (dewa manussa)[1] [ḍeh ta'] (gaṅgeṅ tluṅ tuy II pḍay kāla lakthak kyāk tray)[1] . . . . . [tuy II kwon] (dakuip) . . . . .

34. . . . . [II ma kuiw dān piṇḍapāt] [ku kyāk tray][1] . . . . . (II pnor) . . . . . (ḍeh) . . . .

35. . . (tuy II)[1] [ḍeh ta' prāp ā jareṅ kyāk tray] . . . . . [tīla ey kyāk].

36. [tray][1] [gah kuiw puiy ḍik go'][2] (kuiw āhāra klā ñi)[1] . . . . . [ḍeh ta'] . .

37. . . . (dewa manussa)[1] [gaṅgeṅ tluṅ tuy] (II pḍay kāla)[1] [kyāk tray] . . . . . [II kwon] . . . . . (tuy) [II lukau cnām] (ma gluiṅ)[1]

38. (ḍeh ta' gah) [II ku bhikku saṅ][1] [kuiw dān tau tuy II] (klā nū Bodhisat puiy)[1] . . . . . [go' yamu] (Pokkharawatī)[1] . .

39. [ḍeh ta ktuiw dah kwon samṅeh ma dah dakuip banik mwoy ra II] . . (gah) . . . . . (ḍeh ta' ñaḥ ḅā)[1] [ma tau pḍay] . . . . [II pḍay] (kāla ma daḥ raḥ gah II)[1]

40. [kwom ku kwon bani[3] masun klaṁ] (ḍok kḅaṅ tuy klo' ā)[1] [mhāsamut tuy II] (ā cuip)[1] . . . . . (pḍay kwī masun)[4] (klaṁ tuy cut bapeṅ drap)[4] [waṅ pa tau banik tuy II ḍeh ta']

[1] P.M.T.
[2] Or *wo'*.
[3] For *banik*.
[4] Very doubtful.

41. (gaṅgeṅ tau)[1] [heṅ II rau wwo'] (heṅ)[2] [paṭṭhanā ḍeh ta' ma pa tuy][1] (gah II) (pḍay) . . . . . (batwon ḍeh ta' rwoṅ II)[1] [khā gah Taphussa Bhallika] (ñaḥ ḅā)[1]

42. (ko ku de' miṅ ket galān[3] dewatau ma huim II)[1] [mip cuit pumah tuy II] (nū yān ḍeh ta')[1] . . . . . [lo' san II] (thaḅoh jamkah kuim lar II thaḅoh)[1] . .

43. . . . . [kleṅ brawut][4] [kuim lar II] [cut lar tuy][1] . . . . . (kyāk tray)[1] . . . . . [kyāk tray II] (het[5] hitasukha)[1] [ma sdah ku puiy ḍik] (ta')[1]

44. . . . . [tīla ey duṅ ket dān puiy ḍik ñi II rau gah ḍeh ta' huim] (ku kyāk tray ra II)[1] (kyāk tray tun ler) [II gasap ma rau w(w)o' ktuiw dah ra II babeṅ Ghaṭikāra Mahābrui]-

45. (m ma kuiw dān ku ey pḍay) [craṅ kruṅ Anoma gah ler II] . . . . . (ey duṅ praman)[1] (Sujātā)[6] . . . . . [II kyāk tray tamlā tun ler II pḍay gatā tay heṅ] (ma duṅ)[1]

46. (ket piṇḍapāt)[1] [ñaḥ ma kuiw dān ka[7] mwoy] . .[8] (II yarau pḍay watthu mwoy)[9] . . . . . (piṇḍapāt Tapussa Bhallika)[1] [ma kuiw dān wo'] ro II rau [gah gasap cuit kyāk]

47. [tray ktuiw dah ra II khā gah smiṅ Catumahārāt] (pan tim)[10] [ket] [gasap cuit][1] (kyāk tray tuy II) . . . . . [ku kyāk tray ra II kyāk tray tun ler II] (het skuiw)

48. (badah phuiw ma jnok)[1] [ku smiṅ Catumahārāt pan tuy II] (uit)[1] [pabeṅ pan gah] (duṅ ket tuy)[1] . . . . . [bdah pabeṅ mwoy ra II pḍay pabeṅ kyāk]

[1] P.M.T.
[2] Possibly *gah*.
[3] Not clear on the ink-impression.
[4] Or *brabut*, the text reading is from P.M.T.
[5] The actual reading may be *ket* but the sense requires *het*.
[6] Very doubtful.
[7] Perhaps *ka*, as P.M.T.
[8] The doubtful word here looks like *rāṅ*, which may be an error for *roṅ*, or *rwoṅ*.
[9] P.M.T. But for *yarau* he reads *mū rau*, which seems to make better sense.
[10] Conjecturally restored.

49. [tray gah II ḍeh ta' ñaḥ ḅā ko ku de' cut ket] (thaḅoh jamkah)[1] . . . . . (II pḍay kāla)[1] [kyāk tray] . . . . .

50. [gah tun ler II ḍāk] . . [ḍeh ta' ket naṅ kuiw ku kyāk tray] . . . . . (ḍeh ta') (tun II khā gah)[1] (kyāk tray)

51. [dando' batwon dhar ku ḍeh ta'] . . . . . .

52. (gah rau)[1] [wwo' ḍeh ta' ñaḥ ḅā] (gaḥ kyāk tray)[1] . . . . . .[2]

B

1. . . . . (t)[3] ḍe[h][4] ta['] ma [spa pūjau ta]w[āk g]a(h) [II khā gah t]a(d)a[h] ḍeh[4] ta' [ma het mbāy] (. . .)[5] II [smi]ṅ [nāk mwoy ma him]u Jayasena [m]a tau [tau p]ḍa[y bhūmindhara[6] n](āgabhow)[7] . . . . . .

2. . . . . (ḍeh ta') [ñ]aḥ ḅā ma het mbā[y t]uy II (k)e[t] phy[iṅ][8] nā lar pḍay thā]n jaku (ḍ)e(h)[9] [ta'] (tuy ma tau pū)j(au ra) [II II pḍay] k[āla krau] . . . . . (payā)m . . . . . .

3. . . . . (g)a[h] II [mi]k [kan](h)aṁ[10] cetī [tuy II dlaṁ dhāt le]r [kuiw kan(h)aṁ[10] II Buddhapat]i[mā ler kuiw kan](h)aṁ[10] (tuy II nalātadhāt gah cut[11] pḍay) [tneṅ Buddhapatimā ra II pḍay] . . . . . (dhā)-

[1] P.M.T.

[2] There appear to have been about half-a-dozen more lines, now illegible.

[3] Or *k*.

[4] Looks like *ḍey* (which is impossible here).

[5] The first letter looks like *pa* or *ma*, the second like *t* or *h*.

[6] The *dh* is perhaps for *t*. See the note on the text.

[7] Conjecturally restored (cf. l. 5.)

[8] The contemporary spelling is *phyuih*, but no *u* is visible here.

[9] Either at this point or between the *e* and the *h*, there is a blur which in the latter case may be an original flaw. If not an original flaw, there is a lacuna of the size of two or three *aksharas*.

[10] The contemporary spelling is variable, but in the occurrences of the word in this line there is a subscript *h* (or conceivably it might be a *d* formed like a *ḍ*). Between the first *kan(h)aṁ* and the next word there is a small flaw.

[11] The three preceding words are due to P.M.T.

4. (t swo)k k[y]āk [tray s]miṅ mi[k[1] go]' [cut k]w[om tuy II smiṅ] (pa)[2] [sajuiṅ Cūḷapiṇḍapāt](ikatissathe kuiw ket raṅ)[3] [dhāt swok ra II Cūḷapiṇḍapāt](ikatissathe)[4] . . . . . (ma)[5]

5. [himu Si]wa[th]e[6] [kuiw ā cuiḥ k]e[t dh]ā[t swok smiṅ nāk Jayasena ma ā lar pḍay bhūmindhara nā](gabhow ra II)[7] . . . . [Siwathe gah] cu[ih ā cuip smiṅ nāk] (ra) [II smiṅ nāk] . . . . . .

6. [ma sket] dh[āt] tuy II [dh]ā[t s]uim [kr]o[t] sm[iṅ nāk ṅit lar[8] tuy II dhāt ha bwoy ku cy II tīla cy[9] ñāt] (ra II tīla ey ket) [k]e[t ra] II [i]ṅa[h] smiṅ nāk [gaḥ II] . . . . . .

7. [t] ket paṭiñā[n k]u [s]miṅ nāk (pi[10] leh)[11] [tūy[12] II na idhi gah] dhā[t swok gah ket ket tuy II kuiw ku smiṅ Kākawaṇṇatissa[13] ra] II s[miṅ Kākawaṇṇatissa][13] t[un ler II] . . . . . .

8. [gah] t[uy II l]atū kḍip Buddhapa[t]imā [gaḥ lar t]u[y] II [Bud]dhapa[tim]ā gah [th]ā[panā lar pḍ]ay [dl]aṁ [tuy II] (kuiw) . . . . . [II II Tapussa Bhallika ñ]aḥ ḅ[ā ko k]u [de' wo]' [tun] . . . . . .

9. t[au] p[ḍay] w[ih]ā[14] Jeta[wan gaḥ II uit up]aḥ [gamluiṅ kui]m II pa[bwoy rameṅ ḥeṅ] (I) kyā[k tray daḅut] . . . . . (tuy II) [pnor ñ]aḥ [ma ā saraṇagamana gaḥ p]ḍay [thān] . . . . . .

[1] Looks like *mit*.
[2] P.M.T. (one could read *ma*, but *pa* seems to be required by the sense).
[3] P.M.T. (but the last word may be *naṅ*).
[4] P.M.T.
[5] Conjecturally restored.
[6] Possibly *Siwathe*.
[7] Cf. l. 1.
[8] P.M.T. (I had formerly read this as *wilak ra* and interpreted it as "reflect").
[9] At this point there is a small gap; I can see no letter in it. P.M.T. reads *ra*.
[10] P.M.T. Actually this looks like *ḅī*, "ocean, river", but that may be due to subsequent damage.
[11] Doubtful. See the note on the text. I had formerly read *heṅ*, which seemed possible.
[12] Or *tuy*.
[13] P.M.T. (I had read the initial letter as *t*, which is in fact its shape in the second occurrence of the name, the first being hardly legible. In medieval Môn inscriptions the letters *k*, *t*, *th*, *y*, *l* and *h* are hard to distinguish when the stone is weathered or otherwise damaged.)
[14] Or *wika* (the more correct spelling).

10. [ma daḅut lar] rwoṅ II [krau] ww[o]' khā kyāk tra[y ma tau pḍay Rājagruih II] ḍe[h ta'] (ñaḥ ḅā plan ā)[1] [mwoy] (tṅay ra) [t]un II [tuy prāp ā jareṅ k]yā[k tray liṅwor tuy pḍay] (thān) . . . . . (ka)-[2]

11. j[o'] d[m]å[ṅ[3] tau] ra [II k]yāk [t]ra[y t]wa[ḥ dhar ku ḍeh ta' ra II Tapussa] gaḥ go' [sotāpatiphuiw[4] ra II] (tuin lamih)[5] [u]p[āsaka dmåṅ tau ra II Bhallika gaḥ pa gam-ī t]u[y] (pa mar)[6] [wi]p[assanā] (tuy II go')[7] . . . . . .

12. [ra tuy II Bhallikathe][8] gaḥ [yam]u [tīla][9] gah [ra II T]apus[sa tun gaḥ] II [plan cau tluṅ Asītañjananāguir tuy II pḍay cetī dhāt swok kyāk tray ma ḍeh ta' thāpanā] . . . . [la]tū kḍip tm[o' Tambag]utta[10] . . . . . (ḍuk)[11]

13. (peṅ wat) [p]aṭi[pat t]uy II dm[åṅ] yā[m] bna[t ayuk tuy] II [c]u[ti] ā n[ū] ga[ḥ] ā ktuiw daḥ pḍay ḍuṅ swar ra II II cetī [dhāt swok] (te')[12] [ñaḥ] (ma[13] ti)m pa[ray] (wat)[14] [l]i[ṅ]wor [pūj]au [t]au ra II krau wwo' [tno]r [ñaḥ] (ma tim) [paray dh]āt [swok]

14. [kyāk tray ma sgut] ā tuy II pḍay [th]ān [raḥ] rman wwo' tun ler II sāsa[nā ha go]' tan (cu)i-[p dah uiw da ci] (II cetī)[15] [dhāt swok gaḥ] ña[ḥ ha tim tuy] II [ñaḥ ha] go' l[iṅ]w[o]r [p]ūjau [h]e[ṅ] ra [II II het] ña[ḥ ma ha go']

[1] P.M.T.
[2] Conjecturally restored.
[3] Looks like *dmåw*.
[4] The first *i* looks like *l*. I owe the *ph* to P.M.T.
[5] P.M.T.'s reading *tuin lamih* is by no means clear on my ink-impressions.
[6] P.M.T. (I had read *pa-ā*).
[7] The last word is very doubtful, but cf. the preceding *go'*.
[8] The *Bh* resembles an *A*.
[9] Or *tila* (P.M.T.)
[10] This seems to be the actual reading, though the *T* might be *K* both here and in ll. 20, 23.
[11] Conjecturally restored.
[12] Very doubtful. The final letter looks like *m* and the *virāma* is uncertain.
[13] Very doubtful. It may be merely a damaged space.
[14] Possibly *gaḥ*.
[15] Very doubtful. One would expect *duay* (cf. l. 20, *infra*).

15. [liṅwor pūjau gah] kuim nda[1] II [pḍay] thā[n c]etī ga[h] II ma [pa t]aṁ [ku tn]aṁ [chu juk gruip kambat han t]a ga[h] (klut tuin tuy II dah)[2] [gruip gah] (badan)[3] uiw tuy II ñaḥ ha tim dnāy w]ā[y heṅ ra II II nor cnām tila[4] puiy kyā]k tra[y]

16. [ma pa parinibbā]n [gah] II ḅā [k]la[ṁ pi cwoh turau cnām gah kuli lwon] ā t[u]y II [t]īla[5] puiy [a]ra[han] ḅ[ā ma himu Soṇathe Uttarathe gah tluṅ ptan sā]san[ā pḍay ḍ[u]ṅ S[uwaṇṇ]a-bhum [ra] II kh[ā s]ā[sanā ma tan] tuy II gam-[ī]

17. [truh] II gam-[ī brau II sāma]ṇī [tr]u[h] II [sāmaṇ]ī br[au] II khā [ma nwom[6] tuy gah II] khā [gah] smiṅ Si[rī]mā[soka gah II gaḥ] ku ti[la[7] puiy ḅā] (ra II t)o'[8] [tīla[5] cy] II dha[m]ma[rat] II sa[ṅgha]rat ga[h puiy ḍik go'] li[wwo]r[9] pūjau

18. (ra II [Buddhar]atana m[w]o[y gah puiy ḍik] mik l[iṅwor pū[j]au ha go'] . . (') [II] dh[āt] kyā[k] tray [tuy puiy ḍik] ma [sgo'] phyui[h cuit Bu]d[dh]ara[t puiy ḍik ma sgo' liṅwor pū]jau [ey] pura[y[10] gah] II tī[la ey]

19. [ta' reṅ ku puiy ḍik ñi II rau gah] sm[iṅ pa āyāc]anā [ku tila puiy ra II II khā ga]h tila pui[y mahāthe ḅā gah II ce[tī dh[āt] s[w]o[k] kyā[k t]ra[y] II m[in T]ap[ussa] II [Bhallika II ma thāpan]ā lar p[ḍay latū kḍi][11]-

20. [p tmo' Tambagutta[12] II dasuiw gruip ma grop badan lar tuy ma] ñaḥ ha ti[m dnāy gah II taḅaḥ] k[u]iw ku [smiṅ=Si]r[imāsoka][13] ra II [khā gah smiṅ=Siri]m[āsoka][13] II kuiw [ṅ]aḥ taḥ [kle' ca]a[ḥ jaṅaḥ] (kle') [dasuiw gruip tuy] II [ce]-

[1] See XIV 1 n. (and cf. l. 21, *infra*).
[2] The last word is very doubtful.
[3] P.M.T. But the word seems doubtful. Cf. l. 20, however.
[4] Perhaps *tīla*.
[5] Or *tila*.
[6] An original *y* has been corrected to *m*.
[7] Or *tīla*.
[8] Or *ho'* (P.M.T.) But it must be meant for the introductory interjection *yo'* (cf. XII A 34, 50.)
[9] Error for *liṅwor*.
[10] There is a marked stroke under the *y*, but possibly it is a later disfigurement, not the symbol for *u*.
[11] Possibly *kḍui*.
[12] Cf. l. 12 n.
[13] The *ṁ* in *smiṅ* (if there is one) is superscript over the following letter. *Siri°* may be *Sirī°*.

21. [tī kui]m [lar II prasāt[1] ma dah][2] (g)[uim][3] cet[īyaghara kuim lar] II k[u]iw kanaṅ[4] [tuy] (pa)[5] [tau pūj]au ra [II II pa taṁ][6] nū gah [kuim] nda[7] II [uit ku ñaḥ ma t]au pḍa[y] thān [r]aḥ [rma]n [wwo' gah] II [pabwoy[8] ram]eṅ he[ṅ] (ma)[9] tluṅ [tau pūjau heṅ ra II]

22. krau [wwo'] s[m]iṅ ma [n]w[om tau ku s]addhā ma [pa t]ī[la] raḥ [rman ta gah II c]etīyaghara w[wo' tadah] thāwara la[r cu]it [t]uy II [ce]tīyaghara gah c]aḍaḥ k[l]e[' tuy II ma dak grop grop] janwo[k] (tlaṅ[10] cetī)

23. [wwo' bwoy ram[eṅ t[uy] II ce[t]ī w[wo' dah m]ahā[c]e[t]ī [rwoṅ II II II] II [tīla puiy cetī dhā]t [swok kyāk tray] m(in) Ta[pu]s[s]a Bha[llika] ma [thāpanā lar pḍay] la[t]ū kḍ[ui]p[11] tma[' Tambagutta[12] wwo' II pḍay k]ā-

24. [la tīla ñ]aḥ [tala[13] ciṅ batāṅ ma hi]mu Dhamma[trailo]kyanā[th]a-r[ājādhi]rā[t ma pa smiṅ gah II prasāt[14] ma dah cetīyaghara gah caḍaḥ kle' tuy II (ma dak)[15] . . . . [j]anwot[16] [r]w[oṅ] II [khā ma dak] gah da[h 40] ha[t]

25. [sal]uṅ [ra krau] w[o' p]ḍa[y kāla tila ñaḥ Sutasomarājādhirāt ma pa smiṅ gah] II [kuiw dak lhom janok[17] plaṁ-tun II] da[k l]h[om j]ano[k[17] tuy heṅ II yok] . . (c)a[låṅ II yok t]ḍ[oṅ II] (dlaḥ) sl]u[y gah]

[1] For *prāsāt*.
[2] Or *dak*.
[3] The last letter seems to be definitely *m*; the first might be *w*. Possibly the word is a badly-spelt *kuim*. Cf. l. 24.
[4] There is little or no indication of a subscript letter here, but cf. l. 3.
[5] The supposed *pa* very much resembles II.
[6] Or *gata* (P.M.T.) But there seem to be traces of an *anusvāra*.
[7] Cf. XIV 1 n.
[8] Possibly *babwoy*.
[9] Looks like *pa*, or conceivably II (P.M.T.)
[10] Doubtful. The first letter may be *k*.
[11] Possibly *kḍip*.
[12] Cf. l. 12 n.
[13] Perhaps *tila*.
[14] Cf. l. 21.
[15] P.M.T.
[16] For *janwok*.
[17] Probably the word is spelt without *w* in these two cases.

26. [lar b]w[oy p]ḍa[y] II dlaḥ [th]ar ga[h l]ar ma[ṅaḥ II kuiw laḥ bapeṅ] (calåṅ) [uit II krau wo'] pḍa[y k]āla [tīla ñaḥ Rā]ma-rā[j]ādhirā[t ma pa smiṅ gah II pḍay] sak[karāt 798 II gah II tīla puīy] c[eti dhāt s]w[ok]

27. [wo' cha] pnaḥ [gaṇḍi]ṅ [ma g]tu[iw[1] ā cuip latū] ga[h II lāk[2] ā tu]y II [tī]la[3] [ñ]aḥ kwo[m] ku [gnakyāk Nārājadewī] II p[-or sm]iṅ Sāṁm Mlām [tu]y [II t]aḥ sa[mah] .(i)[4] . . . . . (p).(n) [t]u[y] ma ku[iw] dak [p]la[n] II

28. (I) da[k plan tuy t]u[y h]e[ṅ II k]ui[w låk aṅ]ka[de II khā gah] cetī [gah] swat [s]an [g]aḥ [t]u[y nū taṁ pajr]aḥ [jnok he]ṅ ma kui[w] da[k lho]m [plan m]way (tuy[5] ra) [tun II] c[e]tī ma dak lho]m [pl]an ga[h le]r [h]a ga-

29. tā[p tuy] II [tala ñ]aḥ Rāma[rāj]ādh[irāt (ā)[6] [d]u[ṅ] d[ewat]au [heṅ II krau wo' pḍ]ay [kā]la t[īla[7] ñ]aḥ Ba[ñā Bārwor ma h]imu [Jaya]d[dīs]arāj[ādhirāt[8] ma pa smiṅ gah II tīla[7] ñaḥ] kwom ku [g]nakyā[k] Rā(y) [ler II]

30. [salaḥ watthu ma] g[lui]ṅ [tuy ku]i[w dak lhom][9] II [mi åk tīla[10] ñ]aḥ [g]nakyā[t[11] Wīhārade]w[ī][12] II [kwom ku sm]iṅ bui[w Yogarāt ptit darhat heṅ II uit som[13] ḍik ska'] araṁ [pariw]ā [m]a n[w]o[m heṅ] II jak l-i[t[14] tuy] (ma)[15] [da]-

[1] For *kiuiw*, probably. But the reading is not quite certain.
[2] Looks like *lāt*.
[3] Or *tila*.
[4] One would expect *ti*, and the letter under the *i* looks like a *t*, but the next one has a *virāma* over it.
[5] The *u* is very doubtful. Probably the word intended is *thap*.
[6] Possibly *cau*.
[7] Or *tila*.
[8] Or *-ddisa-*
[9] This looks like *kwom* but seems to be really *lhom*.
[10] Or *tila*.
[11] For *gnakyāk*.
[12] For *Wi-*
[13] Looks like *yām*.
[14] Or *l-uit*.
[15] Probably this is what is meant, though the letter looks a little like *sa*; but it has a stroke in it.

31. [k] II [ma dak gah l]er [ha g]atāp [tuy II tila ñ]aḥ [Jayaddisarā]ja-[dhir]āt[1] [gah ā ḍuṅ dewatau II] k[r]au [wwo]' pḍay [k]āla [tī]la[2] [ñaḥ Bañā Ken Dau ma hi]mu Dhamma[tr]ai[lokya]n[ātharājā-dhirāt ma pa smiṅ] (ga)-

32. [h mi åk tala ñ]aḥ ma [h]i[mu g]naky[āk] Wih[ār]ade[w]ī ma da[k t]uy ma t[u]y II [khā ma t]uy ga[h tala ñ]aḥ Ba[ñā Ke]n [Dau ma him]u [Dhammatrai]lo[kya]nā[tha gah ma] ku[iw låk aṅk]ad[e] II ma [yok calåṅ II II] (ma)

33. [yok tḍoṅ] II [krau] w[wo' pḍay k]ā[la t]ī[la ñ]aḥ [Ś]r[ī] Tribhūwa[nādityaprawaradhammatrai]lo[kyanātha[3] Mah]ā[dhamma]rāj[ādhirājadewī II kwom k]u [k]w[o]n t[īla[4] ñ]aḥ ma [himu] Rā[m]ādh[ipati]' Śrīpa[ramamahādhammarā]-

34. [jādhirāt ma pa smiṅ gah II w]atth[u na g]lui[ṅ] l[e]r [kle]' [II uit suim k]w[om ku] dar[hat bui]w [pnā]n [heṅ] II tīla[6] ñaḥ ḅā mi ku kwon ā dnaṅ] (tåm)[7] [joṅ dhāt swok t]u[y II] ma ku[i]w [bar jrah II jrah] ma sjo[h san ler]

35. [kuiw] (bar bapeṅ)[7] [II duiw ma sluṅ gah l]er k[u]i[w khāy sat]aḥ [samah II ti bawar[8] na bar gah] (mā) [II tma' lwān kalo' kalo'] (gah II bar reṅ) d(uṅ) [tui]n tu[y] (ra) II ma[ṅ]aḥ [ḍeh ma kuiw dak tuin l-u]i[t[9] II pḍay kāla gah] (mā)

36. [II pajraḥ nway] (thap[10] na) dak du[ṅ ce]tī [gah II p]ḍay [b]āṅ[11] [pajr]aḥ [latū gah] II re[ṅ lar tḍoṅ tma' ma l]å[k na thar II akr]ā [tḍoṅ] (kuim k)ui(w)[12] joṅ pa[jraḥ cetī gah II laḥ bapeṅ] t[ma]' [l]aḥ II [joṅ] pajra[ḥ gah] (mā) [II dak tui]-

[1] For *-rājādhirāt*.
[2] Or *tila*.
[3] For *Tribhuwa-*.
[4] Or *tila*.
[5] Possibly *-patī*.
[6] Or *tila*.
[7] The reading, though not certain, seems very probable.
[8] Possibly *bawwar*.
[9] Or *l-it*; but the *u* seems pretty definite.
[10] Possibly *taw*.
[11] This, or perhaps *bāṅ*, seems to be the reading of the text but no such words are recorded in the dictionary. P.M.T. has suggested *pāṅ*, which may have been the word intended.
[12] This seems to be the actual reading, though owing to the condition of the stone as shown in the ink-impression either word might be either *kuim* or *kuiw*.

37. n (batan[1] gniṅ)[2] t]u[y II] ma [reṅ calo]' [s]ṅ[i][3] c[ḍau joṅ] ma [tmu]y tau [na tma' II p]ḍa[y lat]ū [c]etītiyaṅgaṇ(ī)[4] ma twah g]aḥ [pan](nasā)[5] [ma ñaḥ padaksuin[6] gah ler II uit wūduih] (tḍoṅ II)[7] [laḥ bap]eṅ [tma' laḥ pa-uit]

38. [II pḍay ra-uit[8] pannasā gah tun ler II] (d)a[k ā kambāṅ ma cuin dah tau alī]wā[t[9] ma ñaḥ kan(h)aṁ[10] lar rup pkau dakah II] (p) . . . . . .[11] [pḍay ra-uit dacuit][12] (mway thap) [ra] (tun) [gah II kuiw k]an(ḍ)aṁ[10] [cal(w)o' jrap] (tamliw)[13] [wūduih]

39. [pa-uit heṅ II dacuih g]ah panna[sā dak taluih mway thap ra tun] (II) [dacuih gah mway thay[14] ra tun II kuiw dak ca]l[o' kambāṅ wū]du[ih pa-uit II pḍay kambāṅ gah t]un [ler kuiw tuiw bapeṅ] (tnam)[15]

40. [brau pa-uit] II [m]aṅaḥ [k]am[b]ā[ṅ gah kuiw] (bar)[16] [sa]taḥ [samah ti gah pa-uit II II II II]

[1] Doubtful. The initial may be *p*. The final might be *ḥ*, but not if the next word is *gniṅ*; and it is to be noted that in l. 27 this word is spelt *gaṇḍiṅ*.

[2] Doubtful but probable.

[3] Possibly *sṅī*.

[4] This appears to be the actual reading, though one would expect *cetīyaṅgaṇa*.

[5] There appears to be a flaw between *pan* and *nasā*, which are separated by a blurred space of the breadth of one *akshara*.

[6] Or *pa daksuin*, according to modern Môn usage.

[7] Extremely doubtful.

[8] Possibly *ra-it*.

[9] Or *aliwāt*. I take this (whether a compound or two words) to represent the Sanskrit (and Pali) *āli*, "mound of earth", etc., and *vaṭa*, "enclosure, wall".

[10] As to the reading, cf. l. 8 n.

[11] Possibly *pannasā* (as P.M.T.), the matter being complicated by the flaw referred to in connection with the last line.

[12] For *dacuih*.

[13] The *t* is doubtful and the *liw* may be *luiw*. It is also possible that the final *w* may be an error for *ṅ*.

[14] Or possibly *thah*; in either case an error for *thap*.

[15] Fairly certain, though the final letter is illegible.

[16] Extremely doubtful.

A

Translation.

. . . . . having made a resolution[1] at the feet of the exalted Buddha Dīpaṅkara . . . . . (2) . . . . .[2] having been fulfilled in due order, the conditions of supreme enlightenment to attain[3] . . . . . (very ?) . . . . (3) . . . . beneath the Bodhi fig-tree . . . . . with the intention of victory, remained sitting. The host of the deva Māra (undertook ?) . . . . . (4) . . . . to wit, omniscience that is adorned with the (state ?)[4] of an assemblage of virtues (without ?) . . . . . (5) . . . . . (the status ?) of a Buddha. Having attained Buddhahood, (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipation, (seated crosslegged ?)[5] by the Bodhi throne[6] for seven days . . . . . (6) . . . .[7] the exalted Buddha had not been able to rise (from the throne ?) . . . . . saying that . . . . .[8] which usually confer Buddhahood (were ?) not yet (present ?), doubts arose[9] . . . . (7) . . . . (for full eight[10] days ?) . . . . (the exalted Buddha ?) . . . . in order to dispel the doubts of the devas, floated up to the sky . . . . (8) . . . (having dispelled ?) the doubts of the devas, (from the throne?)[11] . . . . . descended and remained for seven days (with eyes ?)[12] . . . . . (9) . . . . the throne and the Bodhi fig-tree . . . . . upon an ambulatory . . . . to the west for (seven ?) days . . . . (10) . . . . . to the west of the ambulatory[13] . . . . . the exalted Buddha meditated . . . . (11) . . . (for) four weeks . . . . . (in ?) . . . . . (near the Bodhi tree ?) . . . . . the Ajapāla fig-tree. By the (Ajapāla) fig-tree . . . . . (12) . . . . . (was) . . . . . (the)

[1] Namely to become a Buddha.

[2] The qualities essential to perfection must be understood here.

[3] Supply something like "the status of a Buddha".

[4] Reading *tradah*; *trawah* would mean "a saying".

[5] The reading is doubtful.

[6] The authorities differ as to whether at this moment Buddha was still on the throne (Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 200; or had already descended from it (Bigandet, I 99). See l. 6 and also § 90, note.

[7] Perhaps supply "seeing that".

[8] Supply "the qualities", or the like.

[9] In the minds of the devas. Cf. XIV 3-8.

[10] This appears to be the reading. One would expect "seven".

[11] Here probably followed a statement of the direction and distance Buddha went, viz: north-east, ten fathoms. (Bigandet l.c.)

[12] Probably supply "not blinking". Cf. XIV 2-3.

[13] This refers to the "house of gems", of the fourth week.

Mucalinda (tree ?) which was towards . . . . (13) . . . . . (he) remained. After that . . . (14) . . . . . (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipation and remained (there) . . . . . obtained the status of a Buddha . . . . . (15) . . . . . (the exalted Buddha was not able) to attend to his personal needs, (did not ?) . . . . . food. With[1] mystic contemplation . . . . . (16) . . . . (remained ?)

At the end of the (forty-nine ?) days[2] . . . . . (desire to eat ?) . . . . . (the exalted Buddha ?) . . At that time King Indra . . . . . (17) . . . . . (to give to ?) the exalted Buddha . . . (the exalted Buddha ?) . . . . . together with . . . . (18) . . . . . King Indra. The exalted Buddha . . . . . Taphussa (and) Bhallika . . (19) . . . the city of Asītañjana[3] . . . . . (having crossed ?)[4] the ocean . . . . (20) . . . . (rested ?) on the bank of the river[5] . . . . . (21) towards . . . . . the south (they ?) . . . . . (in ?) . . . . . (22) . . . . . (my children ?)[6] . . . . . (24) . . . . (pulled the carts ?) . . . . (25) . . . (having ?) . . . . . (self) . . . (26) . . . that . . . . . the (Rājāyatana ?)[7] tree . . . (27) . . . . . (that ?) . . . . (I ?) . . . . . gift of alms . . . (28) . . . . . (they ?) . . . . . (29) . . . . . (having ?) . . . . . (water ?), merit . . . . . (30) . . . . . (one ?) . . . . the exalted Buddha . . . (31) . . . . . to the exalted Buddha . . . . (32) . . . . . (path ?), among those (who were on the way to attain ?) . . . . . (33) . . . they, (having passed through the states of devas and men, in the time of the exalted Buddha ?) . . . . . sons (of a leading merchant ?)[8] . . . (34) . . . . (to) give a gift of alms to the exalted Buddha . . . . . (among ?) . . . . . (they ?) . . . . . (35) . . (having ?) . . . they approached near to the exalted Buddha . . . . . "My lord the exalted (36) Buddha grant that we may give (thee thy) food first!" . . . . .

. . . . they . . . (37) . . . having passed through (the states of devas and men ?), in the time of the exalted Buddha . . . . . (having

[1] P.M.T. inserts "the bliss of".
[2] Or "of the day" (viz : the 49th).
[3] Where the brothers dwelt.
[4] Conjectural.
[5] The Nerañjara, according to the Burmese version, cf. XIII A 22.
[6] This is presumably a part of the thoughts or speech of the earth spirit, who had in one of their previous incarnations been the mother of the two brothers and who stopped their carts in order that they should minister to Buddha.
[7] Conjectural. Cf. XIII B 1.
[8] Conjectural.

been?) . . . . children . . . . for (many?) years (38) (they?) had been giving gifts to monks of the Order. (Before our Bodhisattva?) . . . . had the name (of Pokkharavatī?)[1] . . (39) they came into existence as the sons of a rich man who was a leading merchant . . . . . (the two of them) who remained in . . . . . At (the fitting time?), (40) together with five hundred merchants,[2] (having gone on board ship and crossed?) the ocean, (they arrived?) . . . . . (having fully loaded five hundred carts[3] with goods they?) became merchants, (and) they (41) (roamed about?). Having thus made (their) prayer, in . . . . . (instructed[4] them?). At that time Taphussa (and) Bhallika, the two, (42) the elder and the younger brother, heard (the words?) which the deva spoke, and being glad at heart, (from their cart they?)[5] . . . . . very (long?) . . . dry rice cakes and . . . . cakes (43) . . . . . butter rolls also (they) laid out . . . . . . (the exalted Buddha?) . . . . . "exalted Buddha, that we may (obtain happiness?) (44) . . . . . may my lord accept our gift." Thus did they speak (to the exalted Buddha?). And there arose in the mind of the exalted Buddha this thought: "The almsbowl that the Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra (45) (gave me on?) the bank of the river Anoma . . . . . (wherein I received the milk rice of Sujātā?)[6] . . . . . None of the Buddhas of old received on their hands (46) the alms of those who gave (them) gifts . . On what[7] thing . . . . . the alms that Tapussa (and) Bhallika give me?" Such was the thought (47) that arose in the mind of the exalted Buddha. At that moment the four Catumahārāja kings[8] (being aware of?) the thought (of the exalted Buddha?) . . . . . to the exalted Buddha. And the exalted Buddha, in order to confer (48) great merit on the four Catumahārāja kings, (accepted all?) the four almsbowls . . . . . (and) made them into one almsbowl. In

[1] Apparently another name for the Asītañjana of l. 19.

[2] Literally "sons of trade".

[3] According to the story there were five hundred carts, but the reading of the text is extremely doubtful.

[4] As appears from the following line it was the earth spirit (referred to in l. 22, n.) who instructed them.

[5] Presumably "descended", but the text is illegible here.

[6] The last word is very doubtful. The vessels referred to were no longer available. Cf. XIII A 17–19.

[7] This is rather a rendering of the alternative reading *mū rau*. With *yarau*, which seems to be the reading of the text, the meaning would probably be "whenever" (or "if") "on a thing". At the end of the long gap that follows one must supply "shall I receive".

[8] The guardians of the four quarters of the world.

this almsbowl of the exalted Buddha (40) the two of them, the elder and the younger brother, put the dry rice cakes . . . . . at the time the exalted Buddha . . . . (50) . . . . water . . . they brought (and) gave to the exalted Buddha . . . . . (them. Then the exalted Buddha?) (51) expounded the Law to them . . . . . (52) thus did the two of them (speak: "Exalted Buddha"?) . . . . . .

B

. . . . . (that) they might worship (them while) travelling.[1] At that time, (perceiving that?)[2] they were negligent, a king of the Nāgas, named Jayasena, who dwelt in the Bhūmindhara (Nāga world?)[3] . . . . . (2) . . . . . because the two men had been negligent, took (the hair relics and) carried (them) down to their[4] own country (and worshipped them?). At a later time . . . . . (time?) . . . . . (3) . . . . . .[5] desiring to build a caitya (and) having had a relic chamber made and also having had an image of Buddha made, placed the frontlet on the forehead of the image of Buddha . . . . . (4) the king, wishing also to place the hair relics of the exalted Buddha, made the Thera Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa responsible for procuring[6] the hair relics. (The Thera) Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa . . . . . .[7] (5) named Sivathera (and) caused (him) to go down (and) get the hair relics that the Nāga king Jayasena had gone (and) placed in the Bhūmindhara (Naga world?)[8] . . . . this Sivathera went down to the Nāga king. The Nāga king . . . . . (6) to get the relics,[9] the Nāga king, having

[1] The meaning is not quite certain. But the Burmese inscription explains that Tapussa and Bhallik. enshrined six of the eight hairs given them by Buddha but kept the other two for private veneration These were the ones stolen by the Nāga king. The others are referred to in l. 12.

[2] Conjecturally supplied.

[3] The words in parenthesis are conjectural but fairly certain. The Pali Nalāṭadhātūvaṁsa uses the expression (in the form *bhūmidhara*) in the sense of the Nāgas supporting or bearing up the earth. Before I saw this text I took it for a mis-spelling of *bhūmintara*, in the sense of "the interior of the earth", which would be equally appropriate.

[4] That is, the Nāgas' country. But the reading of this passage is not quite certain.

[5] Somewhere in the preceding passage must have come the king's name (see l. 7), and description. The Burmese inscription locates him in Ceylon.

[6] The reading is not quite certain. Literally "cause to bring."

[7] Here there must have been a statement that the monk mentioned in the next line was a pupil of Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa, and perhaps that the latter summoned him, as in the Burmese version.

[8] Cf. l. 1.

[9] Probably these words were preceded by some statement that the Nāga king was aware of the monk's purpose in visiting him.

swallowed the relics (and) the reliquary, (said) "The relics are not with me. (If) my lord sees (them, let) my lord take (them)".[1] Thus the Nāga king spake . . . . . .[2] (7) having obtained permission[3] from the Nāga king (three times[4] and) having by magic power taken the hair relics, gave (them) to King Kākavaṇṇatissa. And King Kākavaṇṇatissa, having . . . . . (8) (and) having put (them) on the head of the image of Buddha, (and) having enshrined the image of Buddha in a relic chamber, (caused ?) . . . . . .

The two (brothers) Tapussa (and) Bhallika, the elder and the younger brother, ...[5] (9) dwelt in the Jetavana monastery (and) the exalted Buddha set all the (lay) disciples in (their due) order, ... among those who went for refuge[6] in (that ?) place . . . . . .[7] (10) (he) set. After that, when the exalted Buddha dwelt at Rājagṛiha, these (two again ?) went one (day ? and) having approached the presence of the exalted Buddha (and) made reverence, in (that place ?) . . . . . (11) sat down (and) remained (seated). The exalted Buddha preached the Law to them. Tapussa attained the fruit of conversion,[8] (he entered the number of ?)[9] the lay disciples (and) remained (in that status). But Bhallika having become a monk and developed spiritual insight, (attained ?) . . . . . (12) was named Bhallikathera. Tapussa, on the other hand, having returned again to the town of Asītañjana, in the caitya where they had enshrined the hair relics . . . on the top of the Tambagutta[10] hill . . . . . fulfilled (13) (his religious) duties, and after dwelling (there) for the term of his life passed away from there and came into existence in the heavenly city.

(As for) the caitya of the hair relics, those who were aware of the benefits[11] (of its observance ?)[12] continually venerated (and) worshipped it.

[1] Literally "my Lord see" (or "look"), "my lord take", both verbs being in the imperative.

[2] Here the monk Sivathera must have been mentioned or referred to again.

[3] Or "consent", "promise".

[4] The Nalāṭadhātuvaṁsa here speaks of a thrice repeated promise or consent.

[5] From the Burmese version it is plain that the preceding gap contained a statement that it was Buddha who was dwelling in the Jetavana monastery at this time.

[6] In the technical Buddhist sense, *i.e.* in Buddha, the Law and the Order.

[7] From the Burmese version it appears that the two brothers obtained first place among the first disciples.

[8] The word contains a metaphorical reference to entering into the "stream", *i.e.* the Buddhist path of holiness.

[9] Very doubtful.

[10] See the note on the text.

[11] That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

[12] Very doubtful.

Later on, the succession of those, who were aware of the benefits[1] of the hair relics (14) of the exalted Buddha, having been broken, and because in this Môn country the religion had not been (firmly) established, people knew not (the caitya of ?) the hair relics and they could not venerate (and) worship (it). Because they could not (15) venerate (and) worship (it), on the land of the caitya such things as trees, jungle creepers, grass and rubbish had sprung up, (and had become ?)[2] a forest (concealing it ?)[2], people were not aware of its site. From the year of the exalted Buddha's (16) achieving parinirvāna two hundred and thirty-six years had elapsed, (when) our lords the two arhats named Soṇathera and Uttarathera came (and) established the religion in the country of Suwaṇṇabhum.[3] When the religion had been established (and) when there were monks, (17) nuns, male novices, and female novices, then King Sirīmāsoka said to the two arhats, "O my lords, the gem of the Law and the gem of the Order are we able to venerate (and) worship, (18) (but) the gem of the Buddha, (though) we desire to venerate (and) worship (it), we cannot.[4] A relic of the exalted Buddha, that we may set our minds (at rest upon), a gem of the Buddha that we can venerate, worship (and) adore, let my lords provide for us!". Thus did the king make (his) petition to our lords. Then our lords the two Mahātheras showed to King Sirīmāsoka the caitya of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha that Tapussa and Bhallika had enshrined[5] on the top (20) of the Tambagutta[6] hill, which the forest bushes[7] had covered (and) concealed, and people did not know (its) site. Then King Sirīmāsoka had the forest bushes[7] cleared away (21) and also caused the caitya and the *prāsāda* (which was also ?)[8] the *cetīyaghara* to be built up and offered[9] (them). From that time also all the people who dwelt in this Môn country in due course[10] kept coming and worshipping (it).

[1] That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

[2] Very doubtful.

[3] Suvannabhūmi is here identified with Lower Burma. The name has also been claimed by other parts of Indo-China.

[4] Or, possibly, "have not (got)". Here follows in the text an illegible word of one syllable which may either have added to the sense or been a mere particle.

[5] Or "set up", the object then being the caitya.

[6] Cf. l. 12 n.

[7] Or, "bushes (and) forest".

[8] The reading is doubtful, especially as regards "also". For the rest, cf. l. 24.

[9] Or "worshipped".

[10] That is, at the appropriate seasons.

(22) Later on the kings that possessed faith who were lords of the Môn country, determining that this *cetīyaghara* should be permanent, the *cetīyaghara* having been severed asunder,[1] encased and enlarged (the sides of the caitya ?)[2] (23) successively and this caitya became a great caitya. This venerable caitya[3] of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha enshrined[4] by Tapussa (and) Bhallika on the top of the Tambagutta[5] hill, at the time (24) when His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, named, Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt, was king, the *prāsāda* which was the *cetīyaghara*, having been severed asunder,[6] was encased (and) enlarged[7] (by him and) when encased was 40 cubits (25) high. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Sutasomarājādhirāt was king, (he) caused it to be encased (and) enlarged again, and when it had been encased (and) enlarged (he) erected . . [8] the spire (and) set up the umbrella (and) putting a layer of copper (26) within (and) putting a layer of gold outside (he) had the whole of the spire fully overlaid. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt was king, in the year 798 of the Common Era,[9] this venerable caitya[10] of the hair relics, (27) (so far as) all that had been raised from the shoulder of the bell upwards[11] (is concerned) having collapsed, His Majesty together with (his) queen Nārājadevī ordered Prince Sāṁm Mlām to level . . . . . and have (it) built up again (28). When (it) had been built up again (they) had it plastered. Then, saying that the caitya was very[12] small, from the large plinth (upwards they) had it rebuilt (and) encased once more. The rebuilding (and) encasing of the caitya had not been completed (29) when[13] His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt

[1] The sense is doubtful, the word *caḍah* primarily means "apart from, to be separated from". It is not clear whether the destruction (if it is that) was accidental or an intentional part of the scheme of enlarging the caitya. The phrase recurs in l. 24.

[2] Doubtful reading.

[3] Literally "our lord this caitya".

[4] Cf. l. 19 n.

[5] Cf. l. 12 n.

[6] Cf. l. 22 n.

[7] To preserve the order of the original these verbs have been turned into the passive.

[8] Here there is a small illegible word.

[9] A.D. 1436-7.

[10] Cf. l. 23 n.

[11] This seems to be the meaning, though it might conceivably be rendered "having only been raised up as far as the shoulder of the bell." In view of ll. 25-6, this interpretation does not seem to be acceptable. By "bell" is meant the bell-shaped body of the pagoda.

[12] Or "too."

[13] The word *gatāp* means "to be in time."

departed to the city of the devas. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Bārwor, styled Jayaddisarājādhirāt was king, His Majesty together with (his) queen Rāy, (30) having given many offerings, had (it) built up (and) encased. His Majesty's mother, the Queen Vihārādevī, together with Yogarāt, the commander-in-chief of the army, exerted themselves: all the slaves, followers (and) retainers that there were (they) led forth to build (31) but the building had not been completed when[1] His Majesty Jayaddisarājādhirāt departed to the city of the devas. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt, was king, what His Majesty's mother named Queen Vihārādevī had built was finished. When it had been finished His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātha, had it plastered, erected the spire (and) (33) set up the umbrella. Thereafter, at the time when Her Majesty Śrī Tribhuwanādityapravaradhammatrailokyanātha Mahādhammarājādhirājādevī together with her son named Rāmādhipatī Śrī Paramamahādhammarā(34)jādhirāt[2] were rulers, (they made) many offerings together with all the forces of their army. Their Majesties, mother and son, having gone to dwell at the foot of the hair relics, had the hollows (of the ground) filled up, hollows that were very deep (35) (they) caused to be entirely filled up, high mounds (they) caused to be dug (and) levelled, (on) the earth which was filled in (they) piled up blocks of laterite stone and outside (it) they had it all faced. Then (36) (on) the first[3] plinth supporting the caitya, on the upper . . . . .[4] of the plinth, (they) arranged stone umbrellas overlaid with gold, and between the umbrellas (they) had the foot[5] of the plinth of the caitya paved throughout with flat stones, (and) having (on) the foot[5] of this plinth built (37) up[6] the bell,[7] (they) arranged standing lanterns made of stone,[8] (and) on the top of the *cetīyaṅgana*,[9] what is termed a *pannasā*[10] for people to go round, (and) outside (the

[1] See l. 29 n.

[2] This is the celebrated king, more commonly known as Dhammacetī, who probably had this inscription set up. The queen just mentioned was his mother-in-law.

[3] This appears to be the top storey of the several storeys leading up to the actual pagoda.

[4] The reading and meaning are doubtful.

[5] This really must be the surface from the context.

[6] Doubtful reading.

[7] Doubtful reading. See the note on the text.

[8] Or, perhaps, "adorned with (precious) stones."

[9] The area surrounding the caitya. See the note on the text.

[10] Doubtful reading. The word should mean a "hermitage." Literally "leaf hut."

umbrellas ?, they) laid down flat stones throughout; (38) at the end of the *pannasā* (they) built a wall, with an earthwork, whereon (they) made lotus patterns . . . . . at the end of (one ?) lower level (they) had permanent *zayats*[1] built all around. (39) On that level (they) built the *pannasā* (apart ?)[2] on one level, (and) on the next (lower they) had a wall built all around it. Within the wall (they) had (40) coconut palms planted throughout. Outside the wall (they) had the ground levelled throughout.

[1] "Rest houses." The word may be in the singular.
[2] Doubtful.

No. XVI.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE YATHEMYO MONASTERY, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

95. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone of which about a fifth has been broken off and was not available. The dimensions of the inscribed area are as follows : height, 2 ft. 1½ in., breadth, 3 ft. 5 in. The letters are ⅜ in. high and letter *t* is ⅝ in. long. The interlinear space is about ½ in. Except in places where it has been damaged, the writing is clear.

96. The inscription commemorates the founding by King Dhammaceṭī of a large monastery, the Mahārāmavihāra. It is noticeable that the first date given (in l. 1) is 819 of the Common Era (=A.D. 1457-8), a year earlier than the first date referring to this king in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. This was, apparently, the time when a beginning was made with the erection of the monastery, the dimensions of which are given in some detail, though unfortunately a good deal of this description is lost. In the year 823 most of the work had been completed and on the 10th of the waxing half of Vaiśākha in 824, after all was ready, the monks were invited to enter into occupation, to the number of 17,174 all told. The remainder of the record gives particulars of the king's bounty towards the monks, whom he provided with large quantities of necessaries, the details of which are of some interest. Some of these agree with similar gifts mentioned in various parts of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions to which reference is made in the notes on ll. 20, 21.

Text.

1. . . . . .
. . . . [pa]rinibbān gah [2001] cnām kuli lo[n] ā tuy heṅ II pḍay sakkarāt 819 tila naḥ [smiṅ dhar] (Rāmādhipati-Śrīparama-mahādha)-

2. (mmarājādhirāt)[1] . . . . . .
. . suim bed ma lhiṅ tau pḍay sabguiw sā[sanā kyak][2] tray I ma pkaṅ raṅ tau kramin brabwey[3] dhar gah I ma . . . . . .
. [Mahārāma]wihā[r]

3. . . . . (ma)
[kar gah I ma] kuiw yok dayoṅ Ma[hārāmawihār] I pa taṁ nū [gah k]uim ra I (kā nā[4] kuim) lar I kā [l-it lwān kuim] (lar I) b[woy rameṅ] . .

4. . . . . h na
ha[t p]akati ma twah bgaḥ hat basa[y I ja]li[ṅ 38] hat I janok 34 hat I saluṅ 33 hat I [tmit] (muk) pan tal[uih] . . . . . .

5. . . . . [32][5] hat
I jaliṅ 38 hat II wihā tawī clat Jetawa[n] 26 ga[h] l[e]r suim ku m . . . . . canor heṅ I wihā [mway mway gah jaliṅ 32]

6. (hat)[6] . . . . . (tal)uih[6] II
[no[7] wi]hā [j]nok I bwoy duih esān gah I clat caṅkraṁ bwoy[8] I [jaliṅ 64 ha]t I jano[k] . . [hat I saluṅ] . . [hat I ḅā talui]-

7. (h)[9] . . . . . (jra)y[9] bodhi
mwoy I cetī ler mwoy II clat upuh gah I jaliṅ 38 hat I [janok] (1)9 [h]at I sa[luṅ 23] ha[t I] cetī (ta') clåṅ joṅ cetī

8. . . . . [jno]k
bw[o]y dui[h] smar kyā maṅaḥ kambā[ṅ wihā g]ah I [k] . . . . (l) . . . [ca mwoy 30 maṅlaṁ] caturah [I layoh I] (8) [hat] I dapah taluih I ui[t] . . . .

9. . . . . (bwo)y[10] rameṅ
klon ā tau tuy II p[ḍ]ay sakka[r]āt [823 gah] uit kā ta[ḅui]ṅ ka[mbāṅ] (le)r [tuy] uit I ma pa [taṁ ku]

[1] Conjecturally restored. *Cf.* XVII 2.
[2] Error for *kyāk*.
[3] Error for *brabwoy*.
[4] Possibly *rā*, or *cha*.
[5] Possibly 33.
[6] Conjecturally restored.
[7] For *nor*.
[8] Error for *mwoy*.
[9] Conjecturally restored.
[10] Conjecturally restored.

10. . . . . n I ta gah tuy uit heṅ ra II [a]khā kā wihā ma tu[y gah] I acī areṅ ma sbala[ḷ wihā gah s]miṅ dhar [tala ciṅ]

11. (batāṅ)[1] . . . . . w[ih]ār[2] [gah] I [k]uiw [ṅ]aḥ taḥ samah saman tuy I ruṅ jamliṅ ma gluiṅ [ku] cnor [ñan][3] gah kanaṁ [tuy] I swa[k acā] saṅ jamnok I

12. . . . . y I tade' I bwoy athu[i]k atan gah salaṁ kana(ṁ)m lor na batā[n] tanāy I kwa[k] l[o]r [na] janik I da(pah)[4] [thap I]

13. . . . . [sa]ṅ samat to' gamluiṅ [tu]n ler I kuttī mway la[k masun l]ṅim dapah klaṁ pan cwoh paray gah I ma pa taṁ [ku] da[ka]r dnī

14. . . . . (I pḍay) [sa]-kkarāt 824 kitu basāk [cah] bramåk ga[h I ti]la ñaḥ smiṅ dhar ti[la] ciṅ batāṅ het [ma sa]d[dhā] pḍa[y] ra[t p]i

15. . . . . (p) . n . (k) . . . . . Mahārāmawihār tuy I saṅ ma dah gāmawā[s]ī arañawāsī I ma nwom bnat galuiṅ dlaṁ[5] I kuttī ta gah I ku[i]w wā[ṅ p]lop [damåṅ]

16. . . . . (kuttī ta)[6] [gah] ra II lukau dacām tṅe[y] (he)ṅ I na piṇḍapātapaccay ma nom tau ku rah ma pray ma twah pgaḥ I khā[d]aniya bhojaniya ga[h ta]ruip tau [ku] (kāla) . . . .

17. . . . . [mway mway tṅe]y heṅ watthu ḅā (lṅim) . .[7] klaṁ masun basā I dacām tṅay heṅ watthu [mway] lak [d]apah lṅim d[acā]m [c]woh pi basā I watthu ma n[wo]m bnat ga-

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] There is no *virāma* visible.
[3] Or *saṅ*.
[4] This looks like *damuh* or *dapuh*, but the additional strokes may be accidental.
[5] Looks like *dlāṁ*.
[6] Conjecturally restored.
[7] It is doubtful if there was a word here. If so, it must have been *ḅā* or *pi*.

18. (luiṅ)[1] [wo'] ma pru preṅ [piṇḍapātapaccay] I gilānapaccay [ta] gah I ra-it ma phāp dacām tṅay tu[y gah] I tila ñaḥ smiṅ [dh]ar tala [ci]ṅ ba[t]āṅ [gah] I day[y]adhar lak[khaṇ]adā[n]awat-[thu]

19. [ma pa] taṁ [tṅay] . . . . [dacām ma twah pga]ḥ bray j[mū g]ah I bgū tau ku [t]ila saṅ to' ga[m]luiṅ tun II pḍay [saṅ] m[w]ay lak dapah l[ṅ]im klaṁ [dapah c]woh pan gah I [cā[2] s]aṅ jamnok (I) ta(ḍay)[3]

20. . . . .[4] [lṅim dapah klaṁ ḅā cwoh] gah I [suim] suim ku krayā dlaṁ [k]wo[m] ku [p]ari[k]kharā dacām I saṅgā gah yā[t sn]ā bāp [l]ṅim [dapah] klaṁ [ḅā cw]oh mre[k gamih] pan lṅim masun [k]laṁ pi [basā]

21. (I) [mrek galā ḅā lak pan] lṅim turau klaṁ [ḅ]ā cwoh [b]asā I [a]paṁ[5] ḅā rā ḅā [l]ak daci[t] lṅim klaṁ ḅā cwoh pi [b]asā I [sat basiw daci]t klaṁ pa[n] cwoh ḍacām kḍoṅ I [kwom pha]-

22. (lā suim bī gapuiw panāk sat)[6] [ḅun sablu] me[k sut] I para[ṅ kā sui]m camb[ā]y I haṅ rā [sui]m paṅgā[n] cwa I [kamm]alī I [ḅu]n kneh brakuih I (mamar jragaṅ)[7] k(w)uiw . [r] . . . (n) . [r] . (ta)rāy[8] I ḅ[u]n kṣā (I) na (taṁ)[9]

23. mye[k] (c)e(n) I [kleṅ ka-uy I kleṅ laṅau] I tlåk pamat I basay pamat I juk st[e]ṅ I sakep dun I dako' sa[t I] tamah I pareh [I nuṅ] (d) . . . [suim joṅ] I nuṅ sw(uṅ) . . . . . [k I pa]ye I (t)am-ot

[1] Conjectural, but cf. l. 15, *supra*.

[2] For *acā*.

[3] The *ḍ* is shaped rather like the numeral 3.

[4] Looks like *thane'* but the *th* might be *k*, *t*, or *l* and the *n* might be *r*.

[5] For *apāṅ*.

[6] Except the last two words which are practically certain, this is conjecturally restored from the parallel passages referred to in the notes to ll. 20, 21 of the translation.

[7] Very doubtful reading; the first word is quite uncertain, except the initial letter, and in the second one the *g* might be *dh*.

[8] Very uncertain. A conceivable reading is *brabā rāy* the former representing the modern *babā* (=*pepē*), some sort of knife, and the latter *raāi* (=*rai*) "mustard plant, radish"; *tarāy* might mean "flower bud", which does not seem appropriate.

[9] Or *haṁ*.

24. (bwoy)[1] . . . . . [ma ḍo]k peṅ san heṅ I tila ciṅ ba[t]āṅ ma cīreṅ kuiw dān I maṅaḥ nū [gah] I saṅ [s]ama[t] ma nwo[m bnat] mwa[y l]ak [masun lṅi]m [kl]am masun cwoh=pan[2] ta

25. [gah tun] (ler) [parikkharā] (dacām I)[3] [ma pa taṁ k]u da[ka]r dnī [l]er I [mw]ay lak masun lṅim pan klaṁ masun cwoh [p]an gah I [m]rek mway lak masun l[ṅim dapah] kla[ṁ pi cwo]h sun[4]

26. ba[sā I sat lṅim] pa[n klaṁ dapah cwoh] pi kḍoṅ II II a[på]ṅ saṅ pa-uit mwa[y] lak dapah lṅim klaṁ dapah cwo[h pa]n I a[påṅ] mr[ek] ḅā [l]ak da[pah] lṅ[im dapah] kla[ṁ]

27. pan [cwoh turau] basā [II apåṅ sat ḅā lṅim] pa[n kl]aṁ [ḅā] cwo[h] m[wa]y kḍoṅ I [sāk w]o' heṅ smiṅ dha[r ti]la ciṅ ba[tāṅ] tam[o' sabbañutañān tuy lon watthu dayyadhar] ma [twah]

28. [pgaḥ bray jmū gah] (I) [bgū tau ku saṅ ta'] gamluiṅ heṅ [ra II] (II)

Translation.

. . . . . 2001 years having elapsed (after the exalted Buddha had achieved) Parinirvāna, in 819 of the Common Era[5] His Majesty the King of the Law (Rāmādhipati Śrīparamamahādha(2)-mmarājādhirāt)[6] . . . . . together with the Vedas,[7] who delights in causing the religion of the exalted Buddha to shine, who wields sovereignty in accordance with the Law, who . . . . . the Mahārāmavihāra (3) . . . . . the . . . . , who caused the pillars of the Mahāramavihāra to be set up. From thenceforward, (at) the

[1] Conjecturally restored.
[2] The *h* seems to be superscript over the *p*.
[3] Practically certain.
[4] For *masun*.
[5] 1457-8 A.D.
[6] The reading of the name is practically certain to the end of l. 1; the rest has been conjecturally restored. The king is Dhammacetī, and the date is a year earlier than the earliest date referring to him in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions (cf. XII B 32 and the commentary in § 81).
[7] This may refer to the Buddhist Canon (cf. XII B 33n. and XVII 2).

time (of) . . . . .[1] and at the end . . . . . ,[2] in due order . . . (4) . . . . . with *pakati*[3] cubits, that is to say iron cubits,[4] (in) length 38 cubits, (in) size[5] 34 cubits, (in) height 33 cubits, (the) . . . .[6] (of the) (sides was ?) four *taluih*[7] . . . . (5) . . . . . 32[8] cubits, (in) length 38 cubits. The vihāras surrounding[9] the central hall of the Jetavana (were) 26, together with . . . . . row(s) ; each vihāra was 32 (cubits) long (6) . . . . . *taluih* (?)[10] From the great vihāra, towards the North East, an ambulatory hall, (in) length 64 cubits, (in) size[11] . . . cubits, in height . . cubits, two *taluih*[12] (7) . . . . . a Bodhi tree, a caitya also. The uposatha[13] hall (was) (in) length 38 cubits, (in) size[14] 19 cubits, (in) height 23 cubits. The caitya(s), (from ?) the spire (to ?) the foot of the caitya(s) (8) . . . . . great . . . . towards the South, outside the wall of the vihāra, a . . . . (tank ?)[15] 30 *mañlaṁ*[16] square, (in) depth 8 cubits, seven *taluih*,[17] all . . . (9) . . . . . (in) succession having gone on working,[18] in 823[19] of the Common Era all the work on the moat and wall was quite finished. Beginning with (10) . . . . . the . . . . . were all finished. When the work[20] on the vihāra was finished, arrangements for the ceremonial opening of the vihāra (were made by ?)[21] the King of the Law, the Lord of the (White)[21] Elephant, (11) . . . . .

[1] Reading and meaning doubtful.

[2] The meaning of *kwan* has not been determined. Perhaps it is an error for *kwon*.

[3] I. e. "standard"; literally, "original, natural".

[4] This is probably the Môn equivalent, in sense, to the expression *sāṁ dāṅ*, another name for the standard cubit (19½ inches) and points to a Burmese origin of the latter term, the first half of which closely resembles the Burmese word for "iron".

[5] Presumably this means "width, breadth".

[6] The meaning of *tmit* has not been determined. Possibly it may be from *lit*, "to come out" and refer to something jutting out.

[7] The reading *muk*, "face, side", is nearly certain ; *taluih* seems to be a unit of measurement. Cf. ll. 6, 8, *infra*. It is difficult to connect it with Sanskrit and Pali *tala*, "span, palm of hand, sole of foot".

[8] The second number is not quite certain. It may be 3.

[9] Or "dependent on".

[10] See note [7] *supra*.

[11] See note [5] *supra*.

[12] See note [7] *supra*.

[13] A Buddhist religious service.

[14] See note [5] *supra*.

[15] Assuming *laca*, with a flaw between *l* and *c*.

[16] One *mañlaṁ* = 7 cubits.

[17] See note [7] *supra*.

[18] Or perhaps "the works having been carried on in due order".

[19] 1461-2 A.D.

[20] The word *kā* at this period was used also for *kāla*, "time" but I think it may here refer to *kāra*.

[21] Conjecturally restored.

. . . . . the vihāra; having caused it to be cleared and levelled evenly (and) made long sheds in many rows near to it[1] for the leading teachers of the Order, (12) . . . . . .[2] in the customary manner draped[3] (them) with embroidered canopies,[4] (and) hung (them) with curtains, sevenfold, (13) . . . . . (for) the minor clergy also, fifteen thousand seven hundred and forty cells, and more, beginning with mats, pillows, (14) . . . . . (in) 824 of the Common Era, the tenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha, His Majesty the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, because (he was) faithful to the Three Gems (15) . . . . . having (completed) the Mahārāmavihāra, caused the clergy who dwelt in villages and in the forest, in accordance with the number of the rooms (and) cells (available), to be inducted into (their) dwellings (16) . . . . . (the cells?). During eight days with food requisites that were of excellent flavour, that is to say, hard foods (and) soft foods, (he) fed (them) at (the proper) times[5] . . . . (17) . . . . . every day offerings (amounting to) two (thousand)[6] . . . hundred[7] and five viss,[8] (in) eight days offerings (amounting to) seventeen thousand eighty-three viss,[8] offerings to (18) this (amount?)[9] were prepared, food requisites (and) medical requisites. At the end of this entertaining for eight days, His Majesty the King of the Law, Lord of the White Elephant, (made) donations of auspicious offerings (19) beginning with . . . . . the eight days, (he) poured down, as it were, a heavy rain upon the lords of the clergy. Among the seventeen thousand seven hundred and seventy-four clergy, (for) the leading teachers (among) the clergy, ...[10] (20) . . . ,[10] a thousand seven hundred and twenty, together with all the furnishings of the rooms and the eight

[1] Or, if *san* is to be read for *ñan*, "made the long sheds in very many rows for", etc.

[2] The meaning of *tade'* is undetermined.

[3] Literally, "dressed".

[4] The meaning is not quite certain; for *batān*, cf. VIII A 15, 18; *tanāy* is probably the *tinlāy* of VIII A 18 and the modern *taṇāai*, *tnāai* (pronounced *tanai*), "tracery, ornamentation, floral design, carving".

[5] Possibly "at those times" (reading *gah* after *kāla*).

[6] Practically certain restoration.

[7] Either a hundred or two or three hundred.

[8] It is difficult to reconcile these two figures.

[9] Fairly certain restoration.

[10] The reading and meaning are doubtful: *taḍay* may be "middle", and perhaps "intermediate", but the word at the beginning of l. 20 is unidentified. Perhaps it indicates some degree of rank amongst these 1720 higher clergy.

ourtenances, a thousand seven hundred and twenty robes and cloth its,[1] four thousand five hundred and three viss of black pepper, (21) enty-four thousand six hundred and twenty viss of Indian pepper; total the two items, twenty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-three s; nine hundred and forty-eight barrels of *basiw* areca-nuts,[2] boxes for eca-nuts,[3] (22) together with bottles of lime, areca-nut slicers, knives for tel leaf, napkins,[4] . . . . . .[5] with slings . . . .[6] and bowls,[7] woollen oth,[8] knives and styles (for writing) books,[9] . . . . . .[10] 3) eye medicine,[11] medicinal oil, sesamum oil, lanterns, fire steels,[12] retched cords,[13] bamboo tongs, areca-nut cases,[14] brooms, baskets, ...[15] waterpots with stands,[16] drinking pots, ...[17] portable stoves, ...[18] (24) (for ?) . . . . . very complete.[19] The Lord of the White Elephant arranged to give gifts, besides these, (to) the minor

[1] Or "clothes (and) mats". Cf. XII F 46, H 38, M 27 and N (conclusion, after l. 28). It is to be oted however that the Pali version of the first two passages speaks only of "cloths for *ticīvara* robes", ot mats at all. See XII H 39, trans. n.

[2] Cf. XII N (conclusion after l. 28). The word *sat* also means fruit in general but the meaning is etermined by the 948 barrels here, added to the 1473 in l. 26, making the total of 2421 barrels of areca-uts in l. 27.

[3] The rendering is doubtful, as it depends entirely on the Pali version of XII H 38. See XII H 39 rans. n. and the passages there cited.

[4] Or "monks' cloths". Cf. XII H 39, J 24, N 9 and its conclusion after l. 28.

[5] The sense of *paraṅ kā* is not clear: *paraṅ* may mean "a present" and *kā* may be "a vessel with a spout". But there is a word *palaṅ*, "bottle" of which *paraṅ* might conceivably be a variant orm. In that case the sense might be "water vessels with spouts," simply.

[6] Or "straps" for carrying the vessels. The meaning of *haṅ rā* is unknown.

[7] Literally "plates (or dishes, or other crockery) for broth (or curry)".

[8] Or "blankets" or "woollen garments"; Pali *kambaliya* has the latter sense, Sanskrit and Pali *kambala* all three meanings. The form *kambar* in XII E 17 comes from one of the last two and is represented by the modern *kmaw* (= *kamò*), which means "mat, carpet, blanket, woollen garment".

[9] Or "knives, styles, books".

[10] The remainder of this line is for the most part doubtful: *kwuiw*, "spade or shovel", and *ḅun kṣā*, which may mean a knife for splitting bamboo (modern *khyā* = *ćhā*), seem reasonably probable; *na* may mean "basket".

[11] The reading of *myek cen* is a little doubtful, but it probably represents the similar Burmese words with the meaning given.

[12] Presumably flint and *steel* are meant, though the actual word is "iron".

[13] Perhaps for hanging clothes on.

[14] Vessels made from a joint of bamboo, like quivers.

[15] A word qualifying "waterpots" is illegible.

[16] Literally, "feet".

[17] The word or words after "drinking pots" are illegible.

[18] The meaning of *tam-ot* is undetermined.

[19] Or "sufficient".

clergy, who numbered fifteen thousand (four ?)[1] hundred and fifty-four, (25) as well, (namely) the eight appurtenances, beginning with fifteen thousand four hundred and fifty-four mats and pillows, fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-five viss of red pepper, (26) (and) one thousand four hundred and seventy-three barrels of areca-nuts. The total of all the clergy was seventeen thousand one hundred and seventy-four. The total of red pepper was twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and (27) forty-six viss;[2] the total of areca-nuts was two thousand four hundred and twenty-one barrels. Thus did the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, having . . .[3] omniscience, (give) offerings of meritorious gifts, as it were (28) a heavy rain, (which) he poured down upon all the lords of the clergy.

[1] The word *pan* "four" seems to have been wrongly omitted before *klañ* "hundred". This appears to follow from the number of mats and pillows in l. 25 taken in connection with the number (1720) of the leading clergy in l. 19 and the full totals (17,174) in ll. 19 and 26, which leaves 15,454 for the minor clergy.

[2] It is impossible to reconcile this number with the numbers given in ll. 21 and 25.

[3] The meaning of *tamo'* is undetermined. It can hardly be *tmo'* "rock, stone".

No. XVII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE KYĀK PAN PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

97. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone which appears to have been broken into three pieces. The two upper fragments adjoin pretty closely and form a continuous text, though at the junction it is often blurred, apart from the fact that the whole document is much weathered and to a great extent illegible. The lower fragment is detached and it has not been possible to fit it with certainty on to the upper parts. The height of the inscribed area, therefore, cannot be stated exactly, but it appears to have been a little over 3 ft. ; the breadth is 3 ft. 3 in. The letters are $\frac{3}{8}$ in. high, and letter *t* from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. The interlinear space varies from $\frac{5}{8}$ in. near the top of the inscription to 1 in. near the bottom.

98. This record commemorates the setting up by King Dhammaceṭī in the last quarter of the year 837 (the first quarter of A.D. 1476) of four great statues of Buddha and his three immediate predecessors on a common base, whence this monument derives its name which means "the Four Buddhas". Unfortunately the inscription is in such a bad state of preservation that only a relatively small part of the text could be deciphered and translated. Some portions run parallel with passages in XII M, and a comparison of the two records has thrown light here and there on what would otherwise have been treated as practically illegible or at any rate so dubious that nothing could safely be said about it.

Text.

1. II namo Buddh[āya] II n[or c]nām tuy [tila puin kyāk] tray Sā[kyamuni ma pa parinirbbā]n gah 2019 [cnām kuli lon ā tuy heṅ] I pḍay sak[karāt 837 gah I tila] ñaḥ [smiṅ dhar Rāmādhipati Śrīpa]-

2. [rama]ma[h]ādha[m]ma[rājā]dhirāt I ma [cuin dah tau tila ciṅ batāṅ I ma pkaṅ raṅ tau piṭakat pi suim bed I ma lhiṅ tau pḍay ma pa puin sāsanā] kyā[k tray ma pkaṅ raṅ tau kramin prab]woy dhar [gah I khā gah gasa]-

3. p cuit [ma] rau wo' [ktuiw dah ra I pḍay] (kāla) [puiy wo' gah I kyāk tray Kakkusan] (ma nwom bnat saluṅ pan) [cwoh hat pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Konaguim ma nwom bnat saluṅ] pi [cwo]-

4. [h hat pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Kassapa] (ma nwom bnat saluṅ ḅā cwoh hat pakati ler mwoy I) [kyāk tray Gotama ma nwom] (bnat saluṅ cwoh dacām) [hat pakati ler] mwoy I

5. tila puiy kyāk tray pan wo' dah [tuy ra] (I uit tila puiy) [kyāk tray pan wo'] (tuy) [ma nwom bnat saluṅ tuy] (ma gaḥ II pan) [cwoh hat] (I pi cwoh hat I) [ḅā cwoh hat]

6. [I cah dacām hat I ma gaḥ wo' gah I bnat] . . . . . .[1] [tuy ma ñaḥ] . . . . [bnat] . . . [tila puiy] (te' gah) . . . . . (dah uiw da ci) [bnat yām wo]-

7. ' ra [ñaḥ ma] sḅat gah I [ḅat ha go' bnat tuy] . . . . . (kuiw dah) . (kui) . (dah) [uiw da ci I patimārup pan wo'] (tu)-

8. y I [ma] ey ska[naṁ] w[o' gah I . . .' gah ey . . . . (tila puiy) [kyāk tray] . . . . . [wo'] ra I [bnat janok] (thawhāy)[2] . . [yām bnat] . . . . . (da)-

9. [cā]m cwoh [hat saluṅ ma] (dah) [dmåṅ] (thawhāy[2] tuy) . . (dah) [pi cwoh pi hat ku mwoy] (pat[3] pakati) [gah heṅ I] ey s[kanaṁ ñi I patimā](ghara ku) . . . . . [patimārup pan]

10. ma sdmåṅ I ma nwåm bnat [mway mway tlaṅ klaṁ klaṁ hat] (pakati) . . . . . (ma nwåm bnat saluṅ) . . . . [ey skanaṁ ñi II II rau gah kṣap] (tuy heṅ) [II pḍay sakkarāj II 837 II kitu]

[1] Except where otherwise stated, a dot in this transcript represents one missing *akshara*.

[2] This appears to be the reading. Whether the word is to be regarded as connected with the modern *thawdai* (*thawai*), "lap", seems doubtful. But cf. XV A 5.

[3] Very doubtful reading. Presumably the word represents a subdivision of the cubit.

11. māk mway [crawek tṅay brab(b)ati] (lak krakat heṅ II) . . . (lwon tuy II) . . . . . [II kitu cay cah ḅā bramok tṅay] (buddhawā II lak bruih I ma yok toṅ) [pati]-

12. [m]āghara (nda)[1] [II II] (gata . . kuim II) . . . . . (bwoy rameṅ) . . . . . [heṅ ra II II akhā] (ma cuip arā ma sdabut)[2] . .

13. (t)[3] gah [II pḍay dwor] . . . . . (ler) II . . . . (dlaṁ) . . (ti) . . (låk lar aṅkade bwoy) . . . . . [kwo]-

14. [m ku] (garhah) [truh brau] (het mik kuiw go' dmåṅ gaḥ tuy) . . . . . (wūduih) [pa-uit] (I bwāy maṅaḥ gah grop) . . .[4] (pa-uit I bwoy) [pḍay sala kambu pa-uit I rau gah preṅ] (tuy heṅ) . . . . (dlaṁ)

15. dh[āt dwor gah] . . . . . (gah) . . . . (ma cicwon kuim lar) . . . . . (gah kuim lar) . . . . . (kuim lar) . . . . . .

16. [ṅ] bu[ddharup pan duih] (ler rau gah kuim gañi galau) . . . . (dlaṁ gah) . . . . . (lar ra) . . . . . [ma cicwon] (gah) . . . . . .

17. . (wūduih dlaṁ gah tun ḍāk nūṅ garay) [mwoy thap pnān kamak mway thap I pnāṅ dalāṅ mwoy thap] . . . . . (gah) [gañi galau lar] (ra II pa-uit) . . . . . .

18. . [II kwom ku amāt dakuip pnān] (araṁ pariwā gamluiṅ) [ma sadmåṅ II swak ma pa sabhaṅ][5] . . . . (mwoy) . . . . . [tuy] . . . . . .

19. . . . . (dlaṁ dhāt) . . . . . .

20. [ti II kwom ku] . . . . . .

[1] Spelt *ṇḍa* (Cf. XIV 1).

[2] Probably for *sdaḅut*.

[3] This is probably the last letter of *dhāt*. Cf. XII M 9.

[4] With this passage, cf. XII M 10, 11 which have helped in the conjectural restorations.

[5] Cf. XII M 15-17 with the preceding passage.

[6] The dots after the words in ll. 20-26 are intended merely to fill up the line, not to indicate the amount that is missing.

21. (brau) [tila ñaḥ] . . . . . .

22. . . (gamluiṅ) . . . . . .

23. (ṅ sabhaṅ tuy) . . . . . .

24. . (ā bway dhāt ra) . . . . . .

25. (y tau) . . . . . .

26. [truh ma go' etadagga] (cah mway II rup upaḥ brau ma go') [etadagga][1] . . . . . .

27. . . . . (dabut lar)[2] . . . . . .

28. . . . . .

29. . . . . (rup mba) [kyāk tray] . . . (rup klaṁ cah dacām te' wo') . . . . . .

30. . . . . [rup Mahābisnu II rup] . . . . . (II) [rup] (dewatau) . . . . . .

31. . . . . (tuy II) . [i] . [i] . . . . . .

32. . . . . (tuy II) . . . . . (gah heṅ II tuiṅ rup) . . . . . .

33. . . . (kuim) [lar II rup dapuin the brau ma tluṅ pḍay] . . . . . .

34. . . . . watthu [kuim lar II kuiw kanaṁ calo' lar pa-uit heṅ II pḍay pajraḥ kyāk pan duih tun] (ler II pḍay) . . . . . .

[1] Compare XII M 35. Here the legible part of the upper fragment of the inscription ends.

[2] Probably for *dabut lar*, which may be the actual reading (cf. l. 12). Here the legible part of the lower fragment begins. The dots following the words indicate their position with reference to the right margin, but those which precede the words merely fill up the line. This also applies to lines 28-33 in similar circumstances. What interval there is between the two fragments is not clear. On the analogy of XII M 34-36 it is even possible that they overlap to the extent of making l. 29 the continuation of l. 26.

35. [tluṅ II rup buiw Mā kya] II pḍay [pajraḥ] (II) . . . . . [latū gah II tuiṅ rup dewatau truh brau gamluiṅ ma tau tau pḍay cah lṅim cakkawā II ma tluṅ] (pa pujau) . . . . . .

36. [masun cwoh II rup gam-ī truh II gam-ī brau] (II rup dewatau) [II rup pruit II rup buil pnān Mā II rup dewatau truh brau] (ma tluṅ pa pujau) [kyāk tray] . . . . . .

37. . . . [kṣū teh][1] . . . . . [ra] I ui[t kuiw dayoṅ] . . . . . [lar cut thar sran] . . . . . .

Translation.

Honour to Buddha! 2019 years having elapsed from the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sākyamuni, achieved Parinirvāna, in the year 837 of the Common Era His Majesty the King of the Law Rāmādhipati Śrī Pa(2)ramamahādhammarājādhirāt, who is the Lord of the White Elephant, who supports the three Piṭakas together with the Vedas, who delights in rendering meritorious service to the religion of the exalted Buddha, who wields sway in accordance with the Law, at that time a thought (3) of this sort arose (in his) mind: "In this (time?) of ours, a (statue of) the exalted Buddha Kakusandha measuring forty standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Koṇāgamana measuring thirty (4) standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Kassapa measuring twenty standard cubits in height, and one of the exalted Buddha Gotama measuring eighteen cubits in height (5) these four (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas being made, (all?) these (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas, measuring in height forty cubits, thirty cubits, twenty cubits (and) (6) eighteen cubits, as aforesaid, the measurement . . . . . which they . . . . the measurement . . . . . these Buddhas . . . . (because?) . . . . . to measure the measurement (7) at this time (?), not having been able to measure the measurement . . . . . (caused to be?) . . . . . these four statues (8) that I shall make . . . I . . . . our lords the exalted Buddhas . . . . . this . . . . the measurement (of the

[1] Cf. XII M 9. It would be possible to read *keh*.

size of the seat ?)[1] . . . . measurement . . . (9) eighty cubits, in height to be (a seat ?)[1] . . . thirty-three standard cubits and one *pat* (?)[2], I will make, a statue (hall and ?) . . . . . (where) the four statues (10) are to be, measuring on each side one hundred standard cubits . . . . . measuring in height . . . . . I shall make !"

Having thus reflected, in the year 837 of the Common Era, (11) the first (day) of the waning of the month of Māgha, the day (being) Thursday,[3] (Cancer being *lagna* ?), ... (was finished ?) . . . . . (on) the twelfth (day) of the waxing of the month of Caitra, the day (being) (Wednesday, Taurus being *lagna* ?), (they) set up the posts of the statue (12) hall) (?). (In front of ?) . . . . (also ?) . . . . . (successively ?)[4] . . . . . When the time came to set up[5] . . . . . (13) . . in the middle . . . . . (chamber ?) . . . . . smeared plaster on . . . together (14) with the laity, men and women, for them to be, (he) said, ... (all around ?). Outside (they) covered . . . . throughout; inside (they) hung white (cloth) throughout. Having thus prepared it, ... the central (15) relic (chamber ?) . . . . . which (they) also decorated . . . . also . . . . also . . . . . (16) the four Buddha statues (they) thus adorned also . . . . . (the chamber ?) . . . . adorned . . . . . (17) . around the chamber too (with) watering pots, one row, hanging lamps, one row, altar candles, one row, ... (they) adorned. Throughout . . . . . (18) . . together with the ministers (and) chiefs of the army (and all the retinue ?), to be, in order to hold a festival . . . . . (one) . . . . . (having ?) . . . (19) . . . . . (relic chamber ?) . . . (20) . together with . . . . . (21) (daughter of ?) His Majesty . . . . . (22) . . (all ?) . . . . . (23) (having held the festival ?) . . . . . (24) . . (went to the relic ?) . . . . (25) . . . . . (26) (eleven statues of)[6] male (devotees)[6] who had attained pre-eminence, (ten)[6] statues of female devotees who had attained pre-eminence . . . . . (27) . . . . . (set up ?)[7] . . . . . (28) . . . . . (29) . . . . . (a statue of the

[1] See the note on the text.

[2] See the note on the text. It is not clear which of the dimensions in this line applies to the height but the second one seems the more likely.

[3] This date appears to correspond with Thursday, 11th January 1476 and the next one with Wednesday, 6th March 1476.

[4] Or "in a row", or "in due order".

[5] See the note on the text.

[6] Conjecturally restored, following XII M 35.

[7] See the note on the text.

ather of ?) the exalted Buddha . . (these hundred and eighteen statues ?) . . . (30) . . . . . a statue of Mahābisnu, a statue . . . . . statues of devas ?) . . . . . (31) . . . . . (having ?) . . . . . (32) . . . . . having ?) . . . . . (in accordance with the shapes ?)[1] . . . . (33) . . . . also ?), statues of senior nuns who came . . . . . (34) . . . . . offerings ?) also, caused to be made and set all around. On the plinth of the four-sided Buddha (statues) also, on . . . . . (35) came, statues of the vanquished army of Māra, on the plinth . . . . . above, in accordance with the many shapes of male and female devas that dwell in ten thousand universes, who came (to do reverence ?) . . . . . (36) fifty ; statues of monks (and) nuns, (statues of devas ?), statues of pretas, statues of Māra's army, statues of male and female devas (who came to do reverence to ?) the exalted Buddha . . . . . (37) . . . . engraved and carved . . . . . all the pillars . . . . applied gold and silver[2] . . . . . .

[1] Doubtful reading and meaning. But cf. I, 35.
[2] Cf. XII M 9.

No. XVIII.

An Inscription of Gaungzegyun Pagoda, Pegu.

Descriptive Account.

99. This inscription is on two faces and a detached fragment of stone. The parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed are on Face A, 1 ft. 10 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, on Face B, 1 ft. 9 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, and on the fragment C 2½ in. in height by 9 in. in breadth. The letters and interlinear spaces are nearly of the same dimensions as in No. XIII. The inscription contains imprecations on persons who are not true to the faith, and blessings on those that are. It seems to be only the remnant of a more extensive record, and owing to the bad state of preservation of some parts of it, it has not been possible to make a complete translation of the portion that is available.

Text.

A

1. . . . . [kuiw] dah mran sapā kuiw baraḥ bara[ḥ]

2. . . . . [nar]ak jamnok dacām kuiw cin (tau lā)

3. . . . . [tun] II kuiw ktuiw dah pruit mwai jaku mwai wā sr[ot]

4. . . . . [nḍ] . [ṅ] II yāṁ p[u]ṅ mwai ma II ḍāk mwai tanḍat[1] lamlāṅ la . . . .

5. . . . [go'] lop ka' II blaḥ nū gah tun II ktuiw dah mnih II . .

6. . . [nū g]aw 500 leh II kamlau nū gaw 500 leh II damlu nū ga[w 500]

[1] Error for *tanḍah*, or *thanḍah* if the word means "drop".

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7. [leh] II [t]amnim nū gaw 500 [l]eh II ktuiw dah sat sat [tamniṁ][1]
8. [nū gaw] 500 le[h] kuiw ḍe[h] ktuiw dah II mnih ma ha cmat sa-
9. [cā gamluiṅ puiai ma huim] w[o]' ku[i]w daḥ [pūgui]w wa[h][2] heṅ ra II II
10. mwai la[kā t]ui[ṅ l]ahuim pui[y] ma gaḥ wo' [p]abwai[3] dhaw yaw pūguiw mwai pna
11. bak cmat II pḍai lok wo' II ma sak [k]u antarāai kuiw dah II ma
12. sak ku tad[ok] kuiw dah II mnih dewatau le(w kuiw) [s]ḍ[uik] II
13. yat [sapat] pḍai lok bwai ma gluiṅ heṅ kui[w go]' duṅ ca II
14. [ayuk] lew kuiw dliṅ II khyuit [ā] nū wo' tun II pḍai ḍuṅ swa-
15. w [kui]w go' ā dah II kuiw go' ca tau yat sapat dip II
16. [jmā]p bhawa ma ktuiw dah ma sa[k] ku tadok kuiw dah I tuiṅ=rādhan[ā]
17. [parit t]amlā ma rādanā kui[w ḍok] peṅ [k]uiw pū[gui]w ga[h] (. .)
18. (heṅ) [ra] II

B

1. (bra)må[k t]ṅai [palu]i[t] . . . . . .
2. . . . . [kui] . . . . (II) [p] . (n) . . i(t bwai m)n . . . . (gata kā) . . . . . .
3. . . . . (II) [mwai lakā] sc[u]t[i] . . . . [mha] II (ga) [kuiw] (la) . . . . . .

[1] Or *tamnī*, for *tamnim*. But probably the final letter, though it looks like ī, is meant for *iṁ*.
[2] Probably for *gaḥ*.
[3] Or *babwai*.

4. . . . . [āgā] . . . . . II [pawa ma ha] . . . . . .

5. . . . . [II ma] sda[h] (ler sat) II . . . . . .

6. . . . . [mw]ai la[kā] . . . . . (II) (skandaṁ] . . .

7. . . . . [II] (maṅaḥ nū) [pawa ñaḥ tamlā tamlā] (ta) . .

8. (pa het) . . . . . (wo') . . . [uiw] II [jnok k]uiw da[rhat] II

9. . . . . (tla a) . . . . . II (tla) aniṅ sguiṅ jak (la) . .

10. . . . . (go') [pa tuai] II ga[h] lew palan [k]ui[w dra]-

11. (p ñaḥ) II . . . . . (II) ñaṅ lahu[iṁ[1] w]o' mwai lakā rā(p)

12. . . . . II . . . . . [kuiw] . . . . . (wo)' II [sacā]

13. (wo)' [he]ṅ (k)uiw [d](aḥ) [pna] . . . . . .

14. . . . [ku]iw (tit) II [ḍok dluṅ] (II) . . . . . II (grah kuiw) . . . .

15. . . . . [br] . . . . . II . . . . . .

16, 17. (Illegible).

[1] For the final letter, cf. the note on A 7.

C

1. . . . (ta)nḍaṅ tha(mbat) ñaḥ Jamm(u)di[t] kuiw ar . . . .

2. . . . . [iw] . . [ṅ] II sam(-a)r p(ḍ)ai mhai akaḥ (tau) . . . .

Translation.

A

. . . . . may (he) have smallpox (resulting in) blindness, may (he be dispersed ?) (2) . . . . . (in) the eight great hells may (he) be cooked . . . . . (3) . . . . . again ; may (he) become a *preta* for one existence, sucking (4) . . . . . if one grain of boiled rice, one drop of water, dew . . . (5) (may it not ?) be able to enter (his) throat. And thereafter again (may he) become a human being, . . . (6) . . from birth 500 times, dumb from birth 500 times, blind from birth 500 (7) times, leprous from birth 500 times, (may he) become leprous creatures (8) from birth 500 times, may he become ! A man who is not true to the faith, (9) may all this that we have said befall that person !

(10) On the other hand, in accordance with this saying that we utter, if a person follows truly according to the law, (11) in this world may (he) be free from calamity, (12) may (he) be free from suffering, may (he) be pleasing to men and devas also, (13) may (he) be able to enjoy much happiness in the world[1], (14) may (his) life also (be) long, (and when he) dies (and) goes hence, (15) may (he) be able to go into existence in the heavenly land (and) may (he) be able to enjoy celestial bliss ; (16) may every form of being (into) which (he) comes be free from suffering ; in accordance with the *paritta* (17) prayers that (the men of) old prayed[2] may (it) be fulfilled for that person !

[1] Or "enjoy happiness in many worlds." But in view of what follows this seems a less probable interpretation.

[2] Or "the ancient *paritta* prayers that (men) pray."

B

sunrise (and sun)set[1] . . . . . (2) . . . . . in the future (?) . . . . (3) . . . . . once again will die . . . . . (4) . . . . . deeds that are not . . . . . (5) . . . . . who shall be (creatures ?) . . . . . (6) . . . . . once again . . . . . shall make . . (7) . . . . . (besides ?) the deeds of the men of olden times . . . (8) (because ?) . . . . . (this) . . . great in strength (9) . . . . . violent (persons ?) shall seize (and drag away ?) . . . (10) . . . . . having been able to do . . . . also restore (his ?) (11) property . . . . . in accordance with this saying, once again . . . (12) . . . . . (this) . . . . . (this) (13) (faith ?) . . . . (14) . . . . may . . . (go out ?), travel by boat . . . . . (may the planets ?) . . . . (15-17) . . . . . .

C

. . . . may (the offerings of ?) the people of Jambudvīpa . . . . . (2) . . . . . in the heavens . . . . . .

Postscript.

100. In concluding this series of inscriptions, I desire to express my obligations for help given me by the authorities who commissioned me to undertake the work, by their officials, and by a number of friends already mentioned in § 21, to whom must now be added Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, my two former pupils, Professors G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, and my colleague, Dr. J. A. Stewart. But especially I would stress again the great debt I owe to the ever-willing assistance of Dr. Robert Halliday, whose death is a great loss to Burma, to Môn scholarship, and to all who knew him.

[1] Or "east (and) west."

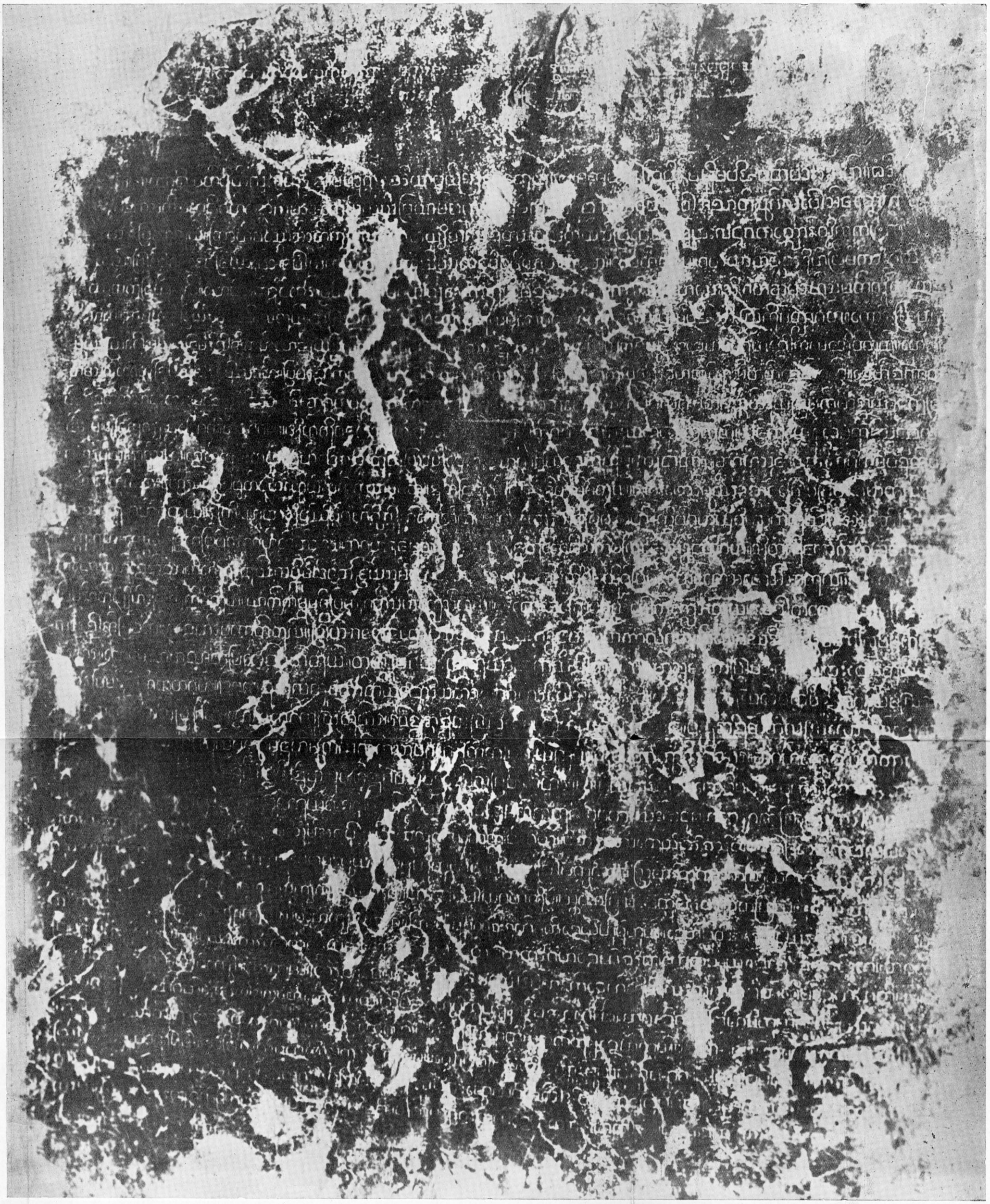
G.B.C.P.O.—No. 1, S.A.S., 1-12-1934—350.

MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE AJAPĀLA PAGODA, PEGU.

A



MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE AJAPĀLA PAGODA, PEGU.

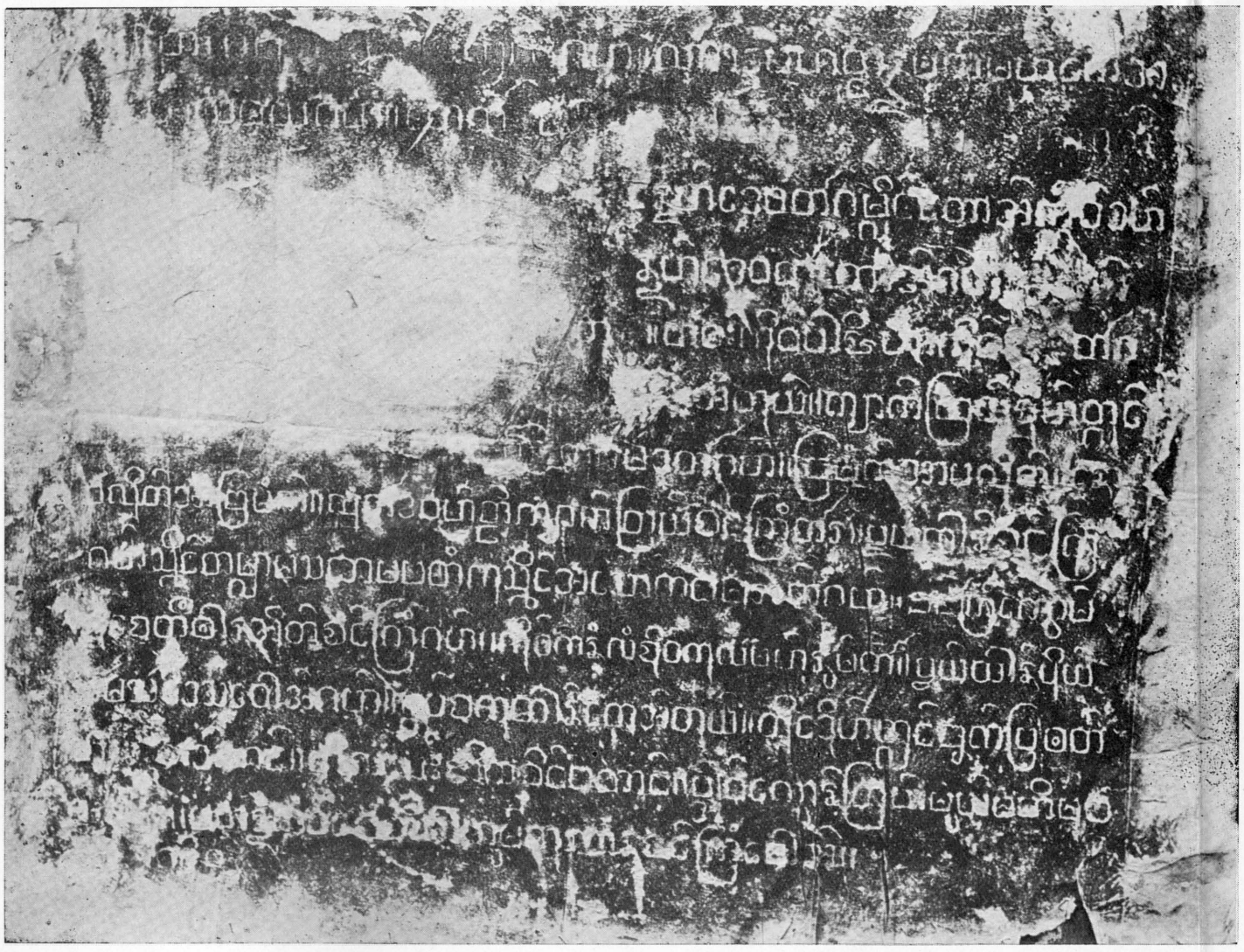
B



MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XIV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEGUGYI PAGODA, PEGU.



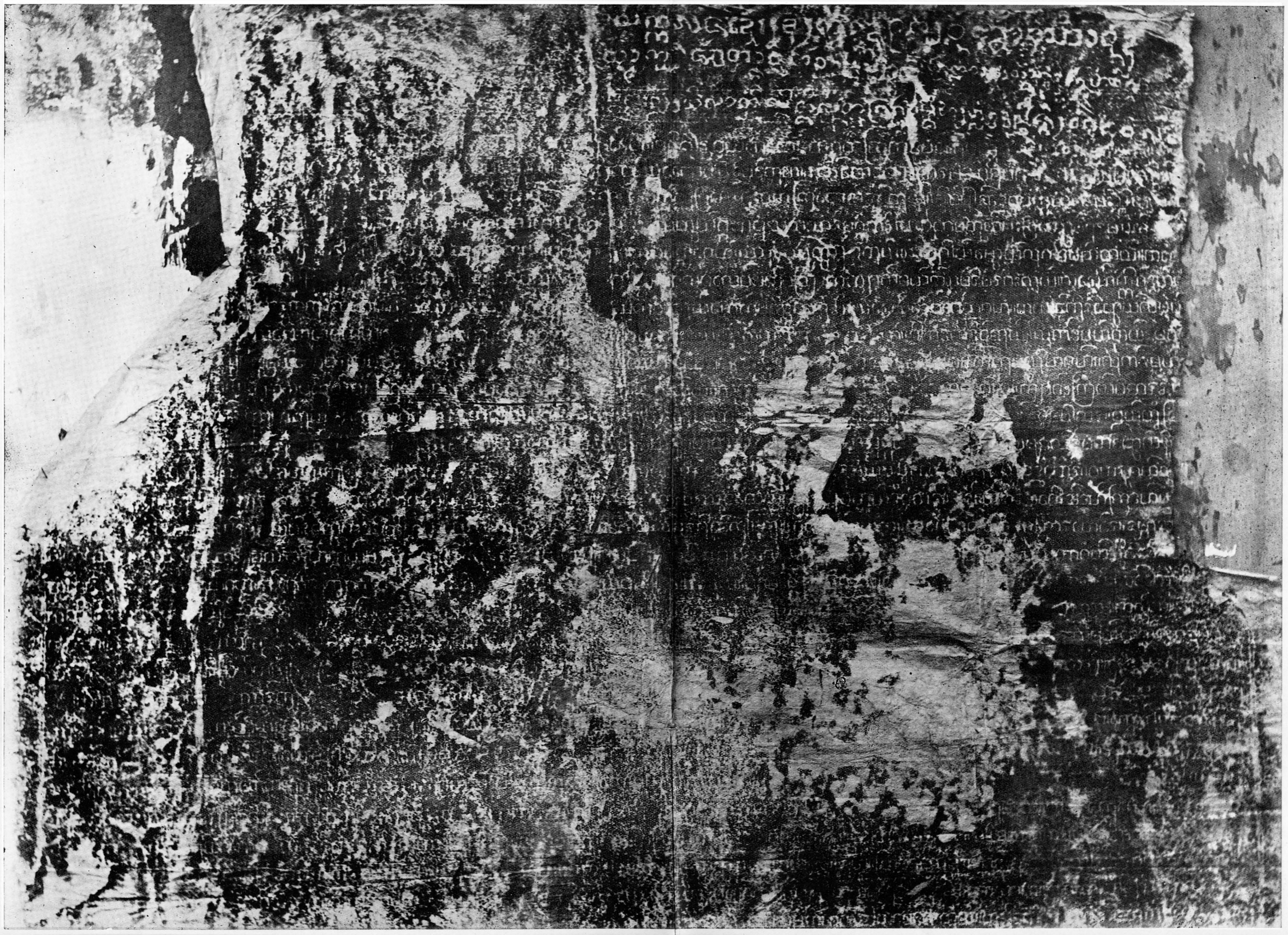
MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

A

(Upper half).



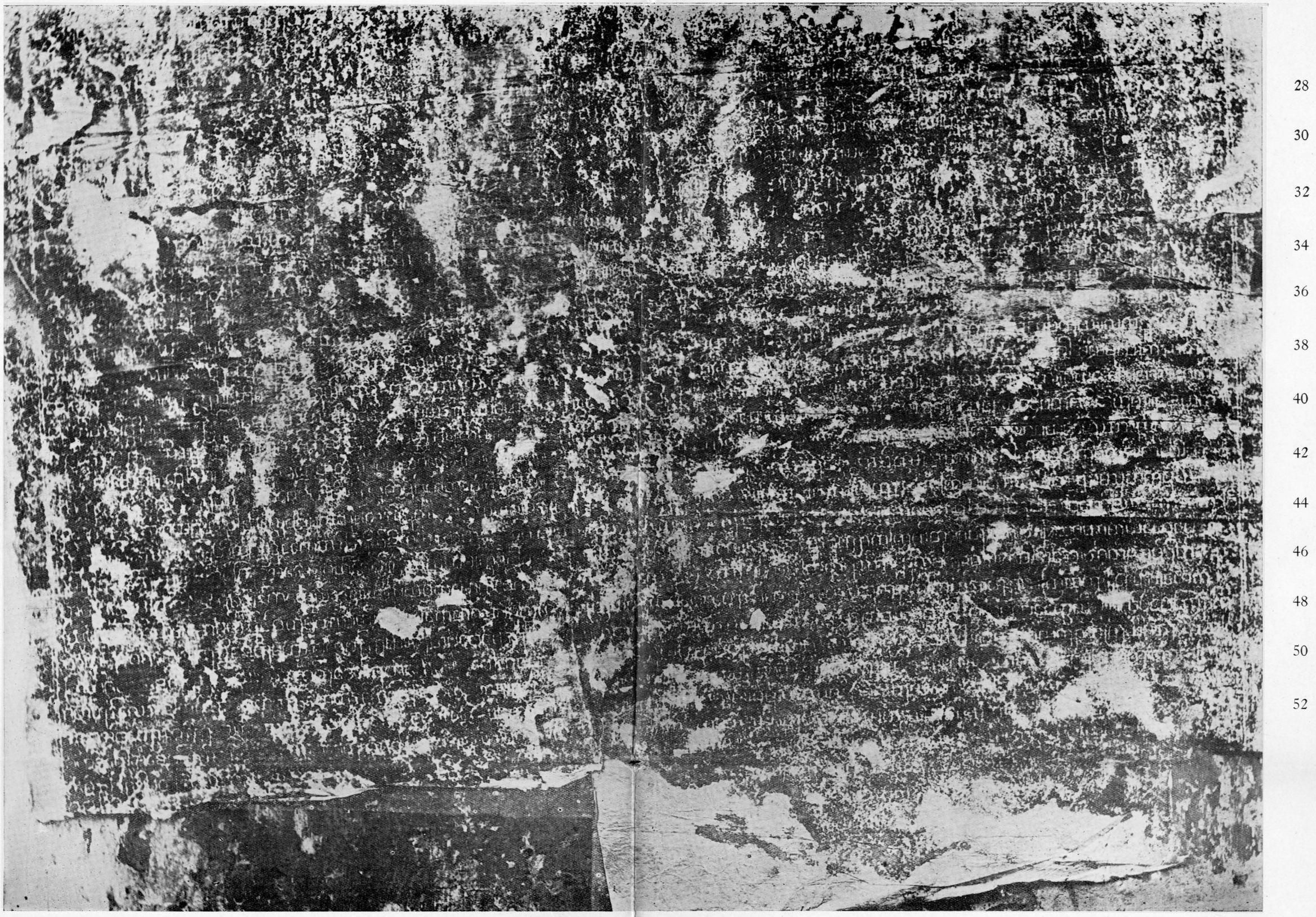
MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

A

(LOWER HALF).



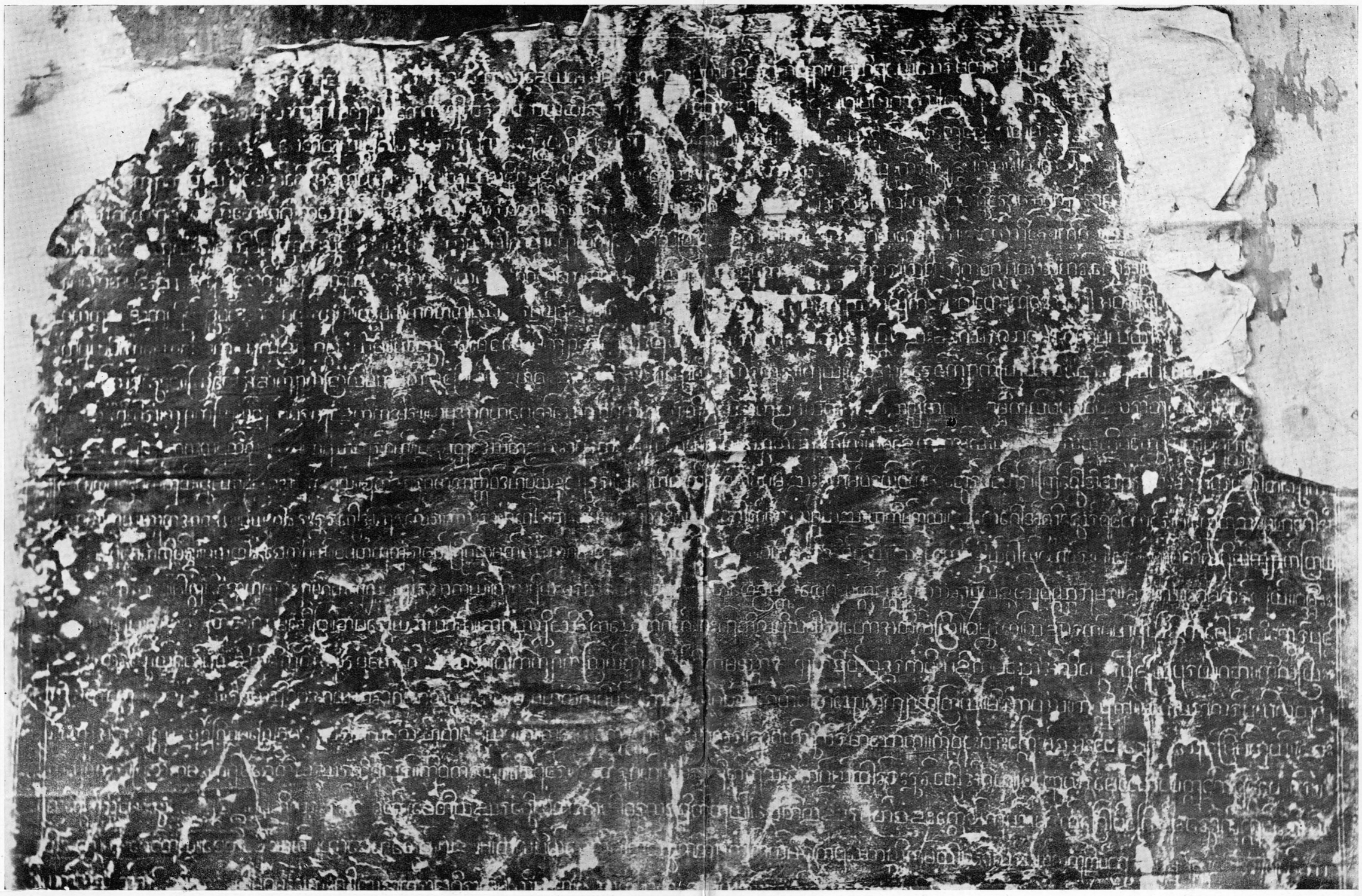
MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

B

(UPPER HALF).



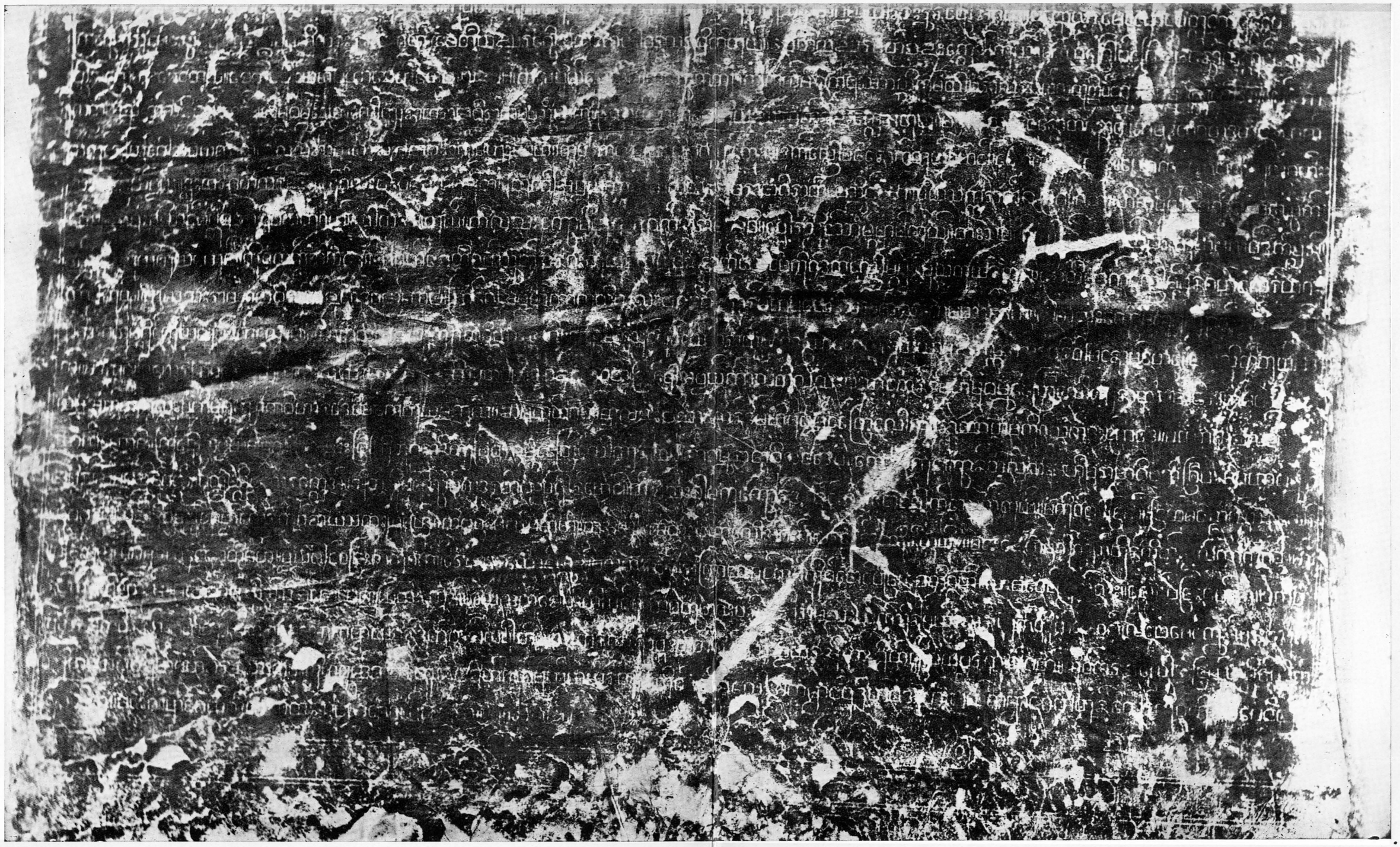
MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

B

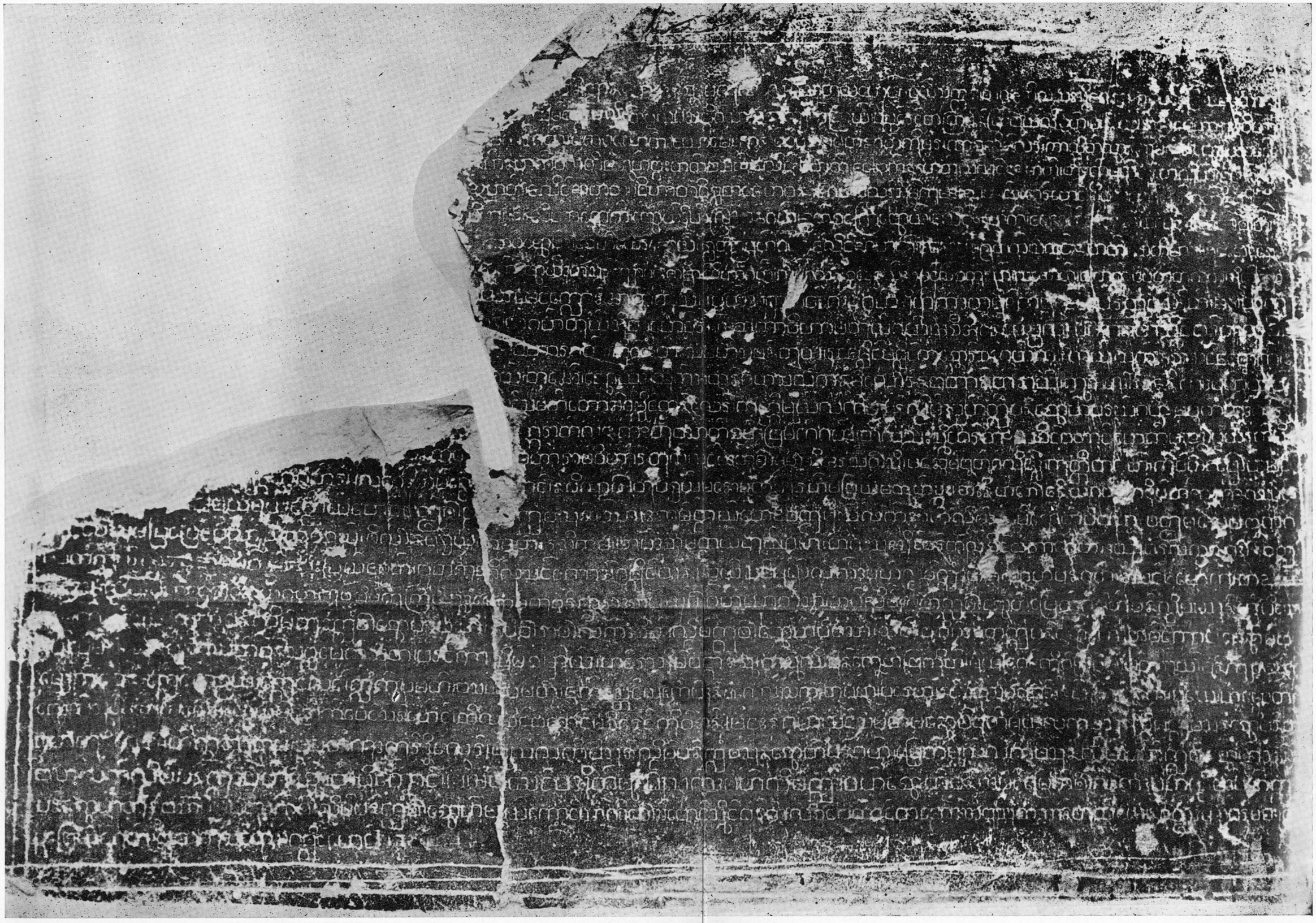
(LOWER HALF).



MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XVI.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE YATHEMYO MONASTERY, PEGU.

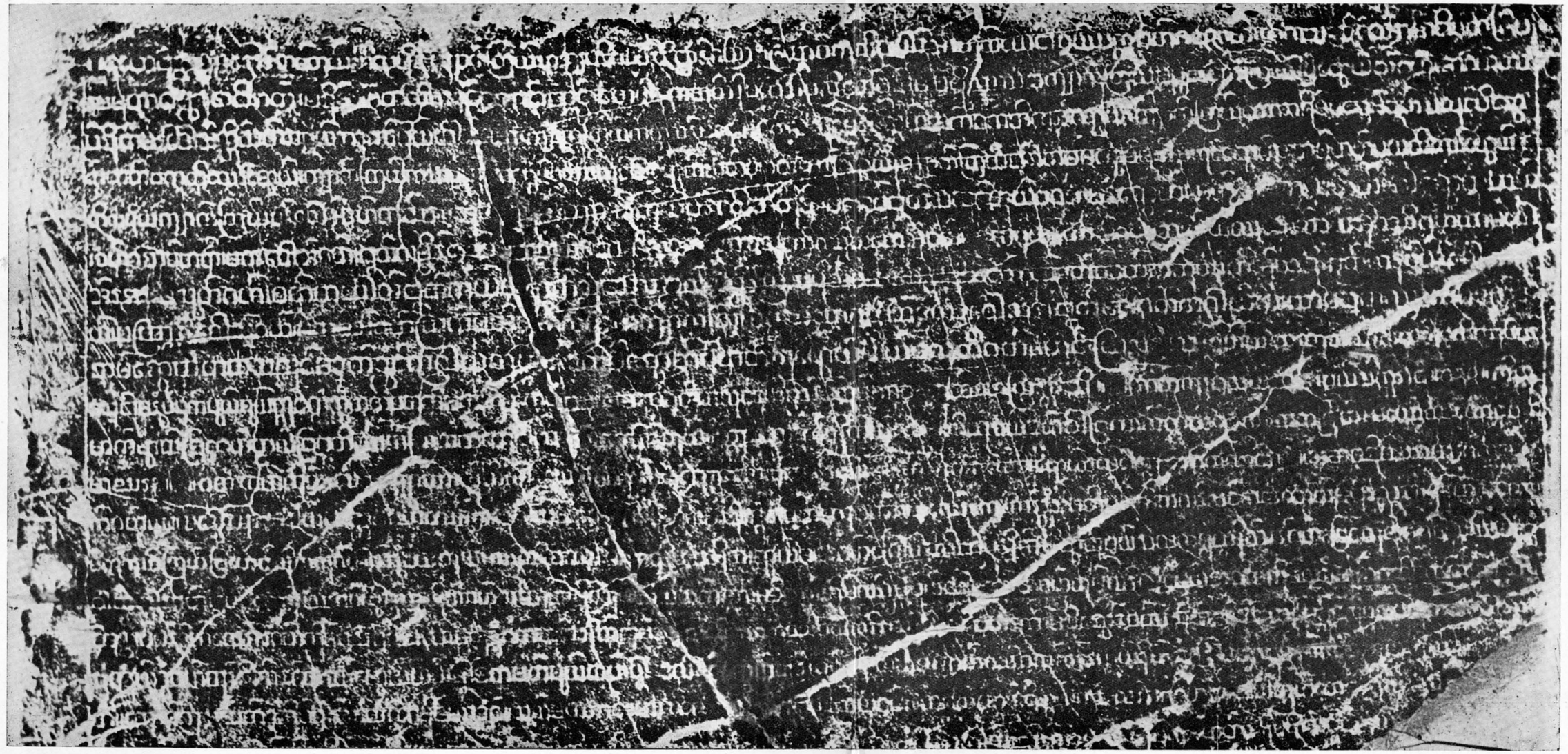


MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XVII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE KYĀK PAN PAGODA, PEGU.

(UPPER HALF).



MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XVII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE KYĀK PAN PAGODA, PEGU.

(LOWER HALF).



MON INSCRIPTIONS

No. XVIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE GAUNGZEGYUN PAGODA, PEGU.

A



B

